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THE RATIO QUESTION

I. BY MR. GORDHANDAS G. MORARJI

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OF the many muddles for which the Government of India is responsible, the currency and exchange muddle is one. Since 1884, the currency and exchange problem has loomed the largest among all economic questions before the public. It is no ordinary so-called extremist or agitator, but a man of moderate views and a millionaire with vested interests like Mr. Jamshedji Ardeshir Wadia, who has asserted all his life that the country has been ruined through the mis-management of the currency problem by Government. We find that even now the influence of Lancashire is felt on the economic policy of the Government of India. This influence has been there not only from recent times, but almost since India came under the domination of England or rather, even before that time when the East India Company were here merely as traders and when the exports of Indian goods to England were banned not only by high and prohibitive duties but also by prohibitive duties. The influence of Lancashire has been visible even with regard to the Government's monetary policy. With the policy of the Government, the incidents which happened in 1922 or 1926 are themselves suggestive of the influence which we should not forget India had over the Empire in its time of stress

and struggle and when the time came for repayment of debts to this country, the exchange was kicked up to 2sh. 10d. with the result that the debts were almost wiped out by half. The Babington-Smith Currency Committee fixed the ratio at 2sh. in the face of a storm of opposition from the people who counted and from interests which should have weighed the most with the authorities here. Tremendous efforts were made to keep the ratio at 2sh., and 85 crores of rupees of India's money were wasted in these attempts. The struggle was ultimately given up when it was found impossible to keep it up, and even then Government would not recognise the fairness and justice of the cause for which the Indian business community were fighting. It was, I think, about 1922 or 1926 that efforts were made by several prominent Indian industrialists to have a fresh inquiry, and yet there was no response to this because of the opposition of the European Chambers of Commerce. If such an enquiry was instituted then, there was no doubt whatsoever that the ratio would have been fixed at 1sh. 4d. or even perhaps at a lower rate. Things, however, were allowed to drift, with the result that in 1926 Government appointed the Royal Commission on Currency and Finance and

appearance was given as if conditions had stabilised themselves round about 1sh. 6d. Even this was not the case, and no less a man than the late Sir Basil Blackett, the then Finance Member, was in favour of fixing the ratio at 1sh. 5d. Unfortunately, the powers-that-be in England had decreed that the Rupee was to be over-valued in interests other than Indian and thus we got 1sh. 6d. fixed up by the Legislature by methods followed which every one knows and which did not redound to the credit of Government or their advisers. Since then all the prophecies of the opponents of the 1sh. 6d. ratio have come true, and even those who voted against the popular view came round and said that agriculture and industries were ruined because of this over-valued Rupee. Prestige, however, counted with Government and no change has been made since then, though it has been shown times without number that the over-valued Rupee has taken away the effect of protection given to Indian industries like the Cotton Textiles or Iron and Steel, and has dealt a blow to the staple industry of the country, *viz.*, agriculture. When England went off the Gold Standard, the Rupee had to follow suit and was linked with Sterling, despite the fact that the Finance Member here had announced an opposite course only one day previously. In economic and financial matters, however, India is tied to the chariot-wheels of England, no matter whether such a bondage spells ruin for her. Provincial autonomy in the country introduced since the last one year has undoubtedly given certain powers to the people; but the first question is economic. These Provincial Cabinets must have power to give bread to the hungry and to give relief to their

agriculturists. Agricultural distress is at present rampant in all the Provinces, and agricultural prices are tumbling down as they did in 1930-31 in the time of the great depression. One way to save the agriculturists is to change the ratio, which was fixed so arbitrarily and so against the popular wishes and feelings and fix it at a lower rate. Practically all the countries in the world have depreciated their currencies, and there is no reason why India should be in the solitary minority of one. We have not been able to benefit from trade revival, but we are more acutely hit now when there is a trade depression throughout the world. The various Provincial Governments, both Congress and non-Congress, should now join hands together and bring pressure upon the Government of India to re-consider their position with regard to the Rupee ratio and fix it at a lower basis. It will be a big gesture—this combination of all the Provincial Governments and the Government of India will not be able to resist this combined pressure, specially in view of the fact that they want their Federal structure to be completed and no such structure can be completed without the willing co-operation of the Provinces. It is the Provinces which are in immediate and intimate touch with the agriculturists and it is the Provinces which have to suffer the most from the distress of the very people who contribute the most to their revenues. The financial rock has been always feared to be one on which the Provincial autonomy might break. Surely, no one wants this, and it is therefore to the interests of all concerned: the public, the Provincial Government and the Government of India—that the Provinces must be helped in the hour of their need and this cannot be done in a better way than by helping the agriculturists through a new orientation of the policy with regard to the ratio question.

II. BY MR. C. H. DIVANJEE, A.L.I.B.

(Secretary, Bank of Hindustan, Madras)

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If the reports circulated by the news agencies are correct, the Finance Member of the Bombay Government with the support of all the 7 Congress Provinces as well as the 4 non-Congress Provinces is making a representation on behalf of Provincial Governments to the Government of India to help the provinces to improve the position of the agriculturists by lowering the ratio to 1sh. 4d. The other side, the Government of India is equally vehement in their *communiqué* that they have no intention to change the statutory ratio and the *communiqué* further states that the Reserve Bank of India and the Government of India have got sterling resources to the extent of 160 crores to maintain the present ratio. In spite of what the Government has stated in their *communiqué* the exchange market shows a definite weakness and it will not be a surprise if the *communiqué* is only a feeler to find out what effect it will have on the exchange market. In the beginning of June when the exchange was under the statutory requirement, the Reserve Bank of India did not come forward with their support. All this shows that there is something wrong with the exchange. This is the time to consider the revision of the statutory ratio in view of stoppage of gold exports as well as considerable fall in exports of the other commodities.

A lay man is quite ignorant about the ratio though it vitally affects his very existence. He feels that he has been using the same rupees, annas and pice

for his purchases as well as he is getting the same rupees, annas and pice for his produce or his labour.

He would not understand how this higher and lower ratio is going to affect him. The ratio is a factor which comes into operation when settlement of accounts takes place between two countries who have traded by way of exchange of goods and commodities. The country has got to make payment for purchases and receive payment for sales. A certain portion of imports and exports are adjusted against each other, but no country can plan its transactions in such a way as to balance the purchases and sales without anything left over for payment. Imports and exports also include intangible items like services of foreigners, visits of foreign tourists, interest of investments of foreign countries, profits of foreign Banks, foreign insurance companies and foreign shipping companies, etc. The balance of account has to be struck off after all these items are taken into consideration and balance struck whether the country has to make certain amount of payment for the balance of account or receive payment for balance of account. If the country has exported more it has to receive payment, i.e., the foreign buyers have got to make payment to the country that exports and the foreigners have their own currency in their hands and they have to sell them and buy the exporting country's currency. Anything bought goes up in value and vice versa. Buying and selling of

currency to the country which imports and exports is what is called the exchange transaction and the rate at which the currency is exchanged is called the ratio of exchange. This is in short the explanation of the word 'ratio'. As far as India is concerned, she has not got to worry herself about the exchange of any other currency but only sterling with which her rupee has been linked. I will now give a concrete example of the difference in the value of the goods imported and exported at different rates of exchange. Supposing I import goods worth £100 from a foreign country at the ruling rate of 1sh. 6d., I will have to pay Rs. 1,825 and when the exchange is 1sh. 4d., I will have to pay Rs. 1,500. If I am an exporter and export goods worth £100, at the rate of 1sh. 6d., I will get Rs. 1,825 while at the rate of 1sh. 4d., I will get Rs. 1,500. It will thus be seen that the importer benefits if the exchange is higher and the exporter benefits if the exchange is lower. As India is an exporting country it will be to her advantage to have a lower ratio. Unfortunately our destiny is not in our hands and it is for the interest of England to dump her goods on India that the higher ratio is maintained. The only explanation that is given for the higher ratio is that it is not in the interest of the country to make any change in the existing ratio and that the consumers would have to suffer if the ratio is altered to any lower rate. Of all the countries in the world India is the only country that has not so far depreciated her currency. Even the invulnerable sterling had to be depreciated in the year 1931. The so called consumers whose interest is required to be protected

by the Government, consist of moneyed classes and 9/10ths of the imported goods really go to them and for their trade and industry, and for this class, the poor cultivators, who form 76 per cent. of the population, have to be sacrificed. We are now told that the exchange has been steady at the present statutory rate for a number of years and we must not change it at the present stage. It is the distressed gold that left India for the last seven years that has come to the rescue of the Government and now that the sources of further gold export are dried up, it is not possible for them to maintain the exchange at a higher level. You may ask any producer of any commodity and he will tell you about the poor demand from foreign countries. To give an instance near our home, the pepper which was quoted at Rs. 750 per candy has on account of want of demand fallen to Rs. 90 per candy and even at this rate it is difficult for the poor producer of pepper to sell his goods. This price is hardly enough to cover the cost of production. The wire-pullers, who are controlling the Government's policy of the exchange, in their anxiety to dump their manufactured goods in India, have not realised that the other countries can take advantage of the higher exchange of over-valued rupee to dump their own goods on India. They never calculated that Japan will be able to dump her cheap goods on India and endanger the very existence of British trade in India. Like carrying coal to Newcastle, because of the over-valued rupee it was possible that the wheat produced in Punjab could not be sold in competition with the Australian wheat imported in Karachi and sent by rail to Cawnpore. It is for the interest of the country

that the ratio should be altered and the persistence of the Government in maintaining the higher ratio is bound to lead to floatation of large sterling loans in London on behalf of the Government of India, to the sale of reverse bills, sale of metals and securities from the reserves. This means a tight money market, starvation of arteries of commerce and industry and complete stoppage of the flow of funds. With all the hardships the country will have to pass through, we will not be

surprised that at the end of this year after squandering away all the resources which are now reported to be 160 crores, the Government may ask the Reserve Bank of India to leave the exchange to its natural course and allow it to run even below the pre-war level of 1sh. 4d. Let us hope that before it is too late the authorities will revise the statutory ratio after a proper investigation is conducted by Indian experts and not imported experts.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE PARLEYS

BY

MR. A. S. IYENGAR

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INFORMATION received from London is to the effect that Sir Mahomed Zafrullah, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, is returning in the first week of August with certain outlines of a trade agreement which he has been negotiating there with the Colonial Office and the British Board of Trade. On his return, he will summon a meeting of the Indian non-official advisers in order to consult them on the terms. The fact that this advisory body is to be consulted at this penultimate stage will go a long way in allaying the apprehensions of the public as to the probable outcome of the negotiations which have been dragged on for over two years, for an Agreement to replace the Ottawa Pact which had been denounced by the Indian Legislature.

There is, however, little or no information as to the trend of the negotiations that are in progress in London. What is more ominous is the persistent

propaganda conducted by the Lancashire interests in continuation of what they started in India soon after the failure of the Simla negotiations. The Indian textile representatives who formed part of the Indian non-official delegation have been represented as a selfish body, solely responsible for the failure of the talks on textile trade, as "they made no advance towards meeting the Lancashire point of view" and presented an offer which "was too small to justify any response". In the face of this propaganda it is inadvisable that Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas should be silent or that the Government of India should hesitate to publish the thirteen reports that had been submitted by the non-official advisers ever since the negotiations commenced two years ago.

The public are, in the meanwhile, intrigued to know the causes which led to the break-down of the negotiations over

the textile trade which forms such a large part of the trade between India and Britain. There were expert negotiators on both sides—Messrs. Campbell and Raymond-Street with facts at the tip of their fingers, and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Birla and Seth Kasthuribhai Lalbhai assisted on this occasion by Sir Homi Mody and Mr. M. S. Aney besides others. The Lancashire delegation made it clear, at the outset, that all they wanted was a "reasonable access" in the Indian market; and, for the first time, were prepared for a maximum quantity of British textiles to be specified. Further, it was well known that the British Board of Trade had given a private undertaking that if on textiles they could come to an agreement, Britain would be able to deal generously in respect of other articles. Moreover, Sir Mahomed Zafrullah was personally straining his every nerve to see that there was a settlement over the textiles, as that would pave the way for official negotiations towards an Agreement between the two Governments. Why then did the textile negotiations fail?

The reason was obvious, that the Lancashire delegates, with their trade with India still enjoying the Ottawa preferences under an executive order issued by the Government of India, felt no real urge for an Agreement except on their own "impossible" terms. If the negotiating parties were to arrive at a business-like arrangement based on business principle in the interests of their mutual trade, it was essential that one party should not have been given this advantage while the other started off with a handicap. Further, the Government of India should have declared that the natural corollary of Lancashire pitching up its demands would only be a stiffening of the attitude of India against the

indefinite continuance of the unjust Ottawa preferences. This might have been done in private, but if that were so, it did not appear to have had the desired effect.

For, actually, the Lancashire delegates who publicly advertised that they were actuated, along with others, by a sense of candid realism developed an attitude from that of a negotiator to one of a dictator; and there were not members wanting in the Conference circles who described the British textile representatives as displaying the spirit of the East India Company, forgetting the limitations under which the Indian textile industry, despite the *swadeshi* spirit, was labouring under more particularly at a time when the radical labour policy of the Congress Governments was having its inevitable effects on the cost of production. "Super-Ottawa" might be an extreme way of describing the demand of the Lancashire delegation, but considering that the Indian textile industry was already working under a handicap of about 7½ per cent. in the form of duties on cotton, mill-stores, machinery, dye-stuffs, etc.—a fact of which the Lancashire delegates were not unaware—their demand certainly savoured of "Ottawaism" against which India had protested.

The position, broadly speaking, was this. India was consuming 286 million yards of British textile, with the Ottawa preferences in force, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and other Indian non-official advisers were prepared to allow Britain to send 400 million yards, representing a 50 per cent. increase, provided there was a reasonable increase in the off-take of India cotton by Lancashire and not merely a verbal assurance that more would be consumed. In formulating these

demands on the side of India, the advisory body was not only actuated by the desire to help the cotton cultivator but to take note of the implications of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement. The actual demand in respect of cotton put forward by the Indian side was that Britain which was already taking 650,000 bales should agree, as part of the arrangement, to take 750,000 bales. These were clear-cut and specific proposals; and it is not fair to describe the Indian advisory body as having made no concrete suggestions, as was alleged by the Lancashire delegation in the course of their statement prior to leaving India.

The Lancashire delegation's demand, on the other hand, was finally this. As against the present 266 million yards of cloth, India should consume a minimum of 888 million yards which could be ensured by lowering the duty from the present 20 per cent. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As for the maximum which Britain could import, this was put at the figure of double the minimum, i.e., 666 million yards, and this was to be reached by fixing the maximum in the sliding scale of duties at $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*. And when it came to a question of the off-take of Indian raw cotton, even the present consumption of 650,000 bales by Britain was not to be regarded as the minimum, but the figure was lowered to a minimum of 400,000 bales as part of the Agreement, leaving the rest to the goodwill of Lancashire which, of course, would not relax in her efforts to take more.

The gap between the two demands being so great, the optimism of the first week of negotiations gave place to pessimism; and then to break-down the

efforts of Sir Mahomed Zafrulla to give artificial respiration notwithstanding. The sliding scale suggested by the Lancashire delegation, it was feared on the Indian side, would have placed the Indian textile trade on a par with the imported goods, and if agreed to, would have given no excuse ever to go before the Tariff Board for any measure of protection. And they had the further justification, before the cotton-growers' representatives in India, that the Indian mills consumed during 1937-38 at least 500,000 bales more than they had done during the previous years.

It was inevitable, after the failure of the Simla negotiations over the textile trade, that Sir Mohomed Zafrullah should undertake a journey to London and hold parleys with Colonial Office and the British Board of Trade not only on textiles but over the whole range of commodities that constitute the trade between India and Britain. It is satisfactory that with a view to early termination of his labours he is assisted there by Messrs. Dow and N. R. Pillai and, further, that on return to India he will place the results of his labours before the same non-official body whose advice he had sought all these two years. If the proposals do not smack of "Ottawaism" and bear a sense of that realism for which the British nation is generally noted, except in the field of politics, then there is every chance of India agreeing to the terms and implementing them. Otherwise, a bitter struggle between an India seeking to be economically self-dependent with all her raw materials and Britain which has realised by now what *swadeshim* in India means to her, will become inevitable.

THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

HOW important the place of *dharma* is in the Hindu conception of life is well indicated by the belief, which has been entertained from very early times, that the larger part of the Vedas is devoted to its elucidation. Although there is general agreement regarding its importance, there has been considerable divergence of opinion among thinkers as to the purpose which it serves. Some held that, whatever its significance to social or general welfare might be, it was in the end but a means for securing some personal good like rank or riches either in this life or in a life to come. Others thought that to conceive of *dharma* thus was to lower its status by making it merely instrumental, and maintained that it was an intrinsic good, i.e., a good which should be sought for its own sake and not for the sake of anything else. There is abundant evidence in Indian philosophical literature to show that both of these views were once very influential; but they have for long been superseded by the Vedantic view, which is the one that is generally accepted. According to it, neither of the above views is altogether sound. It dismisses the idea that *dharma* can be an end in itself since conscious activity, which it implies in one form or another, is inconceivable in the absence of an appropriate purpose. Like the first of the above views, it therefore admits that *dharma* is an aid; but, unlike it, it repudiates the idea that its final purpose is to secure any personal good of the kind referred to above. The function of *dharma* is indeed instrumental, but the end it subserves is not the satisfaction of natural desires which, in virtue of their very character, cannot be

finally satisfied; it is rather their complete conquest which is a necessary means to the attainment of self-perfection. To state the same in the traditional form, the due performance of *dharma* leads to *sattva-suddhi* or 'the cleansing of the heart' and thereby prepares the way for *moksha* or self-realisation. This is the well-known teaching of the Gita, which is consequently much more than 'a gospel of duty for duty's sake' as it is ordinarily taken to be.

Some, however, prefer to state the same differently, because they lay greater emphasis on the theistic side of the Gita teaching. It inculcates, according to them, not the disinterested performance of duty with a view to qualify eventually for *moksha*, but the following of the divine life here and now by renouncing all *dharma* (*sarva-dharman*) and taking refuge in the Supreme alone as taught in a familiar stanza at the close of the work (xviii. 66). This is the view, for instance, of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose who put it forward in his *Essays on the Gita*, published about a decade ago; and it is favoured, we may add, by the fact that the kind of life which Sri Krishna, more than once, presents as the pattern to be followed by Arjuna is the one which He himself is leading. A new translation of the poem into English, on the basis of this interpretation, has been recently brought out by Mr. Anilbaran Roy.* There was a real need for such a translation for, though Mr. Ghose often alludes to individual stanzas of the original and discusses their import in the *Essays*, he does not translate it as a whole. The rendering now presented to the public is both lucid and precise; and in the case of almost every stanza, copious notes, compiled from the *Essays*, are added. As containing a detailed exposition of a great classic, according to one of the most gifted among modern Indians, the book deserves to be widely read.

* THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA is interpreted by Sri Aurobindo. Edited by Anilbaran Roy. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 1933. Price Rs. 2.

PARAMOUNTCY AND FEDERATION

BY DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

THE East India Company came to trade but remained to rule. It conquered a vast portion of India or rather India conquered herself for England. Simultaneously England began to exercise a growing suzerainty over the Indian States as well. It is that suzerainty that is known as Paramountcy.

The original and primary basis of paramountcy was described thus by the Marquess of Wellesley in 1804:

A general bond of connection is now established between the British Government and the principal States of India on principles which render it the interest of every State to maintain its alliance with the British Government . . . and which secure to every State the unmolested exercise of its separate authority within the limits of its established dominion under the general protection of the British power.

This was the state into which the yet earlier state of equality evolved at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. There was such an earlier period when international law could be held to be applicable in regard to the relations between the British Government and the Indian States. Even Lord Dalhousie, who carried out unflinchingly the policy of annexation and developed the doctrine of paramountcy, said in regard to the annexation of Oudh, which he deprecated but which the Court of Directors ordered: "The course proposed by the Court is not warranted by *international law*. It would be either conquest or usurpation of the power of government by force of arms." About this view the writer of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, says at page 585: "This argument of international law would not in these days be raised in connection with the Indian States."

Thus the doctrine of independent equal Sovereign States governed by international

law suffered a gradual but growing eclipse. It is stated at page 570 of the Cambridge History of India:

The earlier system of treating the States as if they stood on an equal footing with us was finally abandoned, and our political as well as our military supremacy was specifically recognised. It is, of course, unquestionable that this supremacy would ultimately have been attained, probably only after conflict, but it is also beyond doubt that the policy followed by Lord Wellesley during the seven years of his office simplified its establishment and shortened the period required for its attainment.

The evolution of the system of independent equal Sovereign States was known as the Guarantee system. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, says at page 570 about the Marquess of Hastings:

The policy of non-interference with the Indian States was, he said, a futile policy; for no highly civilised State placed in the midst of less civilised or less developed States can ever hope to pursue it without disastrous results.

The Guarantee system may be explained in the words of the Marquess of Hastings who said that it was "easy, when no acknowledged usages stood in the way, to establish principles between the Sovereign and the subject advantageous to both, giving these principles a defined line of practical application, a departure from which would afford to either party a *right of claiming the intervention of our paramount power*". He said further: "While the Sovereign had his legitimate authority and his due revenue ensured to him, the subject was protected against exaction and tyrannical outrage." The Cambridge History of India says at p. 577 of Vol. V: "Above all, it is to Lord Hastings that we owe the founding of that policy of partnership and friendly co-operation which now determines the relations of the Government of India with the Indian States."

It was during Lord Dalhousie's time that the next evolution of the Guarantee

system into pure paramountcy took place. This new policy went on hand in hand along with his feverish annexation policy. But even he was against the annexation of Oudh. He said:

Yet I do not counsel the adoption of this measure. The reform of the administration may be wrought and the prospects of the people secured without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne, and I for my part do not advocate the advice that the Province of Oudh be declared British territory.

But the Court of Directors overruled him and ordered the annexation of Oudh. Professor H. H. Dodwell says in his Introduction to Vol. VI of the Cambridge History of India: "Under the pressure of political fact the Indian States ceased to be the dependent but external allies of 1858 and became integral parts of a new empire of India."

We may take Mysore as a case in point. The State was restored to its Hindu rulers in 1799 on the defeat of Tippu Sultan. Poorniah, who had been Tippu's chief officer of finance, was appointed as the Prime Minister. But the Maharajah was dethroned on account of misgovernment, and Mysore was placed under British rule by Lord William Bentinck. The Viceroy afterwards doubted the legality and propriety of his own action. He wrote to the Court of Directors on 14th April, 1884:

The Treaty Warrants an assumption of the country with a view to secure the payment of our subsidy. The assumption was actually made on account of the Rajah's misgovernment. The subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy. Again, the Treaty authorises us to assume such part or parts of the country as may be necessary to render the funds which we claim efficient and available. The whole has been assumed, although a part would unquestionably have sufficed for the purpose specified in the treaty, and with regard to the justice of the case I cannot but think that it would have been more fair towards the Rajah had a more distinct and positive warning been given him that the decided measure since adopted would be put in force if misgovernment should be found to prevail.

The Maharajah's requests for the restoration of his State were not needed at all. Lord Dalhousie went so far as to state in his Minute, dated 16th January, 1856:

The treaty under which Lord Wellesley raised the Rajah, while yet a child, to the *musnud*, and the treaty which was subsequently concluded with himself, were both silent as to heirs and successors. No mention is made of them; the treaty is exclusively a personal one . . . I trust, therefore, that when the decease of the present Rajah shall come to pass, without son or grandson, or legitimate male heir of any description, the territory of Mysore, which will then have *lapsed* to the British Government, will be resumed and that the good work which has been so well begun, will be continued.

But Lord Canning took a more generous view. He was of opinion "that the Prince possessed a very strong claim to have his wishes and feelings considered by us, and that we should do that which was both ungenerous and impolitic if we set these aside". Her Gracious Majesty had stated in her Proclamation of 1858 that she did not desire any further extensions of territory in India. Lord Canning hoped that the Maharajah would give Mysore as a bequest to the British Government. Eventually the Maharajah adopted a son on 18th June, 1865. He died in March 1868 without getting back his kingdom. The restoration of the kingdom happened only in 1881.

During Lord Curzon's time, Paramountcy developed into Autocracy and Dictatorship. He "issued an Edict to the Native Princes of India forbidding them to visit Europe without His Excellency's permission". The *ukase* was withdrawn but the policy laid down in it was pursued. In the *sanad* given by him to the Chief of Seraikella, he went so far as to say:

You shall conform in all matters concerning the preservation of law and order and the administration of justice generally within the limits of your State to the instructions issued from time to time for your guidance by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. You

will appoint such officers and pay them such endowments as, on full consideration of the circumstances and of such representations as you may wish to make, may from time to time appear necessary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, for the proper hearing of cases and administration of justice in your State . . . You shall consult the Commissioner of Chota-Nagpur in all important matters of administration and comply with his wishes.

The last sentence in the *sanad* is a gem :

The right to catch elephants in your State is granted to you as a *personal concession* and as a *matter of favour*; but this concession is liable to withdrawal whenever it may seem desirable either on account of abuse or for other reasons, and it will not be necessarily granted to your successor.

At pages 587 and 588 of Vol. V. of the Cambridge History of India, the historian sums up the entire history of the mutual relations of the Indian States and British India thus:

This period is by far the most important in the history of the relationship of the States to the British Government. It witnessed their metamorphosis from a congeries of quasi-independent units, some openly hostile, most at heart, antagonistic to us, and all doubtful and resentful of our intentions towards them, into a body with so complete an acquiescence in our paramount position that even the shock of the mutiny could not subvert it. This result we owe mainly to Lord Hastings, who built so carefully on the foundations laid by Lord Wellesley, the structure being completed by the generous policy adopted when India came directly under the Crown. For Lord Hastings introduced those relations of supremacy and subordination which still fundamentally control the position between us and the States. In his time those parts of India not directly under our administration passed equally under our sovereignty; and our ascendancy, as also our indefeasible right to interfere if the peace and security of India was menaced, became henceforth unquestioned. Step by step, "sorely against its will", the Company had been driven by inexorable fate to abandon its policy of the ring-fence and of non-interference, and so we passed through the system of subordinate alliance to the wise and generous policy of co-operative partnership which holds at the present day.

There is no doubt that the paramountcy came in step by step, but it is rather difficult to swallow the words "sorely against its will".

In the above words "co-operative partnership" is to be found the key of the new policy adumbrated by Earl Winterton recently in the House of Commons in regard to the interrelations

of the Paramount Power and the Indian States. In February 1988, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, stated in the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly at Trivandrum that the relations between the Paramount Power and the Indian States stood in the way of the grant of responsible Government. In fact, the relations between Travancore and the Paramount Power are defined by the treaty of 1808. Article 19 of the Mysore Treaty of 1918, says that no change in internal government can take place without the assent of the Paramount Power. It was after Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's statement that the statement of Earl Winterton was made in the House of Commons. Earl Winterton's statement shows that in the case of full-powered States, there will be no objection by the Paramount Power to democratic advance in the States.

The fact is that the intense and increasing pressure of the Congress against Federation is a force of immense potency. One of its weightiest objections is that under the Government of India Act, it is the nominees of the Princes that will sit in the Federal Assembly. The Congress urges that they will be among the bulwarks of British Imperialism. There are many other weighty objections to the scheme of Federation as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1935, but the above is one of the most serious and powerful of all the objections to the Federal scheme. That Paramountcy is now liberalising itself is clear enough. The words "co-operative partnership" show that the interrelation between the Paramount Power and the Princes is not a mere relation of guarantee but is or will be or must be a co-operation in

democratisation and responsible government. British India cannot take a single step in the direction of democracy and responsible self-government without Indian India keeping step with her. Probably the best description of their mutual relation will be in the words of the Moon to the Earth in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*:

Brother whoso'er thou soarest,
I must hurry, whirl, and follow,
Shattered by the warm embrace,
Of thy soul from hungry space.

We see one manifestation of the new orientation of British policy in the order about Berar. We see other signs in the appointment of a Minister from the elected member of the Legislature in Cochin, in the new policy found in Mysore in regard to the appointment of

a Committee to report on constitutional advance, the announcement about popular legislatures in Patiala, Gwalior, etc. Though the Government of India Act may not be amended now, His Excellency the Viceroy can exert his influence in the direction of democratic advance in the States and can establish a convention of the consultation of the Federal Assembly in regard to Defence and Foreign Affairs. If he does so, many of the objections to the Federal Scheme will lose their point and force, and the inevitable crisis in regard to Federation can be averted. The problems of Paramountcy and Federation are vitally inter-connected and must be solved simultaneously by wise statesmanship in British India and in Indian India.

A Revised Railway Rate Policy in India

BY PROF. PREM CHAND MALHOTRA, M.A.

FOREIGN trade has received an exaggerated importance in all countries. This is evident from the fact that international trade has been broadly considered an index of economic prosperity. In India, foreign trade monopolised our attention, because the Government was more interested in foreign trade than internal trade. Again, a favourable trade balance has come to occupy a unique importance in view of the fact that India has to meet annual payments on account of "Home Charges" and import of services (shipping, banking, insurance, etc.). The cause of internal trade has consequently been overlooked in India.

World trade has undergone a revolution in the period after 1918. The world depression of 1929 crystallised the new trends in foreign trade. Economic self-

sufficiency became not merely a watch-word but a rigid policy. The result is that world trade is now no more synonymous with international trade but is the sum-total of trade activity carried on in various nations.

The connection between the economic prosperity of a country and its foreign trade is quite uncertain. India's case illustrates the argument for a country of the size and population of India, her internal trade is of far greater importance than her foreign trade. But for a small country like the United Kingdom, her very prosperity is dependent on her foreign trade. As India develops her industries, she would gradually reduce the demand for foreign imports. Her exports will also diminish partly if we buy less from other countries, they will buy less of our goods

and partly because the raw materials formerly exported would be utilised at home. The immediate consequence of her industrial development will be a decline in her foreign trade. There are additional reasons why we must look for prosperity more in terms of the development of internal trade than in terms of foreign trade. International trade is being strangled by exchange restrictions—quota agreements and tariffs. India is pledged to a policy of protection for her industries. This limits the sphere of bargaining power with other countries. Lastly, agricultural revolution abroad, by reducing the cost of production of agricultural products in foreign countries and the adoption of agricultural protection by them, have made the regaining of economic prosperity for us in terms of revival of our export trade very difficult.

The changed conditions call for a re-orientation of our aims and means to achieve them. The railway rate policy can be an important lever for the industrial progress of our country. The connection between transport and industries has always been a very intimate one. The beneficial effects sought from a well-meant tariff policy may be discounted or even nullified by an indifferent or a perverse transport policy. In their own interest the railways in India must revise their rate policy. The tempo of economic development in our country cannot be checked. It may be accelerated or obstructed by a progressive or a conservative railway policy. Railway finances are not in a happy position even now. The future prosperity of our country rests on the development of her vast resources. Railways can make their contribution towards that and also benefit themselves.

Railway rate policy in the past discouraged Indian manufacturing industries. The port rates were less than the internal rates. The result of this policy has been the congestion of industries in port towns. The Industrial Commission recommended that "internal traffic should be rated as nearly as possible on an equality with traffic of the same class over similar distances to and from the ports". Complaints regarding unfair railway rates on raw materials transported from other parts of India and on their manufactured goods despatched to the various markets were made by Indian industrialists before the Indian Fiscal Commission. The inequity and the anomaly of the railway rate policy in India was forcibly pointed out by the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, in their Memorandum submitted to the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee (1937).

A comparison of the freight charged by various railway lines for port and internal traffic substantiates the defective railway rating policy. The freights charged on piece-goods from Bombay to up-country consuming centres are cheaper per maund per unit than those charged from factories situated in the hinterland of the country. Moreover numerous station to station rates are quoted from the port towns. This method of rate quoting is only occasionally adopted in respect of internal mill centres and places them at a disadvantage in competition with the importer.

On the solemn plea of port and inter-railway competition, the Indian railways have kept rates at port towns like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Karachi lower, just enough to cover their supplementary costs and leave a residual share to meet the fixed costs, whereas the internal traffic has to bear not only its share of the total costs but also of the total traffic. Thus the internal traffic has to maintain the railway system and the imported traffic reaps the advantage by paying a little over its out-of-pocket

expenses. The practice of attracting extra traffic at costs just a little above its supplementary costs is permitted and prevalent in railroad competition, but this is true only to the extent of utilizing the unused capacity of the plant which would otherwise run to waste. This, however, cannot and does not hold good of the imported traffic which pours in from every port of India in considerable bulk. The inter-railway competition, especially when most of the railways serving the major ports are both State-owned and State-managed, is highly pernicious and suicidal to Indian trade and industry. A co-ordinated transport policy, embracing all the varied transport agencies, is the proper remedy.

Another peculiarity of the railway rate policy in India is that different railway systems are considered as separate units in through booking. This is highly detrimental to the industrial development of the country as telescopic rates are not quoted on the entire distance traversed by a given consignment. The cost of transport on internal transit is consequently unduly high. "Cement despatched from Porebunder to Ahmedabad has to pay higher freight than that from Bombay to Ahmedabad, because in the former case the consignment has to travel over the Porebunder, Gondal and Bhavnagar State Railways before it reaches Wadhwan, from where it is taken over by the B. B. & C. I. Railway to be carried over to Ahmedabad, while in the latter case the consignment is carried direct to Ahmedabad by the B. B. & C. I. Railway alone." Again, coal carried from Bengal coal-fields to Amritsar does not get the benefit of a through rate on the total distance, because the traffic passes over the E. I. R. & N.W.R. This is due to the individualistic policy pursued by the railways even when the different railway zones are State-owned and State-managed.

The unanimous protests of the commercial bodies against the recent surcharge on coal have gone unheeded. Coal is the sinews of industries. Moreover, unlike

England, Indian coal-fields are centralised in a part of our country. The incidence of railway rates of coal on industry proves burdensome.

When we examine the case of the Paper industry, we witness a very welcome change in the railway rate policy.

The special station-to-station rates which the railways quoted on the imported traffic in pre-War years, denying similar facilities to the local mills, have fortunately become things of the past. *Per contra*, the rates position to-day is just the reverse. While the local mills are quoted special station-to-station rates to more important consuming centres, both on actual weight and on wagon load consignments, the imported traffic gets the concession only to a few markets and that too due to port competition. This has helped the mills considerably in marketing their output and gives a substantial protection against the competition of the importer. Thus, the railway rates policy supplements the policy of discriminating protection.

It is incumbent on the railways to pursue a similar policy in respect of other industries as well.

Several chambers of commerce complained before the Wedgewood Enquiry Committee (1987) that rates had not been adjusted to changed fiscal conditions and that they facilitate import and export traffic to the detriment of the Indian industries. There is no denying the fact that an erratic railway rate policy may easily frustrate a well-designed protectionist policy. There should be a central authority to regulate and control the railway rates policy in consonance with the needs of the industries at home and also consistent with income to railways. The Railway Rates Advisory Committee in India has not proved equal to the task.

Some chambers advocated the abolition of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee and the appointment in its place a body with mandatory powers like the Railway Rates Tribunal in Great Britain or the Inter-State Commerce Commission in the United States. Another suggestion put

forward was the reorganising of the Railway Advisory Committee on the lines of the Tariff Board.

The Railway Committee supported the retention and the present jurisdiction of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee and made the following recommendations:—

(a) Less time should be occupied in preliminaries, and the procedure generally should be expedited.

(b) The Government should undertake to refer to the Advisory Committee any relevant application and in case of refusal to refer an application to the Committee give reasons for so doing.

(c) A copy of the recommendation of the Committee to the Government should be supplied to the applicant.

(d) The final decision of the Government on the application should be published. The above recommendations would no doubt remove several grievances against the Railway Rates Advisory Committee. But it would not energise it into a

machinery for formulating a forward railway rate policy contenting itself not merely with removing anomalies or inequities in railway rate structure but helping and developing internal trade so far as it is possible through the instrument of a remodelled railway rate structure.

An active and energetic railway rates policy is the desideratum for a quicker economic development. A national rates policy must be in keeping with the changed fiscal policy of the country. Up till now railways have moved passively. They have met a demand where it existed. But railways should not only carry traffic but also create it. This is how railways are worked in foreign countries. "In Germany, railway rates are carefully regulated to serve alike the local industries and agriculture. German railways assist the export trade by preferential tariffs carefully framed to enable the home manufacture to enter home markets on favourable terms and augment the restrictive influence of import duties on import traffic."

THE SUPERPHYSICAL

BY MR. K. BALASUBRAMANIA AIYER, B.A., B.L.

THE question of the truth of the superphysical has been, even from remote antiquity and the primitive periods of human history, a fascinating problem. Primitive man started with an instinctive belief in the superphysical and a superstitious fear of the supernatural. As civilization progressed and the physical sciences advanced, he became sceptical and was inclined to deny the truth of the superphysical and, towards the end of the last century, he leaned altogether on the side of materialism. But the further progress of the physical sciences has again shaken his faith in materialism and

the tendency of the present century has been towards a more scientific appreciation of the truth of the superphysical. We are fast proceeding towards the conviction that "there is a reality beyond the senses which may be cognized". Thus we are reverting to the old belief in the superphysical with this difference that it is now based upon reasoning and scientific evidence. To collect, therefore, all the scientific evidences and data furnished at the present day by advanced research especially in telepathy, clairvoyance and hypnotism and the remarkable discoveries and theories of the

physical sciences about the constitution of the atom and the molecule and the rapid strides made in bio-chemistry and present the facts with clearness of analysis and accuracy of statement is a great and notable contribution to modern culture. It is of immense help to the understanding by the ordinary man of the truth of the superphysical and of its influence on his outlook upon life and its problems. A comprehensive treatment of the subject cannot but include a proper appraising of the philosophic conclusions of the Hindu thinkers. In fact, many centuries ago the Hindu mind without merely resting on the instinctive belief in and superstitious fear of the supernatural had courageously investigated the question philosophically and scientifically, and modern science tends to confirm the truth of most of the conclusions which the Hindu thinkers arrived at with the aid of intuition and philosophic reasoning. Naturally, therefore, we find a Western scientist and philosopher like Mr. Arthur Osborn in his book "The Superphysical" * making frequent references in the chapters on the survival of human personality and on reincarnation to the Hindu conceptions about them and to the Hindu theory of the Law of Karma. In fact, a comparative study of Hindu philosophic theories and conclusions on the survival of the human personality and reincarnation, about matter and mind and the modern scientific reflections on these will give a healthy cultural turn to the mind of the modern English-educated Indian and will have a great influence on his attitude towards his own cultural and religious heritage. It will be a strong antidote to the effects of scepticism,

materialism and the mechanistic conceptions of the universe which get their ingress into his mind on account of his superficial Western education, unaccompanied by a deep study of up-to-date Western thought.

Mr. Osborn has placed in our hands a clear and beautiful review of the evidence furnished by modern science in all its departments including psychic research, establishing the truth of the survival of human personality and showing the extreme probability of reincarnation as a fact and of the mystical state of consciousness. The realisation of the truth of these is a preliminary step towards the attainment of the knowledge of the reality behind the universe, the timeless, spaceless and unchanging Unity. The Hindu reader rises from an engrossing study of this book with a sense of pride and joy that the truths perceived intuitively by his great forefathers are being realised at the present day by the acute and impartial thinkers of the West.

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GANDHIJI AS A PSYCHOLOGIST

By MR. P. SPRATT

ANY popular leader must be something of an expert at psychology. That great demagogue Hitler evidently is. Hitler and Gandhiji have something in common, but they obviously differ greatly. In particular Hitler is far more deliberate about it. He has that intuitive faculty, which Gandhiji also has, which enables him to know what the masses feel and how they will behave; but unlike Gandhiji he has a general theory of propaganda, and devotes much care to working out his appeal in the light of its principles, laboriously arranging even minor details of party propaganda, slogans, uniforms, badges and what not. Gandhiji's appeal also extends to these things. His khadi, his poverty, his style of speech, all might have been designed to further his purpose. But probably they were not designed. He has not sufficient cynicism. In all these cases he does what seems to him right, and what he thinks right usually—not always—happens also to be politically useful.

Gandhiji then, while a supremely good judge of Indian mass psychology, has little to say about it in general terms. He has stated that when speaking to a crowd he can tell how they are reacting by looking at their eyes. But he has never gone into any detail. His spirits are much affected by mass-feeling. When the people are united and agree with him, he is buoyant and confident. When they are divided he suffers a distress evidently more directly felt and more acute than the regret of more calculating politicians. He then says that he feels a sense of weakness, or has lost power. Similarly when he is separated from the people by jail or going abroad, he loses confidence,

Most interesting of all is the idea suggested by some remarks of his that he becomes more sensitive to mass feeling when he fasts.

But of all this he gives no discursive account, and so far as we know has no theory. Though it is so important to him, he is not much interested in the mass-mind. Men in the mass, he has said, are always less moral than individuals. He is concerned with individual psychology, and here he has definite beliefs, derived evidently from his own experience.

When in south Africa he conducted himself through a process, lasting fifteen years or more, of drastic psychological change. Originally weak, timid, sensual, westernised, and totally undistinguished, he emerged just the opposite in all these respects. The initial steps in the process were forced upon him by circumstances, but there is evident throughout a consistent internal drive. The nature of this drive is probably not fully understood by Gandhiji, and if so that is not surprising. But some aspects of it he took up with particular enthusiasm, and on these he has formed general doctrines. They are of course the various departments of his ascetic self-training.

He has always regarded this training as closely related to satyagraha. By its means one is able to develop the qualities of mind necessary to a good satyagrahi. The training is in self-control, that is, suppression of such instinctive urges as are held to be evil. Aggressiveness, pride, sexual desire, fear, and so untruth, all have to be overcome.

The tendency nowadays is to regard suppression and repression with suspicion. Gandhiji admits that the more superficial

kind of suppression is of no use: "Unless there is hearty co-operation of the mind, the mere outward observance will be simply a mask, harmful both to the man himself and to others." This does not mean only that the man is a hypocrite. In the case of a satyagrahi he will be weak; he may be unable to overcome his fear.

On this point there are many very clear statements. Some non-co-operators were tempted to give a thrashing to the C. I. D. men who were annoying them. He told them to suppress their anger, "bottle up all your rage," "and you will rise braver men." Anger is transformed not only into courage but into energy or power. ".... anger controlled can be transmuted into a power which can move the world." "Subduing of one's anger was a storing up of valuable energy." "If we had honestly regulated our thought and speech in the strictest harmony with the outward act, we would never have experienced the fatigue we are doing." He has frequently pointed out the association between anger and helplessness.

Evil thoughts and emotions then must be expelled from the region of consciousness. But Gandhiji is clear that this cannot be effected in general without sublimation. Action is a necessary part of the process of conversion. "Religiously considered, success is there for the individual so soon as he has acted on the principle he holds." By making people collect and burn cloth he diverted their hatred "from men to things." The civil disobedience movement was intended in part to "save the country from impending lawlessness" by giving the "party of violence" something else to do.

The success of the campaigns he has led is evidence of the soundness of his ideas on this question. It also confirms his views on repression as a discipline. In these campaigns large numbers of quite ordinary people have been able to perform remarkable feats of endurance, and their unexpected strength is no doubt due to the spirit Gandhiji inspired in them. There seem to be two ways of dealing with such circumstances of strain and suffering. One is the usual soldier's method, of release from normal restraints in other relations—drink, smoking, sex, language, brutality—whereby the self-control necessary for facing danger and submitting to discipline can be maintained. The other is the method of Cromwell's Army of Saints, perhaps in some degree the troops of the Prophet and the first Caliphs, probably many of the Bolsheviks, and clearest of all, Gandhiji's satyagrahis. We cannot say that the latter method would suffice against the severest strains, but the evidence suggests that it is generally more effective.

In particular one would expect this method to be superior as a means of increasing energy and attaining to higher levels of positive achievement. Gandhiji's personal case is an obvious instance, and probably experience supports this view. It may go some way to defend Gandhiji's theory against the accusation that he demands too much of ordinary men. If they will embark on the course he suggests, they will often find that they can do far more than they supposed.

Gandhiji believes further that even when suppression and some degree of sublimation have been achieved, the struggle may still proceed in the unconscious. In contrast to physical weapons, he has said, truth

and non-violence "reside in the human breast and they are actively working their way whether you are awake or whether you are asleep." A true brahmachari must control even his dreams. He must search about in the corners of his mind, expelling improper thoughts. This applies primarily to sex, but not only. Pride is also spoken of in the same way.

In Gandhiji's view, brahmacharya and satyagraha are closely associated, but the connection has not been very satisfactorily explained. Brahmacharya is said to confer physical and psychological benefits of the familiar type, and to safeguard one engaged in public service from distractions such as a family to support. These are relevant to the requirements of satyagraha. Beyond these however are cited in Gandhiji's advocacy only the spiritual and religious value of brahmacharya and his disgust at sexuality. It is impossible not to feel the contrast between the vehemence of his attachment to brahmacharya and the weakness of his case for it.

It is not that sexuality has been of outstanding importance in Gandhiji's own experience. That is a common assumption, supported by the frankness of his autobiography, but it is probably not so. His own greatest enemy is pride.

It is true that, as suggested above, a regime of self-restraint is generally more effective for being thorough. A loose sexual life might go together with fairly strict observance of truth and the rest, but it is rather unlikely. Gandhiji is clear that all these matters are closely related. Many of his dietetic reforms were initiated as aids to brahmacharya. This however does not explain his fanaticism on the point.

I am not here concerned with the causes of Gandhiji's peculiarities, but one

contributory factor in the insistence on brahmacharya is relevant. This is his conception of leadership. He likes to ask others to do nothing which he is not ready to do himself. On this principle a leader must try to attain, and must in some degree approach, moral perfection. Brahmacharya is part of Gandhiji's ideal, and he would prefer men to observe it, but he does not seriously expect many to do so. His moral principles are those, not of an academic theorist, but of a practical leader, a propagandist.

This fact is important. Gandhiji's moral principles are commonly attacked as impossibly difficult. In their complete form they are. But as he has often asked, what is the use of an ideal if it is attainable? The effort to attain to it is for him perhaps more valuable than success. There is no need to point out that application of this doctrine in Gandhian politics: it is one of his most familiar principles. It is important also as throwing light on the content of his moral teaching, and showing its relation to existing conditions.

I need make no apology for entering upon the subject of morals. It is impossible to separate any aspect of Gandhiji's work from morality, and this is obviously true of his psychological doctrine. He discusses less what psychological development is than what it ought to be.

His moral ideal is attacked not only as impossibly difficult, but as intrinsically wrong. Dr. Tagore voiced this criticism many years ago, and the Marxists, especially Mr. M. N. Roy, have emphasised it recently. The ideal of renunciation, they say, is radically unsound. Life must be accepted, and enjoyed.

Now Gandhiji certainly holds his ideal as ultimately valid, as fit to be pursued

for its own sake; and in their objection to it as an ideal, I venture to think that Dr. Tagore and Mr. Roy are right. But that is not its only significance. Its contemporary importance is as an example, as I have said, of effort rather than of achievement, a stimulus to struggle, to self-development; and this I believe to be valuable. The Marxists point out that it has the opposite effect upon the poorer classes: it suggests to them a policy of adaptation to low incomes rather than one of effort to increase their incomes. So far as this is the case I agree that it is to be deplored. But it suggests to poor as well as rich an effort of another kind, and this perhaps the critics overlook.

It is strange that they should do so, since many of the Indian Communists themselves lead lives of exemplary austerity; and the Bolsheviks generally followed a similar practice. Lenin can rightly be called an ascetic. He enjoyed Pushkin and the *Apassionata*; but then Gandhiji likes Tulsiidas and *Ragupati Raghava Raja Ram*. Lenin did not think the general adoption of his habit of life a specially desirable thing, and so said very little on the point. He did however make some pronouncements on sex, and in spite of the somewhat bohemian traditions of continental socialism, and the revolutionary effects of science and technique upon sexual relations, he took what would be regarded as a moderately conservative view. Gandhiji on the other hand thinks asceticism is generally important, and so makes a parade of it. Lenin's taste in music was certainly sounder, but Gandhiji is probably right on the latter question.

Life in any community requires instinctive renunciation. In the earlier stages of social development the necessary discipline is enforced by direct social pressure. Such is the case in the traditional social order of India. But the old order breaks down, and if it is not replaced by a new social discipline, and if it is not to be succeeded by a war of all against all and a relapse into the "Morals of the pigstye" it must be succeeded by an individual, self-directed discipline. The old order in India is passing, but there is not yet to be seen any adequate substitute. It seems most likely to be succeeded by the anarchy characteristic of capitalism. That anarchy at its worst is very unpleasant, but its rigours can be mitigated by the presence of the kind of men whom the Gandhian training produces: men of conscience, who because they can restrain themselves, can give others their due.

This is not mere empty theory. A police officer of long experience, an Englishman, once told me that he did not approve of the conversion of untouchables to Christianity, since in his experience it led to a marked increase of vice and crime. Their Christianity was of course very superficial: its principal effect was to destroy their respect for their traditional social order. Ultimately some substitute for the old system is required, and it is not provided spontaneously.

Gandhiji's is not the only possible plan. A population might proceed from a mediaeval social order direct to a socialist one, missing out Gandhiji's bourgeois phase. This must have happened over much of Russia. But the problem is not thereby avoided. If

socialism is to be worth having it must depend upon a free and enlightened individual consent, and the necessary discipline must be maintained by each man in response to his own conscience. It is worth noticing that recently Russian opinion on moral questions has become markedly puritanical. They are finding the truth of Gandhiji's view that the self-education of the individual requires all-round self-restraint.

Dr. Tagore and Mr. Roy criticise Gandhiji's as an ultimate ideal. I think they are right; but I believe that any ideal acceptable to them would involve a sub-

stantial element of Gandhian asceticism. I do not suppose that an aesthete of Dr. Tagore's type, and still less a Marxist, would advocate the ideal of the lotus-eater. Marxists freely accuse the luxurious bourgeoisie of "degeneracy." Gandhiji is to be criticised not as ultimately or wholly wrong, but as taking a one-sided or extreme view. He is after all a propagandist.

I believe therefore that whether the future of India is to be capitalistic or socialistic, Gandhiji's example of self-training through ascetic renunciation is valuable, and that socialists who condemn it are undermining their own position.

Centralisation vs. Decentralisation

By SRI. J. C. KUMARAPPA

EVERY instrument has to be shaped to fulfil the purpose for which it is intended if it is to function efficiently. We cannot drive a nail into the wall with a watch nor cut a furrow through the field with a pen-knife. We should use a hammer for the first and a plough for the second purpose. If this is so in the mechanical world, how much more important it is to use proper methods in the social and economic spheres. Yet how many give any thought to fitness of instruments they recommend as the means. Centralisation or decentralisation methods are but instruments for social and economic ends. Therefore we have to weigh carefully the claims of either systems to suit our purpose before we can launch out on a definite programme.

THE GOAL OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM

No one of us is likely to question the purpose of an economic order which may be stated for clarity's sake as follows:—

1. It should create wealth as efficiently as possible.
2. It should distribute wealth widely and evenly.
3. It should supply the needs of the people before comforts and luxuries are catered for.
4. It should be a means for eliciting all the faculties of the worker and developing his personality.
5. It should be conducive to peace and harmony of society.

CENTRALISATION

Centralisation has been the result of five main causes.

1. Wherever there is to be found accumulated capital with a few persons who seek to keep a close and watchful eye over their investments, they prefer centralised methods. We find a good example of this in Great Britain. When she got the hoarded wealth of India, she

resorted to this form of production in the eighteenth century.

ii. When there is a good deal of pressing work and there is a scarcity of labour, perforce man grows extra hands in the form of tools or mechanism. A good example of this is the growth of industrialisation in U. S. A. America's vast distances, virgin forests and mighty rivers obstructed man's progress through the continent. People who could be harnessed to this work were few, hence the great conquest of natural forces.

iii. Wherever standardised articles are needed, centralisation is essential to multiply a particular kind of article on a mass scale. Such need may arise out of two causes: (a) Functionally, where the article, by its very nature calls for standard parts, e.g., motor cars, railway rolling stock, etc., and (b) purposive, where it is necessary because large numbers need identically similar articles as in the case of military equipment; examples of this may be seen in the militaristic nations of today: Italy, Germany and Japan.

iv. Centralisation in production may again be resorted to where labour is plentiful and it has to be manoeuvred to a plan of work as in the case of Soviet Russia where regimentation of labour was resorted to to bring about quick results.

v. Again, it may be necessary when raw materials, manufacture and markets are wide apart. It is only by unified control that these can be brought together so as to enable the machines to produce steadily and at an economic speed. Japan, Germany and England furnish good examples of these.

We have mentioned only five, but these are not inseparable. In some countries more than one factor may bring about

centralised production. Those situations considered above are to a great extent solved by resorting to centralised production, but the evils attaching to such a method are not avoided. These evils again may be seen to correspond to the five causes.

i. Centralisation, which is the result of accumulation of capital also, leads to concentration of wealth which is the hot-bed of class cleavage.

ii. When scarcity of labour drives men to methods of centralised production, naturally the labour force being few, purchasing power distributed in the process of production is also small. Therefore, this inevitability leads to shortage in purchasing power and ultimately decreases the effectiveness of the demand and thus causes relative over-production such as the one we witness in the world today.

iii. Where need for standardisation brings about centralisation of production, there can be no variegation in the product. It also checks progress. By facilitating large scale equipment it encourages warfare.

iv. Regimentation of labour leads to a greater concentration of power which is even more dangerous than concentration of wealth. The greater the numbers held by central control, the greater can the power be.

v. Co-ordination of supplies of raw materials, production and finding markets for finished goods results in imperialism and warfare.

DECENTRALISATION

Let us now turn towards decentralisation and consider under which circumstances it can be used with advantage. Here, again, we shall look at the problem from the corresponding five points.

i. Where there is a scarcity of capital, it is not possible nor is it necessary to have centralisation. The only possibility is

decentralisation. An attempt is being made to meet this by the promotion of Limited Liability Companies to gather in scattered bits of capital, but this does not solve the problem of distribution of wealth. It presents other difficulties.

ii. Where there is a plethora of labour, or in other words, unemployment or under-employment, we shall be increasing the melody by centralising the production.

iii. Diversity and variegation is the very essence of decentralisation. Where this is needed, no machine can compete with hand-work, more especially where the hand-work has to be the expression of a personality.

iv. If democracy is to be attained, decentralisation lays the required foundation as centralisation kills all initiative in the masses, they succumb readily to central dictatorship. Centralisation is the grave of democracy.

v. Where raw materials and markets are in the proximity of the producing centres, decentralisation methods will serve well.

i. Decentralisation makes for more even distribution of wealth and makes people tolerant.

ii. The process of production includes distribution of wealth also, as a large part of the cost goes to pay for the labour. Better distribution of purchasing power leads to effective demand and producing is directed into a supply of needs as the supply here will follow demand.

iii. As each producer becomes an entrepreneur, he gets plenty of scope to exercise his initiative with the responsibility of the business on his shoulders, business-like methods and habits will be formed. When every individual develops himself, the average intelligence of the nation will increase.

iv. The market being close to the centre of production, there is not much difficulty in selling the goods nor have we to create an artificial market by forced salesmanship.

v. Without centralisation of either wealth or power, there can be no disturbance of peace on a world-wide scale.

A glance at the above analysis should leave no doubt as to what will suit conditions in our own country. Of course, as regards key industries and public utilities there is no alternative to centralisation, but this can be done either co-operatively or by socialising such industries.

It must be clearly remembered that when we advocate decentralisation, it does not mean that we eschew all machinery. Where machines work as tools or slaves of man, we need them and have to improve the existing ones and invent new ones. It is only when machine is used to transfer the benefit of one man's labour to another that we have to cry a halt.

Under such circumstances machine becomes the master and man becomes a slave. As far as circumstances in our country go, decentralised methods are the only remedy for the ills we suffer from—lack of initiative, want of a sense of responsibility, looseness in business methods, wide-spread poverty, unemployment and under-employment.

Decentralised methods of production have an educative value, which no nation that wishes to progress and is willing to take advantage of every opportunity open to it for the purpose can afford to ignore with immunity. Centralised methods of production offer no such educational values to the worker; on the contrary its strain and stress makes the man deteriorate whatever material contributions it may make to his animal needs. Let us not, therefore, blindly follow the shadow and lose the substance.

THE QUEST FOR EMPIRE

By PROF. V. THYAGARAJAN, M.A.

THE quest for Empire* is the caption of the book, in which Prof. Husain gives an account of the expansionist policy of three major powers of today. The rapid advance of Japan on Central Asia, Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, and Nazi Germany's staggering ambitions to find for herself a place in the colonial Sun—these incidents, if only they are understood as mere manifestations of this expansionist policy, will help us to follow the tangled international situations of the present time.

The industrially advanced Nations of today are usually recognised under two categories: the Haves and the Have-nots, and to the latter denomination belong Japan, Italy, and Germany. The desire for colonies is particularly strong among them as they find that almost all the prized territories of the World are in the possession of Great Britain, U. S. A., France, Russia, etc., the Haves or the satiated powers as they are called. As such, the three Have-nots joined the last world war hoping to gain more territories to their credit. Though Italy and Japan were on the camp of the victors, their expectations were belied after the War, and they felt 'betrayed' at Versailles; vanquished Germany lost all that she had previously owned and so denounced the Versailles arrangement as a Monstrous vendetta.

Besides this general dissatisfaction at the post-War Versailles arrangement, Japan, Italy, and Germany were and are egged on in their colonial pursuit by such common causes as population pressure, economic needs, the spread of autocratic and militarist ideas. The choice for these countries, therefore, seems to be, in the words of Signor Mussolini, between foreign expansion and domestic explosion. No doubt, the Geo-politicians, led by Ratzel, Kjellen, and Haushofer, will explain the expansionist policy as produced by

geographical factors; even so, the historical materialists of the type of Lenin, Trotsky, and Bukharin will see in such an imperialistic expansion only the last and inevitable stage in the development of capitalism.

Mr. Husain, while fully alive to the significance of the explanations offered by both schools of thought, regards their theories as one-sided. The economic utility of colonies appears to be the strongest impetus governing this expansionist movement. Colonies absorb the surplus population of the densely populated mother country; they supply raw materials and food-stuffs and offer a market for the industrial output of the imperialist mother. Colonies are also coveted for the supply of man power in which the mother country is deficient. Lastly, strategic and political considerations, patriotism and national pride often compel States to extend their dominion. This theory of colonial utility is, however, not accepted by one school of thought, especially the English publicists, who maintain that the colonies do not pay but are only "mill stones hung round the neck". The author fearlessly exposes the insincerity of this contention. He asks, if it were to be so, "why should the Haves object to a redistribution of the colonial world", especially when such an amicable settlement can ease the tense international situation and save humanity from the horrors of yet another World War.

In three different chapters, the learned Reader in Modern History describes the present quest for Empire in detail from the points of view indicated above. The description is lucid and interesting, not mere dry-as-dust. Evidently the author expects nothing, fears nothing, as one who loves truth and liberty, and all through the book one sees in the writer, not the partisan politician but the veracity-loving historian. The value of the neat little book is enhanced by the appendices and maps therein, but one should very much like the author to include in the subsequent reprints an index,

* *The Quest for Empire*. By Mahmud Husain, M.A. Reader in Modern History, University of Dhaka. Price Rs. 2 or 4th. ed. Available of G. A. Nispan & Co., George Town, Madras.

THE COOLY PROBLEM OF ASSAM

By MR. SONA RAM DUTT

THE HARIJAN movement, and still more, Mahatma Gandhi's tour in Assam have helped to bring to the foreground the hitherto little heeded problem of reclaiming a large section of the depressed people of the Province, misnamed "Coolies."

The term "Cooly," as applied in Assam, requires an explanation. A labourer indentured from outside the Province for employment on a tea plantation is a "cooly." It were well if it meant that alone and no more. But in course of time the term has acquired a wider connotation and a bad one at that. If the imported labourer has served out his term on the plantation and as a freed man, has settled down in the land as an ordinary cultivator, he would still be called a "cooly", as though it were a caste-name.

Coolies then are tea garden labourers as well as ex-garden labourers settled in Assam. The 1981 Census put the total cooly population of Assam at over 10 lacs, which accounts for one-fourth of the total population of Assam Valley Division.*

As has been stated above, the coolies are outsiders to the Province. The native people have ever preferred their lot as ordinary cultivators to the hard and regular labour on tea gardens; hence this influx of outside labourers. The story of their immigration to Assam is bound up with the story of the growth of the tea industry. Almost every year since the middle of the nineteenth century when the tea plant growing wild in the fertile plains of North Assam was first discovered, opening

out prospects of a great industry, hordes of labourers have been imported from different provinces of India, chiefly Bengal, Behar and Orissa, U. P., G. P., Central India, Madras and Bombay. The following table gives the quota which each province has contributed to the total cooly population of Assam:—

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| Bengal .. | 291,000 |
| Behar and Orissa .. | 472,000 |
| United Provinces .. | 68,000 |
| C. I. Agency .. | 15,000 |
| Central Provinces .. | 82,000 |
| Madras .. | 58,000 |
| Bombay .. | 6,000 |
| Punjab .. | 6,000 |
| Rajputana .. | 22,000 |
| Burma .. | 8,000 |
| Rest of India .. | 57,000 |

The above figures have been taken from the Census Report of 1981. It will be seen that Behar and Orissa have contributed the largest quota, while Bengal with her 8 lacs (mostly Behari-speaking) comes second. These figures also include labourers employed on mills, oilfields, coalmines, etc. But by far the largest number of coolies are employed on tea gardens.

Below is given another table, also taken from the Census Report, showing the distribution of the cooly population district by district:—

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Lakhimpur .. | 235,000 |
| Sibsagar .. | 239,000 |
| Darrang .. | 123,000 |
| Nowgong .. | 22,000 |
| Other Districts .. | 6,000 |

Looking at the map of Assam the reader will find that coolies are more numerous in the north-eastern districts than in others. It is easily explained by the fact that these districts have by far the larger number of tea areas. Coalmines, oilfields, etc., absorb only 10,000 labourers. These too are mostly situated in the north-eastern districts.

* The total population of Assam Valley Division is 48,56,711 and the total cooly population is 10,58,000 including the ex-garden coolies.

The above table showing the distribution of the cooly population in the districts, leaves out the cooly settlers, that is to say, those ex-tea garden labourers who have left their gardens and settled down in their neighbourhoods. The exact figure of these settlers is not available, but we can roughly put it at 6 lacs.

COOLY CASTES

The bulk of the garden labourers are Hindus. There are not a few Christians among them, all newly converted to that faith after their arrival in Assam. The few Muslims among the coolies are also new converts. Conversion by force is not infrequent.

The very fact that they have left their own homes and friends to face the unknown, hundreds of miles away, speaks volumes; the conditions under which they lived, moved and had their being in their own lands, must have been bad enough to urge them to surrender themselves in the hands of labour recruiting officers in the hope of obtaining a better living.

Naturally enough, therefore, these labourers are recruited from the poorest classes. They belong to the lowest strata of the Hindu society, and as to their castes, their name is legion. The more important castes as well as the number of coolies belonging to each of them, are given below:— (in thousands)

| | | | | | | |
|--------|----|--------|----|--------|----|--------------|
| Assa | 5 | Goala | 22 | Bhumij | 30 | Santhale and |
| Bhatri | 34 | Gond | 31 | Munda | 78 | other castes |
| Bora | 30 | Kamar | 30 | Araon | 19 | |
| Chamar | 37 | Kurmi | 14 | Tanti | 60 | |
| Chas | 17 | Bhuiya | 38 | Turi | 12 | |

People coming under the majority of the above-named castes would be regarded as untouchables in their own provinces. Castes such as Goala, Kamar, Kurmi, and some others are no doubt exceptions. But in Assam they are all alike; coolies are all

untouchables more or less, not so much as belonging to this or that caste, but because they are outsiders for one thing, and they are poor, their manners and customs crude, their habits unclean and they have very little culture.

Because of their low origin, want of culture, poverty, strange customs and unclean habits, the coolies are looked down upon by other classes. A glance at the list of castes to which they belong, will show that they form the lowest strata of Hindu society as much in their provinces of origin as in Assam; with this difference, however, that whereas in the former they are as such by reason of their birth, in Assam they are so by reason of their foreign origin as well as low economic condition.

I need hardly dwell on the lack of cultural growth among these people. They have for long ages been wallowing in the abysmal depths of ignorance and superstition; and no attempts worth mentioning have so far been made to lift the dark veil. Barring some sporadic attempts of old-fashioned religious institutions (satras) to initiate coolies here and there into their folds, neither employers nor public bodies have so far felt the necessity of instituting uplift work among them.

Their poverty is a corollary of the conditions under which they work as well as of their vices. In point of industry they compare favourably with the Assamese people. They work hard; they slave for their masters like team-bulls. But they little know that as labourers they are entitled to the enjoyment of certain rights and they can hardly dream of fighting for these rights.

The king of vices to which coolies as a class are a prey is liquor. What pittance they earn is swallowed up by drink, leaving barely enough for the necessities of life. The week end sees them given up to drinking orgies. Grog-shops are within easy reach; there are canteens too on the gardens themselves. Men, women and even children are ardent devotees of Bacchus. Drinking forms a necessary part of all festive and religious occasions. One vice leads on to another. Drinking weakens the moral fibre. Labourers possessing a degree of cultural and moral growth come now and then; but they soon shed their distinctive qualities and sink down to the level of their less developed fellow workers.

Go to a tea garden. What was at one time an uninviting, unchartered sea of forest has now been transformed into a beauty spot. Your admiring eyes will sweep over acres and acres of tea bushes. If you have the poetic vein, you will no doubt wax rapturous over the green verdure of the neat, uniform and unending rows of tea shrubs blending with the blue of the distant horizon. You will admire the luxurious bungalows of the manager and other superior officers, nestling among green lawns and flower-beds under shading trees. You will appreciate the beauty of the garden the more by contrast with the wretched huts straggling away on the fringe of the jungle-land skirting the plantations. Here dwell those whose sweating toil in sun and rain from morn till evening has reared the gold-yielding plant and keeps the garden going. If you are fastidious, you will hate to go near those human habitations whose very air is depressing and sight ungainly. The squalor and wretchedness of the inside will startle you: you will find man and fowl and

beast huddling together, a few square feet of space doing duty for kitchen, bedroom, store and what not.

No wonder, therefore, that the hapless, sodden cooly, living under such miserable conditions, shows aversion to all progressive ideas. Educational facilities he has none. Lest you blame the Government for their indifference in the matter, they will refer you to a rusty piece of legislation which calls on the garden authorities to provide for the primary education of cooly children. Nor can you put the blame on the garden authorities, for they too will point to you an open shed as the school building and deplore the lack of interest among the labourers, so that the shed has ever remained empty or has been otherwise utilized.

The 1921 Census Report put the figure of literate persons among coolies at 5859 out of a total 922,000. The Census Officer of 1931 did not consider it worth while to count the number afresh and is definitely of the opinion that there is no reason to believe that the proportion has increased. How can things be otherwise when neither garden authorities nor government nor public bodies have felt the necessity, not to speak of making any serious attempts, to spread education among them? Despite factory legislations, children labourers known as 'chokras' are not infrequent on gardens.

I have essayed above to present to the reader as true a picture of the so-called cooly as is possible within a brief compass. I had the honour of laying a short paper on the subject before Mahatma Gandhi during his recent tour in Assam. Extracts from it appeared in 'Harijan' of June 1, 1934. These and Gandhi's

illuminating comment thereon are quoted below :—

The unobtrusive cooly, the poverty-stricken, drunken illiterate outcast of the Hindu society is indeed presenting a baffling problem. Left to himself, he will go on as he has gone on for the past half-century and over, slaving like a team-bull for his master, dragging on a pitiful existence and drowning his sufferings in sorrow. But we can no longer afford to ignore him. He has come to stay, has taken root in our soil and has multiplied so numerously as to constitute an important factor in the social, economic and political structure of the province.

It will not do to dismiss the cooly as an outsider and treat him as a foreign element unworthy of our notice. Our nonchalance towards him in the past has been but a testimony to our shortsightedness and has proved of advantage to proselytizing agencies. It will not do to look on with apathy at this vast mass of helpless Hindus to whom life is but drudgery and drink and no more. The time has come when we must take a broad view of the matter and regard the cooly as a member of our community, a permanent element of our body politic. The time really has come when we must go to him and lift the veil of ignorance from him and point the way to progress through education and industry.

The coolies have come to Assam from almost all provinces of India. Most of them would be regarded as untouchables in their provinces of origin. By their aloofness, their habits and customs, and linguistic differences and low economic condition, they constitute a distinct class in Assam, which is as bad as untouchable.

Our activities should aim at absorption of the cooly into our society by making him give up his unclean habits, by providing him with facilities to come more and more in touch with the native people, by inducing him to adopt the religious and social customs of the Hindus, and last but not least, by bringing education to his door.

Coolies are hardworking. Given proper facilities they can earn enough; but they are much addicted to drinking. Vigorous propaganda against this drink habit must be organised.

Although his stay in our midst is all too brief, yet, it is hoped, Gandhiji will give his thought to the hapless cooly and see for himself the conditions in which he lives, moves and has his being. What little time he will devote to the cooly will reveal to his vigilant eyes a world of information. Gandhiji will no doubt appreciate the many difficulties that stand in our way, the chief among them being want of funds. He will, it is hoped, evolve a scheme of work as well as device ways and means to work it out.

It will not be out of place to mention here many other hapless masses of people whose lot is as dark as, may be even darker than, that of the coolies: the Miris, Mikirs, Nagas, etc. These also demand attention.

We are proverbially poor. Our resources are very limited. Our geographical aloofness prevents

our voice being heard beyond our boundaries. Our problems are many, and it is as clear as daylight that, left to ourselves, we cannot work out their solutions. We are in dire need of help and sympathy from the more advanced sister provinces.

Mahatmaji has made the following comment on the paper :—

I can agree from personal experience with much of what the writer has to say. The very word coolie is a misnomer and reminds one of what happens in South Africa. Instead of meaning a labourer or a porter, the word came to be applied in South Africa to designate the bearer's nationality, and became a word of reproach. An Indian merchant, barrister or doctor was known as a coolie merchant, etc. So, in Assam, the Indian who went from another province to work on the tea estates remained a coolie even after the termination of his contract as a labourer and even though he ceased to be a labourer and became a land-owner. But being industrious, he has multiplied in Assam and yet remains in perfect isolation and ostracism. It is a suicidal policy that keeps him so. He cannot be driven out of Assam. Being grossly neglected, he has become an economic waste. If these men were properly taken care of, they would become an asset of first class importance. It is upto the educated peoples of Assam to study this problem and solve it to the benefit of all concerned. It does not require an outlay of money so much as it requires an outlay of intelligence and industry.

It must be noted in conclusion that the problem is receiving the attention of the Harijan Sangh who have already made a small beginning in a restricted cooly area by opening primary schools for cooly children, 'namghors' (socio-religious institutions), and carrying on propaganda against drink and opium evils through itinerant preachers. Systematic and sustained work even on these lines will no doubt bring about a world of difference and improvement in the lot of the hitherto neglected cooly. As Mahatmaji has rightly said, an intelligent and devoted band of workers with breadth of mind and sympathy, can work wonders among these industrious settlers who, freed from the bondage of liquor and other baneful vices, will indeed be an asset to the province.

Local Autonomy in Medieval South India

By MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI

SOUTH India had, from the 5th century A. D. onwards, an elaborate and developed polity. It remained more or less a common continuous type under the various dynasties—the Pallavas, the Cholas, and the Naicks—who in historic succession held universal sway over the peninsula. We proceed to describe it, adopting the well known division of governmental functions into Central and Local.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Central Government consisted of a hereditary king and ministers, five or more, who carried on the general administration with a number of secretaries and subordinates under them. It had the entire management and administration of the revenue, declared war and peace, raised armies and exercised the highest judicial authority. It passed regulations, it granted or confirmed charters to town and village assemblies, made gifts of land or assignment of taxes in favour of temples, colleges, and municipal corporations. It was of the ordinary Indian or personal type, subject to the devolution in the local sphere of important administrative and judicial functions to popular district and village assemblies.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT—"DISTRICT" ASSEMBLIES

A division of the country into areas comprising a number of villages and towns is found all over South India in the middle ages and they are, under the various dynasties and in the several linguistic areas, called variously—Nadu, Kurram, etc. The assemblies had partial administration of these local divisions. As regards their composition, they consisted

of the leading men of the various towns and villages in the division (mahajanas, nattars). The assemblies were in some cases presided over by the prince or a royal officer and discharged their functions in conjunction with him.

The assembly of Venad, a district of Travancore, consisted of 600 "blameless men" and exercised supervision over a certain temple and its income within its jurisdiction. The same jurisdiction over temples is borne out by two scattered inscriptions of the Chola country—(Madras Government Epigraphist's report 1905, p. 52 and 1915 pages 106 to 108). They recite that the assembled residents of Paranthakanadu and Rathapadi Konda Chola Valama Nadu levied or determined certain items of revenue or income to be paid to particular temples. These assemblies seem to have had also some power to levy certain cesses or taxes where village assemblies did not exist. One solitary inscription from the reign of Kulothunga III (Mer. 1915 page 99) suggests that the assemblies were in a way entrusted with the police of their districts.

The most important functions of these assemblies were judicial. A number of inscriptions contain accounts of several cases, civil as well as criminal, which were decided in these large and popular assemblies. Along with the village assemblies with the decided cases arising within the limits of the village, these popular district tribunals were the chief civil and criminal courts of the land.

The district assemblies of the East coast remained purely municipal, exercising administrative and judicial functions under

the ægis of the Chola and Naick Kings. In course of time they gained in power and prestige and had an established tenure. The district assemblies of the West coast tried however to develop into more national bodies, or parliaments, seeking to control the king and his administration. They were often summoned by the king when great administrative matters had to be decided and they sometimes met of their own accord. Their activities however often brought them into conflict with the king; and, in the wars and jealousies which sprang up among the numerous small kingdoms into which Malabar was divided, the assemblies finally lost their power.

VILLAGE ASSEMBLIES

The other important element in the local half of the Dravidian polity was the village assembly. The assembly comprised almost all the inhabitants of the village or township on very low property qualification—an acre and a half of land and a house. In some cases—in Brahmin villages—we find even a moiety of the above property was held sufficient qualification in case the owner was read in a Veda. So that, having regard to the low property qualification prescribed for the membership of the assembly, we may assume that it comprised almost all the inhabitants of the village except the purely landless ones who should have been very few in number. The assembly in towns and villages usually met in special halls constructed for the purpose in temples—many such halls, we know, existed in the great temples of Tanjore, Tiruvadamamruthur, Cuddalore and others. In the smaller rural areas or villages proper, the assembly held its session under a big tree of the village.

THEIR COMMITTEES AND MODE OF GOVERNMENT

The village assembly—which is the phrase usually current in Epigraphist's reports, though we should remember that the name "Village" is indifferently applied to villages proper as well as townships—was not a mere deliberative body but actually governed and carried on, by means of large committees, the entire daily administration of the village. This type of government may be compared if I may be permitted to compare these municipal assemblies with more celebrated sovereign bodies—with the best type of democratic government in Greek City-states. The village assembly divided itself into, or choose by lot out of its members, various committees which administered all the affairs of the village. The more important among them are—(following the Uttaramallur inscription)—the general or annual supervision committee, the Tank Committee, the Garden Supervision committee, the Coin committee, a committee for the collection of cesses. These should have been common to almost all the village assemblies. The other committees met with inscriptions from other localities are the committee for the supervision of charities, committee for supervision of wards (Kudumba), committee for looking after ascetics, temple committee and committee for the measurement of land.

The annual supervision committee (*samvatsaravariam*) may be called the general and leading executive committee of the village assembly and had a superior position to that of the remaining committees. It looked after the conduct and administration by the other committees. In places where a committee for decision of cases or committee of justice was not specially appointed, it has been surmised

that the annual supervision committee exercised the judicial functions. It was also intimately associated with the management of temples and other public institutions (E. R. 1916 page 116). Next in importance is the committee for justice where it existed separately. As inscriptions show, it decided all cases arising within the village, both civil and criminal. One of the inscriptions dealing with this committee speaks of a woman sitting thereon (E. R. 1910 Page 99) which proves that women also, if they possessed the necessary property qualification, had the suffrage and sat on the assembly and committees. The tank and garden supervision committees, important in the districts of Southern India lying outside the Cauvery river-system, looked to the storing of water in tanks, the removal of silt therefrom, the maintenance of irrigation channels and so forth and were in possession of a large part of village funds for the said purposes. Charities and temple committees seem to have been purely supervisory in character, since the temples, colleges and other foundations had their own officers, accountants and servants to manage the properties. The Gold supervision committee is an interesting limb of the village assembly. The committee was probably intended to ascertain the purity of the coins that were current in the village. This should have been an important municipal care when the modern facilities for the issuing of coins of a standard size and purity were unknown.

I may follow the Uttaramallur inscriptions in describing the rules for the election and appointment of these committees. It may be remembered that Uttaramallur was an exceptionally large village or perhaps groups of villages—as we find that it

consisted of twelve hamlets divided into 80 wards. (1) After excluding all those who were disqualified from holding office on account of heinous offences or misconduct in committee (the details of which are set out fully in the inscription referred to), each ward shall prepare a packet of tickets containing the names of all those in that ward possessing the necessary property qualification with a covering ticket specifying their contents. (2) The packets of all the 80 wards shall be put into a pot and one name shall be chosen from each packet by lot. Thirty persons are thus chosen, each belonging to a particular ward. (3) Of these 80 persons, twelve who had already served on the Garden and Tank supervision committees and who are advanced in learning and in age shall be chosen for the annual supervision committee. Of the remaining eighteen, twelve shall be chosen for the garden supervision committee and the remaining six shall form the tank supervision committee. (4) For constituting two more committees, the five-taxes and the gold supervision committees, the same process as mentioned in headings 1 and 2 above is adopted. 80 fresh names are chosen, one from each of the 80 wards; and of these thirty men, twelve are chosen, who in division of six each are constituted into the two committees. When drawing tickets for these two committees next year, the wards which had already been represented during the year in question on these committees shall be excluded and the appointments made from the remaining wards. (5) The members comprising each committee of a particular year shall not be eligible to hold office for three years after expiry of which alone the rules

allowed his name to be written on the pot ticket.

The profoundly democratic character of the village assembly and its administration is apparent in the above arrangements. We have no direct evidence of the number of inhabitants of Uttramallur, but we may roughly estimate the same by taking each ward to contain from 20 to 80 houses which may give us on the whole an adult population of not more than 600 or 700. The number of citizens who sat on the various annual committees mentioned above, supposing that they were the only ones appointed at Uttramallur, were 42; and during three years, there would be 126 different committee members. So that, with, within a period of—say—9 or 12 years, the offices would be held by almost every propertied inhabitant of the village. It was thus a democracy of the direct type wherein each inhabitant or citizen had the opportunity and the means of taking a direct and individual part in the municipal administration. As the original editor and translator of the Uttramallur inscription put it, "the annual change of office-bearers would give every qualified and deserving man an opportunity to get acquainted with the details of village administration. This acquaintance would lead him to take a keen interest in the affairs of the village and in course of time the village assembly would become full of men knowing every detail of the village administration and take a keen interest in it. It would be able to exercise a keen and wholesome control over the committees". It should be remembered that Uttramallur was an exceptionally large village or rather group of villages and its population should have far exceeded the average of other villages. In the generality of villages, we may

take it that the offices more briskly circulated among the inhabitants who were small in number.

THEIR POWERS AND FINANCES

The village assemblies were, in their corporate capacity, the owners of the common lands of the village; and with regard to lands subject to payment of royal revenue, the ultimate ownership, the power of selling or otherwise disposing of the holdings of defaulting tax payers, was vested in the Village Government and not in the King. Connected with it and as a consequence of the above, the right to distribute the revenue to be paid among the various landowners, the right to collect them and the responsibility for arrears, lay with the Village Governments.

The finances of the village assembly consisted of assignments of royal revenue and gifts of lands which were purchased and given over to the village. These formed the permanent source of income of the village assemblies. The gifts of land or of revenue were intended or made for the up-keep of temples, charities, tanks, the last of which were very important in the life of medieval villages and required also heavy annual expenditures. The village assemblies had also a minor power of taxation. They levied fines or imposed cesses.

LOCAL AUTONOMY

IN TWO VOLUMES

BY G. F. F. FOULKES

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THE NEW COCHIN CONSTITUTION

By MR. N. D. VARADACHARIAR

Advocate, Madras High Court

I gladly comply with the request of the Editor of the *Indian Review* to explain briefly the more important features of the new constitution in the Cochin State.

The constitution is embodied in a statute which has been promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja in exercise of his prerogative power and it is laid down that His Highness alone may amend it. The basis of the new constitution is the fact that His Highness is the repository of all powers and jurisdictions in the State, and, in accordance with the provisions made in the Government of Cochin Act, those powers and jurisdictions are devolved on various authorities for being exercised from time to time.

In the executive sphere, His Highness has put it beyond doubt that he does not ever act personally but always upon the advice of and through one of his two accredited constitutional advisers, the Dewan or the Minister. Thus, personal rule as such has formally come to an end in the Cochin State, if indeed it ever existed there except in pure academic theory. The Dewan is not a mere tool in the service of the Maharaja bound to carry out every behest of his, but a constitutional functionary owing specific duties to the Paramount Power as well as to the people, and having the power to tender independent and often binding advice to His Highness. That, I understand, has always been the tradition in Cochin. The Minister, it is abundantly clear from the terms of the Act and the rules and of the various Announcements made by His Highness is a responsible Minister and his advice

will always follow the ruling opinion in the Legislative Council. As such, the provisions fully ensure a controlled monarchy in the State within the framework of the law.

I need make only a passing reference to the distribution of executive functions between the Dewan and the Minister. The Act contemplates that the Ministerial sphere should steadily expand and that the Dewan's functions should correspondingly diminish, so that at some time in the future, and this time will be determined by how the people have responded to the generous gesture of His Highness made in this Act, the Dewan will be maintained only for purposes, if at all, of formal negotiations and transactions with the Paramount Power, while the real executive of the State will be the Minister. In his brilliant speech at the State Banquet in Ernakulam on June 17th 1938 Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar refuted the unsubstantial criticism that being a species of dyarchy, the Cochin experiment would not be successful.

The powers of the legislature are restricted only by a certain specified number of subjects being withdrawn from their competence: and here again the reservations are necessitated by difficulties of a technical nature in the relations between the Paramount Power and the State. Most of these matters are covered by treaties, and treaties as such are not the proper subjects of the legislature's discussion or action except in a consequential way even in many fully sovereign legislatures. Even in these matters it may well be that a Maharaja in the future may

feel justified in admitting the legislature to greater powers by reason of their sober and steady discharge of their responsibilities and the character they have won for themselves. In an official statement, the Cochin Government have already demonstrated that the restrictions on the financial powers of the legislature are more or less nominal. Aside of these, the legislature has power to make laws for the entire territory of the State and for all Cochinites wherever they may be—an assertion of legislative power as full as that made by any free legislature in the world.

In the third important branch of government, the Judiciary, the Act similarly provides for the creation of an independent High Court with full powers to adjudge all causes arising in the State as a court of final appeal. I am advisedly making this statement without qualification. I submit that it is no detracting of the competence of the High Court that it may not as a matter of legal right entertain any action against the person or property of His Highness, for no court in any constitutional system has the power to try the sovereign whose judicial prerogatives it exercises for him and on his behalf. It is well known that in legal theory the attribute of perfection is enjoyed by the monarch, and the doctrine that the King can do no wrong is reflected in the law by the Crown enjoying full judicial immunity. At the same time His Highness has directed that the judicial machinery should be available to every person with a cause against His Highness in his personal capacity; and the guarantee is given that should His Highness be found to owe a duty to a petitioner, he would discharge that duty without the use of the execution processes of the court. The person who decides whether there is a grievance against the Maharajah is the petitioner himself and not His Highness' agent as wrongly

that if the rules in respect of this matter had been examined carefully there could have been no such misunderstanding. It must be remembered that the remedy against the Government as apart from His Highness is preserved in the usual way and is provided for by the Civil Procedure Code.

Then there is the provision which lays down that His Highness' prerogative power of legislation and executive action is retained in full and unimpaired by anything contained in the constitution Act. After the gracious words in which His Highness explained the object and scope of this provision in his Durbar Announcement on June 17th 1938, it is unnecessary to labour the point further that this power is retained wholly in the interests of the sound working of the constitution and not for defeating and imperilling responsible and constitutional government in the State.

In its details, the frame of the Act closely follows that of the Government of India Act of 1935 and to a lesser extent that of 1919. The advantage of this method is that it facilitates interpretation and ensures a better understanding of the provisions by the people while at the same time a large uniformity in the constitutional mechanism is desirable from the point of view of the coming All-India Federation.

Above all, as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar repeatedly stressed the fact, the Cochin Constitution provides for a fully statutory government, and this in itself is no mean gain to the people of Cochin and to the people of other States whose cause has been so well strengthened by the recognition of popular claims by one of the outstanding members of the Princely Order. Other States may approach the constitutional problem from different points of view, and in this field, more than anywhere else there is scope for a wide variety of institutions being tried. Cochin has preferred to follow the well-known British model being a pioneer; but so far as I am aware, it is not claimed for Cochin that here is the only solution of this exceedingly complicated question.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Unity Talks

SO the unity talks have, for the moment, failed. Congress and the League must each go its own way till such time as the pressure of circumstance could leave them no option but to stand united. In the meanwhile ardent lovers of unity should wait in patience and hope. For it must be remembered there could be no last word in politics; and in the ever shifting scene of things there is always hope for the resurgence of a better day. Soon after the Bose-Jinnah talks, Mr. Jinnah spoke of the Congress as "a communal organisation, masquerading in the garb of a national institution" to which Mr. Bose thought fit to reply with some warmth at Chittagong. Every one knew at once that the talks had broken down and unity was as far away as ever. But the unauthorised publication of the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Nehru and the subsequent release of the Gandhi-Jinnah letters have made plain how wide apart are the outlooks of the leaders of the Congress and the League. Gandhiji and the Pandit vainly repeated their requests for a precise formulation of the Muslim demands. But Mr. Jinnah did not want to be drawn into any kind of discussion of definite demands. It is obvious that Mr. Jinnah was more anxious to establish the status of the Muslim League vis-a-vis the Congress than to embark on a detailed examination of points of difference.

The final break was evident when Mr. Jinnah communicated to the Congress President the decision of the League Council that no further negotiations could be conducted unless the Congress recognised

the right of the Muslim League to speak on behalf of the entire Muslim community of India. To ask the Congress to disown its national character or to claim for the League the right to speak for all Muslims, when there are more Muslims in the Congress roll than in the roll of the League is to invite failure. Indeed Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah approach the problem from two characteristically different standpoints. In one of the letters Gandhiji says:

In your speeches I miss the old nationalist. When in 1915 I returned from my self-imposed exile in South Africa, everybody spoke of you as one of the staunchest of nationalists and the hope of both the Hindus and Muslims. Are you still the same Mr. Jinnah? If you say you are, in spite of your speeches, I shall accept your word.

You want me to come forward with some proposal.

What proposal can I make except to ask you on bended knees to be what I had thought you were.

But the proposal to form a basis of unity between the two communities has surely got to come from you.

And what is Mr. Jinnah's answer?

You recognise the All-India Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organisation of Muslims in India, and, on the other hand, you represent the Congress and other Hindus throughout the country. It is only on that basis we can proceed further and devise machinery of approach.

Is it that the time is not ripe yet for a real union?

Bengal Ministerial Crisis

The Huq Ministry resigned office on June 22 over acute differences between Mr. Naushar Ali and his colleagues.

Immediately after the resignations were submitted, H. E. Lord Brabourne called upon Mr. Fazlul Huq as leader of the largest single party in the legislature to form a new cabinet.

This he did, with ten members including himself. The new Cabinet is the same in personnel with the exception of Mr. Naushar Ali.

Cochin's New Constitution

The New Constitution which has come into force in Cochin gives effect to the Maharaja's birthday announcement of 4th January last that the people of the State will be associated more directly with the administration and that a Minister will be appointed from among the elected members of the legislature. The Cochin Act is closely modelled on the Government of India Act of 1935. Judged by the standard of political thought in British India the scheme may fall short of full responsible government; but a great beginning has been made and both the Maharaja and his Dewan, Sir Shanmukham Chetty have set a pace which must hearten the people of the State. The new Government is a sort of dyarchy wherein the Dewan, who is not elected, remains in charge of the reserved subjects which include education and finance besides matters appertaining to the ruling family, the management of temples, subsidies and the like. The Minister who is appointed by the Maharaja from among the largest party in the legislative Council, holds office during His Highness' pleasure. He will be in charge of all subjects relating to rural development—Agriculture, Ayurveda, Co-operation, Panchayats, Public Health, Uplift of the Depressed Classes and Development of Cottage Industries and his salary and allowances will be determined by the Council. It is the Maharaja's intention to establish a convention by which the Minister will hold office only so long as he commands the confidence of the Legislative Council.

An important advance is the widening of the franchise. The Franchise has been extended to every person who pays any tax and to all those who have passed the school

final or an equivalent examination. Out of 58 members of the Legislative Council 38 will be elected and the rest—12 officials and 8 non-officials—nominated. The powers of the Legislature are by no means inconsiderable as the bulk of the expenditure from the State's resources is subject to the vote of the Council.

But more than the actual provisions of the Act is the spirit underlying the new constitution as enunciated by His Highness.

"I would ask the people to judge the Act," said His Highness at the Durbar held to inaugurate the new Constitution not so much by the words used in the enactment, but by the declared intentions underlying the whole structure of the new Constitution.

"I may solemnly assure my people," he continued,

that the retention of the Paramount Authority and the Prerogative of the Ruler is intended to safeguard the interests of the State and not to curb the powers of my popular Minister.

Such a declaration must serve as a great encouragement to a popular Ministry to get on with its work with courage and enthusiasm.

We congratulate Mr. Sivarama Menon on his appointment as the first Minister. His will be no easy task. For much depends upon the extent of the confidence he commands in the legislature.

The Times of India Centenary

Our cordial felicitations to the *Times of India* on the completion of its hundredth year. To have merely lived on for a hundred years is in itself no small thing for a newspaper in India: but the *Times of India* has grown from strength to strength and made its mark in the history of these ten eventful decades. The story of its rise and growth reveals the skill and enterprise of a succession of great Editors who have made it what it is today—a newspaper of commanding position and authority.

The Reaction to Lord Zetland's Speech

Lord Zetland's speech at the Bombay Dinner in London has served as an irritant to political India. He discounted the widespread rumour that the Viceroy is going to England not for personal reasons but for conferring with the Home authorities about changes in the Federal structure in the Government of India Act.

The Federal provisions of the Act were the outcome of prolonged and exhaustive examination and discussion over a term of years and the Secretary of State made it clear that there was no intention of making any alterations in the scheme even before it had been given a trial. Now the reaction to this pronouncement has been true to expectations. The President of the Congress promptly declared:

Let me assure His Lordship that petty changes in the Federal Scheme, whether in respect of the composition of the Federal Legislature or in respect of the powers of the Federal Ministry, would not serve to mitigate our uncompromising hostility to that scheme.

The theory of the settled fact can hardly hold good in a world of such rapidly changing conditions. And the Secretary of State's stiff necked attitude could only provoke the Congress socialists' rejoinder that the nation "should prevent the inauguration of any federal scheme that may be offered by the British Government".

But it is plain that no one can lay down the law for all time. The new Act has set in motion a force that is becoming as organised as it would be effective. It is useless to ignore the political potentialities of the Congress in the Provinces and the States. If Lord Zetland's statement means "take or leave it" India, warns the *Manchester Guardian*, will certainly leave it.

The Hindi Controversy

Whatever the merits of the controversy over the introduction of Hindi in South Indian schools there can be no two opinions on the absurdity of the methods adopted by the Opposition to harass the Premier. To attempt to modify the Ministry's move by threat of fasting, is, on the face of it, ridiculous. No Government worth the name could tolerate such intimidation; and even a Congress Prime Minister, when confronted by a person who threatens to fast unto death if a Government decision is not revoked, can give but one answer: God's will be done.

That apart, there is no gainsaying the fact that opposition to Hindi, is in a degree, real and earnest. It may be that part of the Opposition is engineered by men not wholly on grounds of culture. Motives political rather than cultural may have something to do with the Anti-Hindi Campaign; but the fact remains, rightly or wrongly, there is an appreciable amount of antipathy to the Government's move in the matter.

It cannot be said that Government is altogether oblivious to this opposition. The Prime Minister's reaction is evident in his explanation and in the Government *Communique* on the subject. The Government's concessions to the agitation are important and striking. Hindi is to be compulsory only in selected areas; it is to be restricted only to classes above the 6th; and failure in Hindi is not to affect class promotion. These are important concessions and show Government's anxiety to meet reasonable criticism.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

America and the World

MR. CORDELL Hull, the American Secretary of State, addressing the Bar Association at Nashville, Tennessee, on June 8, on "International Law and the Present State of the World" said:

With the use of armed force assuming an aspect of scarcely imaginable brutality we are prepared to join other nations in resuming vigorously and carrying forward the work, so auspiciously begun at The Hague two generations ago, of humanizing by common agreement the rules and practices of warfare.

Declaring that there was never a time in their national history when the influence of the United States in support of international law was more urgently needed than at present, the Secretary of State said:—

There is again abroad in more than one part of the earth a spirit of international anarchy. Solemn contractual obligations are brushed aside with a light heart and a contemptuous gesture. Respect for law and observance of the pledged word have sunk to an inconceivably low level. The outworn slogans of the glorification of war are again resounding in many portions of the globe. Armed force, naked and unashamed, is again being used as an instrument of policy and a means of attaining national ends through aggression and aggrandizement. It is being employed with a brutality and savagery that outrage and shock every humane instinct.

In the face of these grim developments is it wise to seek isolation and safety? In the end it will be proved not safe but more damaging to the cause of security.

It is my firm conviction that national isolation is not a means to security but rather a fruitful source of insecurity. For while we may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Attempts to achieve national isolation would not merely deprive us of any influence in the councils of nations but would impair our ability to control our own affairs.

Mr. Hull concluded:

In the years which lie ahead the chances that international anarchy and lawlessness will be replaced by order under law will largely depend upon the sincerity and firmness with which some nations at least maintain their devotion to the principles of international law resting in turn upon the foundation of co-operation, justice and morality. I can wish for our country no more glorious course than to be a leader in devotion to these principles and in service of their preservation and advancement.

Spanish Premier's 18 Points

The Spanish Prime Minister, Dr. Juan Negrin, in a declaration of policy at Barcelona, laid down 18 points for which he said, "We will fight to the bitter end." These points include the following:

A declaration that the war is waged to secure the complete independence of Spain, her colonies and the protectorate, and to eject the foreign military forces.

Provision for a national plebiscite, with the fullest guarantees for free expression, to decide on the juridical and social structure of the State.

Regional liberties without diminution of national unity as the best means of soldering the diverse elements composing Spain.

Fullest civil and social rights for citizens, freedom of conscience and religion.

The State shall guarantee property legally acquired within the limits of supreme national interests and protection to producers.

Far-reaching agrarian reform and guarantees for the rights of labour through legislation. The first concern of the State shall be the cultural, physical and moral improvement of the race.

An army free from party influence.

An ample amnesty for all Spaniards who desire to co-operate in the immense task of the reconstruction and aggrandisement of Spain.

De Valera's Triumph

Mr. De Valera's triumph is now complete. He had gauged the mind of the country so well that he risked an election which has given him a majority, greater than ever before. The following is the final state of Parties in the Eire elections:

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| Fianna Fail | ... 77 |
| Fine Gael | ... 45 |
| Labour | ... 9 |
| Independents | ... 7 |

The Fianna Fail has a clear majority of 16 over the combined Opposition. This is the largest majority secured by any party since 1927.

Chinese Tactics

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has announced the abandonment of positional warfare. Henceforth his forces will employ what are described as "hit and run" tactics, striking at the enemy at every opportunity but avoiding unnecessary loss by vacating territory that proves difficult to hold.

There is in this a suggestion of the Chinese giving in before the onrush of superior force. But, says the *Statesman*, "this form of warfare which has already proved peculiarly exasperating to the Japanese, has been much favoured by some Chinese commanders, particularly those of the former Communist Army, since the collapse at Shanghai last winter. That Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was not wholly converted to it was suggested by the extent to which orthodox positional tactics were used during the recent big struggle before Suchowfu. The losses the Chinese suffered there, though less disastrous than the Japanese first claimed, seem however finally to have convinced him of the unsoundness of this method of warfare in dealing with an invader possessing pronounced superiority in mechanical resources."

The Chinese still possess vast territory in which to manoeuvre, and guerrilla tactics seem peculiarly suited to the broken and hilly inland country in which most of the fighting is now going on. It is noteworthy, adds the *Statesman*, "that the abandonment of positional warfare, which the German advisers to the Chinese army are understood always to have favoured, practically coincides with their withdrawal from China as a result of the Government's recent instructions."

The New Nanking Regime

In pursuance of their policy of creating new autonomous States in China under the suzerainty of Japan, a new Japanese sponsored Government for Central China was inaugurated recently at Nanking.

During the inauguration of the new Government the declaration was made that contracts and treaties concluded between Foreign Powers and individuals on the one hand, and the Hankow Government or any of its Provincial Governments on the other hand, will not be recognised. An assurance that the just rights of foreigners will be respected, was also made at that time.

The new Nanking regime will be called the new Government of the Republic of China. For the present, the new Government will govern the three provinces of Central China: Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei with a population of 81,000,000. The Government will eventually merge itself with the Provisional Government at Peking.

The Tension in Czechoslovakia

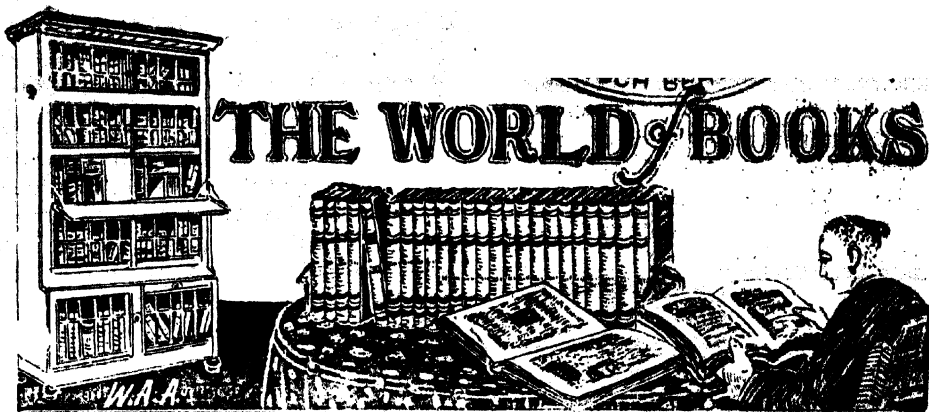
Although grave tension is again evident in the frontier districts of Czechoslovakia, there is a general relaxation in Prague after the strain of the elections.

The results of the elections have strengthened the claim of Herr Henlein to speak for the vast majority of the Sudeten Germans; but the Government also feel encouraged by the results which show that they enjoy the increasing support of the country.

Responsible Czech officials declare that the authorities are in full control of the situation but they feel themselves to be

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 26. Anglo-Turkish agreements are signed in London.
- May 27. Lord Zetland, speaking at the Bombay Dinner in London, declares that His Majesty's Government cannot consider alterations of the Federal scheme of the India Act.
- May 28. The Irish Government has fallen and the Dail is dissolved; a general election is ordered.
- May 29. "Germany's peace is an armed peace and is protected by a sharp sword" says Dr. Goebbels addressing a demonstration at Desan.
- May 30. Sir Francis Wylie assumes office as Governor of C. P. and Berar.
- May 31. The British Prime Minister is heckled in the Commons on the question of conscription in war time.
- June 1. Sir Mahomed Zafrulla Khan leaves for England by air to resume the Indo-British trade talks.
- June 2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sails for Europe.
- June 3. Czechoslovakia gives *de facto* recognition of the Rebel Government in Spain.
- June 4. H. E. the Governor of Bengal promulgates the Bengal Tenancy ordinance of 1933.
- June 5. Sir Manmathanath Mukerjee assumes charge of the Law Membership of the Government of India.
- June 6. The Japanese capture Kaifang, the capital of Honan.
- June 7. The Prince's Chamber meets in Bombay.
- June 8. Japan bombs Canton heavily; U. S. A. protests.
- June 9. Mr. C. F. Brackenbury Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras is knighted.
- June 10. The Japs blow up the Peking-Hankow Railway thereby cutting off the Chinese retreat.
- June 11. The U. P. Cabinet decides to appoint a Wage Fixation Board as a consequence of the Cawnpore strike.
- June 12. The Mysore Representative Assembly rejects the Press Bill.
- June 13. Mr. D. Sen, Editor of *Hindustan Standard* is sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment.
- June 14. Sir John Reith is appointed Chairman of the Imperial Airways.
- June 15. Text of the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence is published.
- June 16. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari opens the All India Radio at Madras.
- June 17. Cochin's New Constitution is inaugurated.
- June 18. Mr. de Valera secures a majority in the Irish elections.
- June 19. Bombay Government introduces prohibition in Ahmedabad.
- June 20. Madras is connected with Bombay by the long-distance teleprinter.
- June 21. Punjab Assembly passes the Punjab Alienation Bill.
- June 22. Two British ships are bombed and sunk off Valencia (Spain).
- June 23. The Bengal Ministry resigns. Mr. Fazlul Huq forms new ministry omitting Mr. Nasher Ali from the Cabinet.
- June 24. Mr. G. T. Boag, the Governor-Designate of Orissa leaves London by air.
- June 25. H. E. Lord Lidlithgow sails for England.
- June 26. Punjab Government releases Shahidgunj prisoners.



INDIA, TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. By Margarita Barns. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5-10.)

As a Fabian, Mrs. Barns had the inestimable advantage of coming in contact with two such brilliant intellectuals as Bertrand Russell and Bernard Shaw at the most formative period of her life. The marks of that wholesome influence are evident in her subsequent life and career. A spirit of adventure in ideas, a certain breadth of view and vigour of expression are unmistakably present in these pages. The Indian scene is moving rapidly and even the events of the last ten years with which the author is concerned, look like pages from old history. And yet they are written with first hand knowledge of men and affairs. Attached to an Indian News organisation at a time of hectic activities in Indian politics she came in intimate contact with Gandhiji and the leaders of the Indian reform movement, both in England and in India. She describes the political history behind the three Sessions of the Round Table Conference and the personalities connected with them, with intimate knowledge and insight. Her criticism of men and events is frank and outspoken but essentially sympathetic. The

disappointment and vexation she had to encounter in her own private business has not soured her outlook in regard to the larger issues with which she was concerned as a journalist. And with a background of autobiographical memories and reflections we are treated to, a racy and refreshing record of recent history. Not the least entertaining part of her book is her impressions of the leading personalities in the Indian scene. Her picture of Gandhiji in Lancashire and Mira Ben in her quiet, authoritative and efficient method of work, are portraits in miniature and a refreshing reminder of of some unforgettable days. But Mrs. Barns is not content with past history. India, yesterday and today is but a preparation for the India of tomorrow: and her appreciation of history in the making deserves more than a passing notice. As in the rest of the world, she apprehends a conflict between the forces of Fascism and Socialism in India also.

Political India is entering a new phase, and the demand for a lead, an ideology, more positive than nationalism must make itself felt.

To some extent the pace has been set by the Socialists who, alone of the parties, have a definite programme. Some of them already see the seeds of Fascism working in the minds of those who are likely to wield power under the new constitution. While, however, it is true to say that the business interests, who, with the large landowners, would be most likely to adopt Fascism, are the best organised of all the sectarian interests, it is too early to suggest that there is any conscious adoption of such a policy.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA. By G. N. Joshi, M.A., LL.B. Advocate, O. S.

Professor of Constitutional Law, Government College, Bombay, Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Joshi who has won his reputation by his useful book on 'Indian Administration', published not long ago has now followed it up with a valuable criticism of 'The New Constitution of India'. Setting before him Prof. Dicey's famous dictum that 'a professor whose duty it is to lecture on constitutional law must feel that he is called upon to perform the part neither of a critic nor of an eulogist, but simply of an expounder; his duty is neither to attack nor to defend the Constitution but simply to explain its Laws', he has in his latest book successfully endeavoured to attain his 'object of enabling students of Law and Indian citizens in general to understand and appreciate the legal and constitutional aspects and implications of the New Constitution'. Dr. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, in his Foreword to the book, gives the author just praise 'as for an impartial exposition of the New Constitution of India under the Government of India Act 1935'. Mr. Joshi has indeed succeeded in the very difficult task of being 'so impersonal' and his book has gained in value by that self-denial.

In the chapter on Federalism the author observes: 'historically, everywhere Federalism has been a process of uniting, but in India it is a process of breaking up British India into eleven Autonomous Provinces.' And not only that. Speaking of the proposed union of the States with British India, Mr. Joshi pertinently observes:—

It is not the citizens of the States who have desired union or who are to unite, but the rulers of the States who are to unite. The subjects of

the States are not to share the common citizenship of the Federation.

In all federations the initiative for union came from the constituent units who were moved thereto by their citizens. In India, the impulse to federation, from whatever source it may have come, has been translated into action by Parliament. The Indian Federation has been created by Parliament to secure steadying and stabilising elements in the Central Government. In a Federation the status and character of the constituent units are usually similar. The Indian States are wholly different in status and character from the British Indian Provinces.

In a Federation, there is a double citizenship, Federal and State or Provincial. In the Indian Federation, the subjects of the Native States are not citizens of the Federation and are not in the enjoyment of the same civic rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the British Indian Provinces. Thus the Indian Federation is a union between autocratic rulers and more or less democratic Governments.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN INDIA. (A collection of Essays and Speeches.) By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. (pp. 300; price Rs. 2/- Kitabistan, Allahabad. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

The volume under review is a series of articles, (including the Presidential Address, delivered at Faizpur) from the pen of Jawaharlal Nehru. These articles are of varying merit and importance. They discuss the Indian problems as viewed from the president's points of view. There is the direct expression of the personal reactions to the political happenings and tendencies in India. The central theme of the essays is the immediate necessity to present an Anti-Imperialist Front in order to attain political independence.

RE-GENERATION. By Dewan Bahadur R. Subbayya Naidu, Commissioner of Corporation, Madras. P. R. Rama Iyer Ltd. Madras. Price Rs. 1.

The book under review places on record the impressions of Mr. Subbayya Naidu, after his return from Japan. He is very enthusiastic about the process of industrialisation, launched on by Japan. In this book, he suggests "that clay-footed India," should reconstruct her ideals after the model of Japan. The author has no faith in piece-meal reform. He wants a thorough regeneration and is for building civilisation anew. He is not in sympathy with the arcadian simplicity which hopes to replace the Rolls-Royce by the bullock cart. It is a very interesting account of the reactions of a mind which is all aglow with the industrial civilisation of Japan.

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. By Sardar Sardul Singh Cavasheer. National Publications, Ltd. Lahore. Price Rs. 2-14.

This book which was first published under the title 'Non-violent Non-Co-operation' gives an admirable survey of India's fight for freedom since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the field of Indian politics. Although he deals with events still recent and fresh in our memory, the author writes temperately and candidly. He was himself an actor in the drama, but he shows no signs of bias or conscious unfairness towards his opponents. The author is to be thanked for an extremely balanced account of the past, which affords a measure of guidance to our national workers as to the errors they should avoid and the problems they have to resolve.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE VOL. XI. By Sir J. C. Bose, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London. 18 sh. net.

THE FALSE STATE. By Hilda D. Oakeley, M.A., D. Litt., Williams & Norgate, Limited, London.

INDIAN COMPANY LAW. By M. J. Sethna. With a Foreword by Hon. Justice B. J. Wadia. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 4-8.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CURATOR'S OFFICE LIBRARY TRIVANDRUM, 3 Vols. Edited by K. Sambasiva Sastri. Published under the authority of the Government of H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore.

HOW THE NORTH CHINA AFFAIR AROSE: WHY THE FIGHTING IN SHANGHAI: JAPAN-CHINA, FACTS AND PICTURES: Four pamphlets published by the Foreign Affairs Association, Tokyo, Japan.

INDIANS OVERSEAS. By T. S. Rajagopal, M.A., LL.B. Advocate, Senthapet, Mysore.

THE PAYMENT OF WAGES ACT IV OF 1936. By Govindlal D. Shah. N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay.

THE STRUGGLE OF MUSLIMS IN EDUCATION. By S. A. Brelvi. All India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh.

DICTIONARY OF INDIAN LITERATURE 1938. Indian Library Association, Calcutta.

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INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The report of the Osmania University for the year 1344 *Fasli* shows that it follows the policy of affording opportunities to members of the staff to go to Europe for higher study or research. There is a permanent University Loan Fund of Rs. 25,000, out of which loans are granted to members of the staff for the purpose and applications for study leave in Europe are always favourably considered. The members of the staff are also deputed to attend important scientific or literary conferences in India. The total number of students in all the Faculties of the University at the end of the year was 1879 which showed an increase of just 100 over the previous year's figure.

HYDERABAD MERCHANTS

To safeguard their trade and interests, the merchants of Hyderabad city have formed an association, called the Hyderabad Trade Association, under the presidentship of Mr. G. Raghunathmull, a local banker. At a meeting held for the purpose, a provisional committee was appointed with Mr. Mohamed Ayooob as secretary, Dr. N. P. Mahendra as joint secretary and Mir Hasan as treasurer.

HYDERABAD MONEY-LENDERS

The Hyderabad Money-lenders' Regulation will, it is understood, be enforced in the Nizam's Dominions together with the Land Alienation Regulation which has so far been applied in only two districts, namely, Osmanabad and Aurangabad.

NEW REVENUE MINISTER

The services of Mr. W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore, have been borrowed by the Nizam's Government as Revenue Minister.

Mysore

THE MYSORE BUDGET

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, addressing the Budget Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly on June 10, made a survey of the activities of the various Departments of the Government and said:

"By lavish expenditure on irrigation, communications and agriculture, and by a lenient policy in respect of taxation, they have endeavoured to put money in the pocket of the ryot.

"By a similar policy in respect of drinking water, electric lighting, medical relief and rural reconstruction in general, they have added to his amenities.

"Education has expanded till it has reached a figure at which it consumes nearly a quarter of the taxation revenue."

The budget for the year ending June 30, 1939 provides for various new development schemes, including irrigation, electricity supply and industries. Funds are allotted for the opening of more middle schools and vocational schools.

The Dewan reiterated the plea for the total abolition of the subsidy paid by the State to the Government of India.

THE MYSORE REFORMS COMMITTEE

The Government of Mysore have appointed the Constitution Committee with the direction that the Committee should examine the desirability of further constitutional reforms in Mysore State in keeping with the progress made by representative institutions in the State up to the present day, the peculiar conditions which obtain in Mysore and the need to meet reasonable public demands in the way of democratising the administration to a larger extent than at present.

Baroda

H. H. THE GAEKWAR'S RULE

The 64th anniversary of the accession of His Highness the Maharaja of Gaekwar was celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout the State. All offices, schools, Government and public institutions in the State were closed. The day was announced with the firing of 21 guns by the State artillery, and the salute was followed by the grand ceremonial parade in which all units of the State Army joined. Mass prayers were held at the principal places of worship after which *puja* of the Royal Throne and Royal emblems was performed. The destitute and poor were fed at the leading State *dharmasalas*. 500 leading citizens and officers attended a garden party given by Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar on the lawns of the Nazarbagh Palace.

FRUIT EXHIBITION

"Gujarat is well situated for fruit culture and its large urban population provides a good scope for organising fruit farms," observed Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan of Baroda, declaring open the Second All-Baroda Fruit and Horticultural Exhibition at the Nyayamandir Hall in Baroda, on the morning of June 11 in the presence of a large gathering including many women.

The State had, continued the Dewan, increased the number of farms, organised schemes of distribution of improved seeds and marketing of produce and had added the propaganda staff to bring the cultivators in direct touch with the activities of the Agricultural Department. The Exhibition is proving very popular and is attracting every day large number of visitors from the city and outside.

Travancore

THE BACKWARD COMMUNITIES

In pursuance of the Travancore Government's declared policy of making liberal concessions to members of the backward communities so as to ameliorate their condition, 246 acres of land were assigned during the last official year to 418 Harijan applicants as against 46 acres to 95 applicants in the previous year. The Government have noted with satisfaction this marked increase in the area of land assigned to the landless backward communities is attributable to the new orientation envisaged in the temple entry proclamation, and have directed the Land Revenue and Income-tax Commissioner to see that Government's policy in the matter is liberally carried out.

TIMBER CULTURE IN TRAVANCORE

In view of the fact that there is plenty of timber in the Travancore State and that the strength of ordinary timber can be increased by special treatment, the Government on the advice of Mr. Kamesam, the new Timber Expert and Director of Development, have decided that as an experimental measure a mile of road in Trivandrum and a mile in Nagercoil should be surfaced with pressure-treated wood blocks. The Public Works Department will carry out the scheme in consultation with the Director of Development.

THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

A donation of Rs. 1 lakh to the Travancore University is announced by the management of the Kannan Devan Hills Produce Company. The interest on this donation is to be utilised for any technological development which the Travancore University may decide upon.

Bhopal

PANDIT NEHRU AND BHOPAL

In a recent statement issued on the eve of his departure to Europe Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru criticised the conditions prevailing in some Indian States and drew particular attention to the restrictions imposed on the political activity of the people of Bhopal and the absence of civil liberty in the state. He pointed to the disabilities of the press and the restrictions on the freedom of association, as marks of feudalism in a modern state.

The Publicity Officer of the Bhopal State in a statement issued soon after, refutes the allegations and attributes them to misunderstanding of the actual conditions. He denies there is any coercion or restriction on the freedom of press or person in the state :

The Government of Bhopal with a full sense of responsibility, have no hesitation in declaring that the people of the State do enjoy complete liberty as regards association, assemblage and expression of views within the law, but such rights and liberties do not grant licence to create ill-will and bitterness between the various sections of the subjects or to preach violence or breaking of law. Such liberty is rightly kept under control in all civilised Governments in the world, including the various provincial Governments in British India itself.

Pandit Nehru in his rejoinder expresses gratitude to the Bhopal Government for this answer and says that it is difficult to say from the reading of it how far there is freedom of association, expression of opinion and the Press in Bhopal at present.

The test of civil liberty is how far criticism of the State is freely permitted. I should like to know how matters stand in this respect. The state of political progress can be gauged by the existence and strength of organisations carrying on political work freely, the absence of restrictions on public gatherings for this work and the free admission of newspapers except for very special reasons.

In Bhopal, it is stated, there was no Press till recently. This in itself is a sign of backwardness and of political inertia which the State should endeavour to remove.

Cochin

COCHIN CONSTITUTION ACT

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin have just issued a new Act—the Government of Cochin Act—promulgated by His Highness on June 17.

Under the Act, certain departments pertaining to rural development—Agriculture, Ayurveda, Co-operation, Panchayats, Public Health, Uplift of the Depressed Classes and Development of Cottage Industries—are to be made over to an elected Minister, answerable to the legislature for the administration of these departments, the idea being that, so far as these are concerned, the State will enjoy responsible government.

The Act follows in the main the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. It embodies the main principles, leaving details to be laid down by rules of which the first set is appended to the Act.

The Chief Court becomes a High Court and the Act lays down the provisions governing its status and powers.

Kashmir

KASHMIR DHARMARTH COUNCIL

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has reorganized the Dharmarth Council. Wazir Tej Ram has been appointed president of the Council, Pandit Amar Nath and Lt. Col. Baldev Singh members, and Pandit Thakar Das secretary and officer-in-charge of the Dharmarth Department.

Sikar

POPULAR COUNCIL FOR SIKAR

It is understood that pending the settlement of the Jaipur-Sikar dispute, the Rao Raja of Sikar has requested the Viceroy as the Crown Representative, to entrust the administration of Sikar to a popular Council appointed by him.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

At a reception given in honour of India's Agent-General in South Africa, Mr. Rama Rao, at the Orient Club Durban on May 28 the President of the Natal Indian Congress strongly repudiated the rumour that the Congress favoured a non-European united front. He stated that only the smallest minority supported the proposal. The supporters of the united front movement, he added, stated that their object was not a united front of non-Europeans against the Europeans but a united front of all section of the South African nation including Europeans, based on goodwill. They indicated, however, that the present trend of the Union Government legislation in discriminating between the Europeans on the one hand and non-Europeans on the other contained the inherent danger of non-European sections combining to protect their common interests. The Union Government, therefore, had the remedy in their own hands.

Malaya

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

The Gazette of India announces: "Whereas, it appears that the number of unskilled Indian labourers now in Malaya State is in excess of the present requirements of industry and the continuance of emigration to those States is therefore undesirable, the Central Government in exercise of powers conferred by Section 1 of Section 18 of the Indian Emigration Act of 1924 is pleased to prohibit with effect from June 15 all persons emigrating from the territories under the administration of the Provincial Government of Madras to the Straits Settlements, Federated Malaya States, etc., for purpose of unskilled work."

Br. Guiana

INDIAN CENTENARY IN BR. GUIANA

Referring to the Indian centenary in British Guiana, Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews writes in the *Modern Review*:

"It is a great happiness to me to relate, that the Indian community has become splendidly united. There is practically no communal tension and there is an ardent and deep devotion to the motherland. In the course of time, there can be little doubt that leading Indians will gain more and more prominence in their new West Indian home. A sincere and friendly spirit has grown up between the American Negro population and the Indian immigrants. There is also a very kindly feeling between the East Indians and the Chinese. The latter are well-educated and well-organised, and they invite leading Indians at all times to their own festivities.

There is however one side where immense improvement might be made, namely, in the education of Indian girls. There are good opportunities offered, but a dearth of trained teachers.

Among the American Negro population, and among the Chinese, the proportion of girls who are educated is much higher than among the Indian population. Therefore, it has become the greatest need of all to-day to remedy this defect."

Zanzibar

ZANZIBAR CLOVES

The export of Zanzibar cloves fell from 205,687 cwts. in 1936 to 121,128 cwts. in 1937 due principally to the Indian boycott and uncertain trade conditions. This affected the export trade of the Protectorate considerably, which fell from £801,286 in 1936 to £668,256 in 1937.

Kenya

THE KENYA HIGHLANDS

Few overseas questions have given more cause for concern than the question of the Kenya Highlands. It has been a subject of vexed controversy both in Kenya and in India. Mr. Sastri once said "Kenya lost: all is lost." And no wonder that a special Indian delegation came to India from the East African Indian Congress with a view to educating Indian opinion on this single grave issue of the exclusion of Indians and Natives from the Highlands. It is curious, the Colonial office which has so often proclaimed the paramountcy of native interests, should now attempt to give statutory sanction to the obviously unfair demands of the Europeans. Mr. C. F. Andrews has called attention to the gravity of the situation in a timely statement to the press. The issue, he says, was one of the gravest importance because if an Order in Council is passed reserving 16,000 square miles in the Kenya Highlands in perpetuity for Europeans, permanent injustice would be done not only to the Indian community but also to indigenous Africans who will thus be shut out for ever from the most healthy and fertile part of Kenya.

He adds:

Ever since the Kenya conversations in 1920, nearly 10,000 square miles had been reserved for Europeans under the Governor's veto but that was quite different from an Order in Council. Under the Morris Carter Commission of 1924-35 it had been proposed to add 6,000 more square miles of fertile territory to the ten thousand already reserved for Europeans. Now it seemed an effort would be made to reserve 16,000 square miles in all not merely under the Governor's veto but also by an Order in Council which will make the whole matter final.

The Order-in-Council will have the effect of converting what is an administrative into a statutory restriction and it is the duty of the Government of India to warn the Government of Kenya "not to embark on such a course of wanton spoliation and degrading discriminatory legislation and orders by which the rights of Indians are being sacrificed."

General

INDIA'S CLAIM FOR COLONIES

"There is much food for thought and reflection in the report of Mr. Seth Govind Das on the problems of Indians in East and South Africa," comments the *Sunday Express*, Johannesburg.

Mr. Das, who is a member of the All-India Congress Committee and of the Central Legislative Assembly, recently visited East and South Africa, and he has presented, to the Indian National Congress, Haripura a document entitled "Our Brethren in Africa." Mr. Das says:

Few Indians, have enough knowledge of Africa and her people. It could with equal truth be stated that most South Africans know remarkably little about India. Yet India, with an area approximating to that of Africa, south of the Congo border, contains 354,000,000 people.

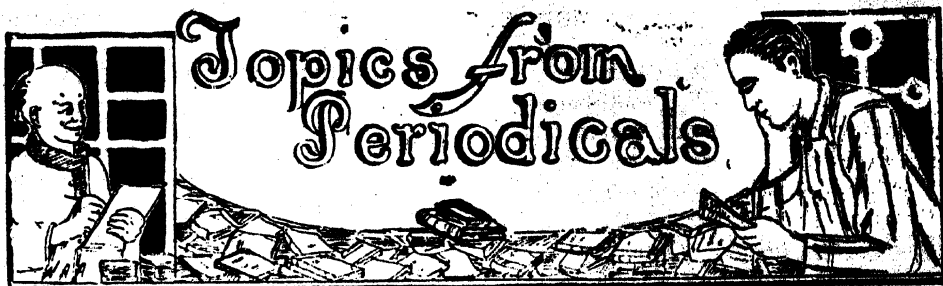
But while there is talk of restoring colonies to Germany, nobody in authority seems seriously to consider India's claim for colonies. India has greater, far greater, pressure of population on her land than Germany or Italy, or even Japan.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, who was India's Agent-General in the Union, has recently written:

We are over three hundred millions in this country; if eight millions of people must have an outlet, and if they find enormous outlets, vast unoccupied spaces all over the world, and keep them all to themselves and coop up the three hundred millions within the limits of India and say to them: "You have no outlet, but you are equal partners in the Empire nevertheless"—that is a proposition to which it is very hard for us to assent.

But it is impossible to escape the fact that Indians have played an important part in the development of East Africa, and the Indian regiments helped to conquer German East Africa in the Great War.

There appears to be no really valid reason why some of these tropic spaces in the northern section of Africa should not be utilized to assist India in solving her population problem.



THE POSITION OF THE SPEAKER

There has of late been some controversy in India in regard to the position of the Speaker in our legislatures. The consensus of opinion is doubtless in favour of the British convention, whereby the speaker of the House of Commons has been regarded as a wholly disinterested and impartial moderator, unidentified with any party organisation or movement, inside or out-side the body over which he presides.

But there are some who favour the American example where the Speaker is frankly a partisan. Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A., writing in the *Harijan* examines the position of the Speaker in the light of history and supports the British tradition which has grown out of the wisdom and experience of centuries of Parliamentary Government.

For the proper conduct of debate in a Legislative Assembly, a Speaker with power to enforce the rules of procedure and to maintain discipline is absolutely essential. It is only to the extent to which all parties and members in the House have confidence in the Speaker that they will bestow willing obedience to his orders and make it possible for him to carry them out. The efficacy of all rules of procedure and the smooth working in any legislative machine depend on the existence of a general willingness on the part of the members of the Legislature, to allow the machinery to work. In the absence of such willingness the working of the machine can easily be made to look away and, in some cases it may even be brought to a standstill. If a Speaker continues to owe allegiance to one of the parties in the House, the members of the other parties have a tendency to provoke quarrels and bring him into contempt, and thus his authority, efficiency and dignity become reduced. In other words, the authority, efficiency and dignity of the Speaker are based upon his reputation for absolute integrity and impartiality. In fact, in England, it may be said that the prestige which is attached to the office of the Speaker has been evolved on practically parallel

lines with the public recognition of his impartiality. In proportion as the Speaker became fair-minded, the strength of his position was enhanced, until today the occupant of the Chair is as powerful as he is impartial.

The Speaker's functions are, to a large extent, of a judicial character, as he has to administer the rules and hold the scales evenly between various parties and interests in the House. He can scarcely be expected to perform his functions to the satisfaction of the members and parties, if he is an open partisan, or, at any rate, is open to be attacked as interested in one of the parties. He, like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion.

It is not sufficient for the Speaker merely to be impartial; it is also necessary that others should believe and treat him as impartial, and that he should evoke the confidence of the House in his impartiality and show, by his conduct of aloofness from political activities and parties, that he is entitled to the confidence of the house.

In India the Legislative Assemblies have now existed for a sufficiently long time to have created the tradition, similar to that of the House of Commons. Mr. Satyamurti aptly quotes the authority of the late Vithalbhai Patel, who said at the time of his election on 24th August 1925:

In the discharge of my duties I shall, I assure you, observe strict impartiality in dealing with all sections of the House, irrespective of party considerations. From this moment, I cease to be a partyman. I belong to no party. I belong to all parties. I belong to all of you. And I hope and trust, my Hon. friend the Leader of the Swaraj Party will take immediate steps to absolve me from all the obligations of a Swarajist Member of this House, if, indeed, it has not been done by implication in consequence of my election to this Chair.

That is a wholesome convention which one should like to see observed in all our Legislatures.

THE SIKH GURUS

Prof. Teja Singh contributes an informing article to the current number of *Prabuddha Bharata* on "Sikhism." The founders of the Sikh religion or the Gurus as they are called aimed, in the words of Joseph Cunningham, "at emancipation from priest craft and from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism. They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted the germs of nations, and their sects remain in this way as they left them." It was reserved for (Guru) Nanak to perceive the true principles of reform, and to lay those foundations which enabled his successor (Guru) Govind (Singh) to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal to the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes." Guru Nanak (1469-1589) the founder of Sikhism and the first of the ten Gurus began his religion by proclaiming that god is one.

By adopting the vernacular of the country for religious purposes, Nanak roused the national sentiment of the people. It was strengthened by the community of thought and ideal, realized in the congregational singing of the same religious hymns. He organised *sangats* of people wherever he went. These *sangats* linked up the people with themselves and with their Guru as the centre of their organisation.

The writer recounts the doings of the other Gurus in furthering the cause of Sikhism:

Guru Angad gave them a separate script, which would make them independent of the priestly class. Guru Amar Das strengthened the *sangats* by narrowing their frontiers within manageable compass and by disallowing every possible schism. Guru Ram Das further strengthened the system by appointing regular missionaries called *masands*, and by providing a central rallying place at Amritsar.

Guru Arjun built the Golden Temple, and placed in it the *Holy Granth*, compiled by him as the only authority for religion. In it he included the writings of himself and his predecessors, along with some chosen hymns from Hindu and Muslim saints of India, most of whom were untouchables.

ETHICS OF THE BUDDHA

Writing in the *Ceylon Daily News Vesak Number*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions at Oxford, observes that in the confusion caused by the co-existence of sublime idealism and gross superstition, many wandering preachers proclaimed the boldest paradoxes and sometimes professed atheism.

Buddha addressed himself to all the free and critical minds who were not only confused by the conflicting opinions, but felt that they had no need of religion, men to whom God was no more than a word and religion an anachronism. He tried to guide all such minds by placing before them the absoluteness of the ethical obligation. Through leading a life of self-control, sympathy and love, we effect a self-transformation which takes up to our goal. This path is open to all, men and women, high and low.

Proceeding the writer observes that the supremacy of the ethical is the clue to the teaching of Buddha. It is clearly visible in his life and thought. The opening words of his first sermon to the five monks relate to the avoiding of the extremes of self-indulgence, which is low and vulgar, and self mortification, which is crazy and fantastic.

After warning the ascetics regarding the exaggerated value they attribute to austerities, Buddha defines the middle way or the eightfold path. And only later does he enunciate the four truths of the nature of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the method of reaching it. His sixth convert, Yasa, is approached in a slightly different way, probably because he was a layman. After treating of moral duties, desires and their renunciation, the four truths are enunciated. "Even as the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt, so has this doctrine and discipline only one taste of nirvana." Buddha discouraged all metaphysical speculation about the motive and meaning of the universe, since such questions seemed to be irrelevant to his scheme of salvation.

The truths laid down by Buddha about the world and the soul are motivated by his interest in the ethical life.

Sarvam satyam, sarvam ananiam, nirvanam santam, may be said to sum up Buddha's metaphysics.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress has now taken up the task of national reconstruction. It can no longer be content with the old objective—the task of destroying foreign domination. But reconstruction needs leadership and discipline among the ranks. That, says Mr. Chalapathi Rau in the *Triveni* for June, has necessitated a sort of dictatorship and the Congress has already been accused of acquiring a Fascist mentality. But Mr. Rau is not scared by the growth of a Fascist dictatorship in the country. Indeed, he feels there is need for some such discipline. Let it be remembered, he says,

that Italian Fascism may be a sin against the world but not against the Italian nation; and apart from Mussolini and his one-man tyranny, Fascism stands for a certain discipline for an interim order. Nobody can deny that the Congress needs this order, this discipline, this Fascist phase. It has long ceased to be the debating club of a coterie, it is no longer led by petticoat politicians. It is a mass organization with a large pyramidal base, with vast provincial branches, and an apex of vigilant leaders at the top. It is necessary to maintain perfect cohesion, if the Congress were not to fall into cliques, as its enemies desire. It must courageously conscript the people, if it were not to be a cobweb of political spiders. When its task will be done, then will be the time for it to inaugurate a real and the democratic process, or, if it likes, to vanish into the limbo of history. A certain regimentation of opinion of drilling and ordering and standardization of patriotism, a barrack-room discipline are the due preliminaries for any kind of organization to undertake the vast, perplexing responsibilities of nation-building. There is no shame in a Fascist phase, as long as it is a phase, and nobody need shy at it. It is the only answer to the dispirited nationalism of our present day travail, and it is not a mere panicky idea to say that even coloured shirt politics may be necessary for this phase. Coloured shirts will do more than bring a sartorial smartness. They will ginger up national morale. They will rouse the sleeping militancy of the people. When these will be achieved, unity will be achieved, and even the good-will of Great Britain will be achieved.

How are the forces balanced in the Congress? There are leaders in the Congress as distinct in temperament as in their ideology. Mr. Rau's characterisation is at once vivid and engaging:

Subhas Bose is a Socialist with a preference for the Fascist process. Jawaharlal's Socialism is alternately utilitarian and Utopian, and is tinged with scepticism and a poet's introspection. Dr. Pattabhi is still a no-changer to whom the only vital creed is Gandhism in its entirety. Patel's is a constructive genius, though he is still the orthodox agitator with a taste for agrarian revolts. To Acharya Kripalini Gandhism is the sacred text, though he adds a Shavian postscript of his own. Sarojini Devi is still as gnomic as Sappho, as vivacious as Madame de Staël. The Congress Premiers are, to adopt the fashionable nomenclature of the day, 'reformist.' The Socialists swear by *Das Capital*, 'the Koran of class war.' Besides, the Congress, like Noah's Ark, consists of every species of patriot. It is necessary, almost inevitable. But, for the time, they are all united by the presence of the common enemy, British Imperialism, and by a common method, which is non-violence, and united also by the unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Then there is Mr. M. N. Roy, at one time dreaded "as the red star of Russia." But he has now settled down as "a consistent and imaginative exponent of constructive nationalism." He has come to think of the country first and a Utopia next.

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THE ESSENCE OF THE GITA

"There are books which have a perennial interest round about them, which retain their intrinsic value all through the ages. The Gita is one of them. It stands pre-eminent among the mighty works of the Past, because of its universal appeal. The Gita is not a sectarian book—it does not satisfy the needs of any particular era. It deals with the broad problems of life and it therefore remains a book for all ages," writes Mr. Matilal Das in the April number of the *Calcutta Review*. Like Arjuna before the great Kurukshetra fight, we also feel confused as to what our duty is. Our weary soul seeks for a guide—our heart wants a sure line of work, and the Gita gives solace with its invaluable teaching about duty. Says Mr. Das:—

The fundamental teaching of the Gita is one of dependence to the soul of the universe. The Gita does not question the ultimate Reality, but it accepts that behind the phenomenal world—there is a power; there is an intelligence, which governs this world. From the highest metaphysical point of view—this is an unknowable impersonal Reality, but the Gita advises us to adhere to the personal aspect of this eternal principle, for weak and frail human creatures as we are, it is not easy and wise for us to fix our mind on the unmanifest.

The Gita says:—But they who fix their attention on the Absolute and impersonal find greater difficulties, for it is really hard for those who possess a body, to realise God as a formless being.

It therefore advises us to give our love and devotion to the Reality in its manifest aspect of beauty and glory as the Purushottama—the Lord and creator of the universe. If we can devote ourselves heart and soul to the Lord, all our ills come to an end. We live in the bliss and benediction of a serene peaceful life. Nothing can trouble us—nothing can worry us.

Sri Krishna, while concluding this "supreme" work on Brahma-Vidya or the knowledge of God, says

that the world divulge the most hidden truth to him as he was his devoted friend and this is the noble utterance that comes for the solace of the world. "Dedicate thyself to me, worship me, sacrifice all for me and bow down to me and thou shalt surely come to me. Verily do I give thee my solemn word, for thou art my beloved." This is the quintessence of the Upanishadic revelations.

So long we live the earthly life, there is conflict of desires and we move on from sensation to sensation never knowing peace of mind. Our selfish desires bind us to the miseries of life. When we can transform ourselves by the life and love of God—there is at once a great change. All that is unholy, all that is materialistic, goes off—a spiritual light floods the view and we share in the joys of the eternal life.

The highest message of the Gita lies in its harmonious blending of the life forces to the noble ideal of God-realisation. The paths of knowledge, work and devotion are in true sense one and the same path. On this the writer says:—

Whatever path we may follow, we must see that it leads to the life in the infinite. Catholic and broad are the teachings of the Gita—for it accepts, in its fold all who seek. The Lord says that every one should attain them sooner or later by whatever path they follow.

Mr. Das concludes:—

Science is triumphant to-day—mechanics rule our lives, but still we want something for the heart. The Gita is there to satisfy our intellectual and spiritual cravings. Its demands on you are negligible. It does not ask for asceticism. It says—attain peace wherever you are—only be in tune with the infinite. It will bring you harmony, joy and peace. The Gita has no creed—no dogmas, no rituals—it is therefore the best solace to the enlightened modern man.

The sunlight never explains itself—it comes and reveals itself in its truth and beauty and we welcome it. The Gita is like sunlight. It is always there in its majesty and glory—its balmy rays will drive away all our sickness and ailments, if we only invite them to our homes and hearths. What should I care for riches if I get no immortality—said Maitreya to the great philosopher Yajñavalkya on the eve of his renunciation. This should be the real answer of all who suffer to-day.

BHAGAVAD GITA. Text in Devanagari and translation by Dr. Bhasani in English. Pocket Edn. As. 4.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras

AMERICAN MILITARY POLICY

According to a writer in the *Political Science Quarterly*, the concept of the nation in arms has become all-embracing, and military policy has come to dominate statecraft to such an extent that the momentum could not be retarded, much less stopped. Even the U. S. A. has attempted to promote national security through clear-cut definitions of national policy, and through isolation based upon natural strategic advantage. The Monroe doctrine was a shrewdly conceived policy of national defence and was not entirely based upon an attachment to republican institutions. The U. S. A. will fight to preserve the territorial and political integrity of Canada and Mexico, but will not fight for a number of things—the right to export arms and ammunition, to travel on belligerent ships, to arm our merchantmen, to transport munitions in American vessels and the like. The impulses which produced the neutrality laws are powerful and in the best American tradition and envisage a policy which attempts to solve problems on their merits before they became enveloped in a fog of prestige.

Between the Monroe doctrine on the one hand and neutrality legislation on the other is a vast zone in which American policy is vaguely defined, as with reference to questions like the open door in the Far East, the status of air-craft, both military and commercial in war time and numerous problems that will arise with any declaration of hostilities in Europe or the Far East. For all these it can be contended that national policies cannot be formulated for unforeseen contingencies.

THE HINDU ALMANAC

The April number of the *Asiatic Review* contains an article on the "Hindu Almanac" by Mr. W. E. van Wijk, Director of the Municipal Museum of Education at The Hague. The principal sources of information about the astronomical conceptions and numerical data of the Hindus are the Siddhantas, Sanskrit works in verse of great antiquity. Of these the "Surya Siddhanta" is important. Mr. Van Wijk writes of this system as follows:—

The Surya-Siddhanta accepts the planets—and sun and moon are considered planets—to move in circles round the unmoving earth at speeds varying from moment to moment. To explain and calculate these irregular movements it imagines a circle, called epicycle, the centre of which moves along the same circle as the planet itself. The speed at which this centre moves is unvarying and equal to the mean time the planet takes for its movement. Round the circumference of the epicycle moves a second point at constant speed; its revolution is completed in the mean period of the planet's revolution. There is a difference in principle between the Ptolemaean theory and the conception of the Siddhanta: Ptolemy makes the planets revolve in the epicycles; for the Siddhantas the Epicycles are only a means for calculating the true places. Moreover, the dimensions of the epicycles, which are constants in the *Almagest*, are subject to contractions and expansions in the course of each revolution in the system of the Siddhanta. These particulars led Burgess to conjecture an independent original Hindu astronomy.

A Calendar based on true movements presupposes an astronomical scientific system of such a degree of development that the results of calculations effected according to that system are generally believed to be in accordance with the results of actual observations. The writer concludes:—

Among the Hindus—who as a rule showed themselves poor observers—the results obtained by calculations according to the Siddhantas had even precedence over actual observation; numerous are the inscriptions stating a certain grant to have been made at the moment of an eclipse of the moon on days which most certainly must have passed without the moon having been eclipsed. An analogous example may be found in the "paschal Full Moon," which, in the centuries preceding the Gregorian reformation, sometimes was more than three days ahead of an actual moment of Full Moon.

TRAINING THE HAND

The May number of the *Aryan Path* has an interesting article on "Training the hand" from the pen of Dr. L. P. Jacks. The subject is much discussed at present in India especially after the advent of the Wardha Scheme of Education. As the Wardha scheme gives prominence to manual training Dr. Jacks' article which brings out the inter-dependence of head and hand-learning is very timely. "Until mental and moral education is underpinned by a right physical education it will have no firm foundation." Dr. Jack continues:

"A trained and skilful hand on an untrained and unskilful body is a most unpromising combination, indeed I think we may say an impossible one. If the body as a whole is untrained in balance, poise, natural self-control, the economy of movement and energy, if it knows not how to breathe, to stand, to walk and to co-ordinate the action of one part with that of every other part, then I do not see how it is possible to get good results in the arts, the handicrafts or anything else by the training of the hand alone. Perhaps we may begin by training the hand, but if we do so we shall find we cannot get very far until we have trained the rest of the body to back it up and support it. If, on the other hand, we begin by training the whole body in the qualities just mentioned we shall probably find that the hand will soon participate in the general skill so acquired, become not only ready, but eager for skilful work and take to it spontaneously. This I consider the better beginning. In my view the education of the lines indicated is the right beginning for all human education whatever—the beginning, but of course not the end. Until mental and moral education is underpinned by a right physical education—and there are many wrong kinds—it will have no firm foundation."

ISLAMIC SOCIALISM

"Islam is a Social polity co-extensive with life itself. Its laws are elastic and broad enough to meet any exigency of of time or situation, without in any way disregarding the fundamental truths of human nature, as pointed out by the Holy Qu-ran" says Mr. M. Fatehulla Khan writing in the June issue of the *Islamic Review*.

"Islam has an evolutionary outlook on life and admits the growing complexity of social phenomena. Yet it emphasises the laws of human nature which are immutable. So, whatever its laws of social order, political structure, or economic development, they have all been so evolved as to remain in consonance with human nature which is not only unchangeable but also universal."

* * * * *

"In Islam, a state should be a powerful organisation and must be strong enough to control all its affairs. Any ideology that seeks to destroy the state-control has, therefore, no place in the Islamic polity. Although class antagonism, such as we see to-day, did not exist at the time Islam was presented to the world, nearly thirteen and a half centuries ago, yet it took cognisance of the dangers of organised wealth and exploitation of labour."

Islam, says the writer, has laid down certain definite rules and regulations under which distribution of wealth and property and the State-control over certain matters should work, and these may be regarded as socialistic elements in the politics of Islam.

PROPHET MUHAMMAD. Life by Ahmed Shafi. His Teachings by Yakub Hashi. As. 12. To Subs. of the "I.R." As. 10.

G. A. NATHAN & Co., PUBLISHERS, G. T., MADRAS.

FRIENDSHIP IN EDUCATION

The June number of the *New Review* contains an article under the above heading by Mr. T. N. Siqueira who pleads for personal friendship between the teacher and the taught in the schools and colleges. The writer says that a serious and concerted attempt should be made to *personalize* education in India "to introduce the personal factor more largely into the relations of students and teachers, by making greater contact between them inevitable and obligatory—so that the greatest weakness of our system, especially in the university stage, may be removed, and a return made to the ancient and rational conception of education."

For providing frequent contacts between staff and students, Mr. Siqueira suggests the following lines:

The college should be so organized as to force them (the teacher and the pupil) to meet often and live together a common life. Each member of the staff may be given the care of a few students (not more than ten), whom he is to see (not interview—which is too formal) at least once a week, and help and guide in every sphere of their life—to whom, in a word, he is to be a tutor or *guru* and whose admiration and friendship he is to win by what he is and does and says, so that when they leave college they may continue to seek his guidance and live by the inspiration of the memory. Thus we shall have something like the tutorial system in Oxford, where the tutor is ostensibly only a guide to study, but often—if he shows himself worthy of it—becomes a Mentor of the undergraduate's private life and thought as well, forging links of esteem and friendship which stretch across the seas and the years.

To make this system easier to work, the tutor should live with the students in his charge—on the college premises, if possible, or in a house or flat where he is always accessible to them. Our large hostels, where one large building houses two or three hundred students, defeat the very purpose for which hostels are meant. They make it impossible for the students to know one another and live together: they degenerate into *hells*, where each one hardly knows (or cares) who lives

next door. Small houses or blocks, separated from one another by a little garden, each with a name and associations of its own and under the personal care of an esteemed member of the staff who lives there with his pupils—these are the ideal to be aimed at, in spite of greater cost in space and money.

Teaching is an *assimilation* of the pupil to the teacher by a process of very like magnetic attraction. Since this attraction must be voluntary, the teacher has to deserve it. The writer says:

To attract the pupil to imitate him, the teacher must be known to the pupil—he must allow the young naturally critical but hero-worshipping personality to see realized in him its own ideal; the pupil should find solved in his teacher his own perhaps unconfessed problems; he should see in his teacher the intellectual, moral, physical, religious, social qualities which he considers worth possessing. Once he acknowledges his teacher as worthy of being his *guru*, his education is secure. The contact of mind with mind, of heart with heart—which Mr. Andrews called friendship—will then follow in the classroom more formally and respectfully, on the playground and in walks and debates and tea-parties more intimately and on less unequal terms, the one completing and confirming the results of the other. It is only thus that any true education can be imparted.

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S. GURUSWAMI PILLAI, B.A..

Secretary.

July '38.

THE FILM IN EDUCATION

"While it is true that Cinema can have a bad influence over man, its advantages as an aid to education outweigh the defects and disadvantages" says Mr. Kamalakant Mookerjee writing in the *Indian Journal of Education*. Writing on the conditions in India Mr. Mookerjee says :—

Films as instruments of education have not yet been practically introduced in India, owing to various difficulties the foremost of which is this that most of our schools cannot even purchase an Epidiascope or a Magic lantern, and they cannot possess educational films of their own. Secondly, though their value is inestimable it has not been quite realised yet except by a few progressive and modern educationists and psychologists. Hence, there is the lack of proper organisation owing to the ignorance of the masses and the want of sufficient culture and education amongst most of our parents and guardians. But considering the utility of such a means of practical education, as indicated above, it is absolutely essential that special films should be prepared for educational purposes and mainly suiting the requirements of our children, as the majority shown in the public cinemas are definitely bad. There must be a huge organisation for carrying on this scheme of work.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that there is a growing recognition of the utility of such a constructive programme of work and let us hope that in course of a very short time educational films dealing with topics on History, Geography, Science, Nature Study and even Literature will be introduced in our schools and welcomed by the authorities for giving them a fair trial, for certainly they can be regarded as excellent means for imparting lessons. For practical purposes the filming may be done with a 16 M. M. motion-picture camera with does not require any high degree of technical skill to handle at, and it is also fairly economical to maintain. This equipment, of course, only makes silent pictures which is all the average school can hope to achieve. But when the children will be required to learn the various speech parts, the sound films will serve the purpose.

The time will come when films will be playing a greater part in the education of children, and School life will then be less boring, school books prove more interesting and the teacher less important in the matter of child education.

HINDU SAMSKARAS

"The purpose of the Hindu Samskaras" is the title of an informing article by Dr. Raj Bali Pandey in the latest issue of the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*. Most of the Samskaras are becoming defunct now. But by making the Samskaras or ceremonies compulsory, the ancient Hindu Sociologists aimed at evolving a type of humanity uniform in culture and character and having the same ideal in life. Dr. Pandey says :—

Spiritualism is a chief feature of Hinduism and every phase of Hindu religion is tinged with it. This general outlook of the Hindus transformed the Samskaras into a spiritual *Sadhana*. The spiritual purpose and significance of the Samskaras cannot be given an open demonstration, nor can it be evidenced with paper documents. It is the experience of those who have received the sacraments.

The Samskaras served a mean between the ascetic and materialistic conception of the body. The advocates of the first school try to worship the spirit while discarding the body an absurd procedure in the world of elements. The upholders of the second view do not go beyond the body and deny the spiritual aspect of man's life, and therefore they are deprived of that peace and joy that are nestled in the calm recesses of the Spirit. It was the business of the Samskaras to make the body a valuable possession, a thing not to be discarded, but made holy, a thing to be sanctified, so that it might be a fitting instrument of the spiritual intelligence embodied in it.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO PROPERTY ACT.
By N. N. Pandia. [The Bombay Law Journal, June 1938.]

A SURVEY OF CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN INDIA.
By Dr. Satyananda Roy, M.A. [Indian Journal of Education, May 1938.]

INDIA'S DEFENCE ON SINGAPORE. By Alfred E. Pieres. [The New Review, June 1938.]

MAHATMA GANDHI AND HINDU TRADITION. By Rabindranath Bose. [Prabuddha Bharata, June 1938.]

AN INDIAN MATERNITY ON THE 13TH CENTURY. By Dr. D. C. Sircar. [Modern Review, June 1938.]

THE PROCESS OF REINCARNATION IN HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY. By Mahendranath Sircar. [The Aryan Path, June 1938.]

WOOD CARVING IN SOUTHERN INDIA. By R. Ramaswami. [The Indian State Railways Magazine, May 1938.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

LORD ZETLAND ON FEDERATION

An important statement respecting Federation was made by Lord Zetland at the Bombay Dinner in London on May 27. Lord Zetland said:

There are, I know, criticisms of the federal provisions of the Government of India Act on the part both of the Princes and those who speak for British India. Yet, I should hope that room may be found within the framework of the Act, to accommodate the reasonable requirements of both Provinces and States.

I can understand, for example, the views of those who will represent the Provinces in the Federation as a result of election, that some element of popular choice, as distinct from pure nomination, should enter into the selection of those who represent the Princes. Well, that is for the Princes themselves to decide.

There is nothing in the Act to prevent it, nor will the Paramount Power be found standing in the way of any Prince who seeks to temper the rigid autocracy of bygone days with a more liberal system, as indeed some at least of the Princes are tending more and more to do to-day.

But here let me put in a word of caution. The fact that the Viceroy is shortly coming home on leave has given rise to speculation. I have seen it suggested that he is coming home to discuss with His Majesty's Government changes in the federal structure embodied in the Act and I should fear that silence on my part in face of such suggestions might be assumed to indicate my concurrence with them.

Let me say at once, then, that so far as I am aware, there is no foundation for any such suggestion. The federal provisions of the Act were the outcome of prolonged and exhaustive examination and discussion over a term of years, and in my view, there is not the least likelihood of His Majesty's Government or of Parliament being willing to consider before even Federation has come into operation, any alteration in its structure.

Both the Viceroy and I are ready at all times to listen to comments on the federal provisions of the Act whether by the Princes or by those who speak for British India, but within the framework prescribed by Parliament there is, in my view, ample scope for providing the peoples of India with a degree of political cohesion which they have never before possessed in all the agitating epochs of their history.

Let it not be said of India when this generation stands at the bar of history that they have lightly discarded an occasion which, if it be not grasped now, may never recur.

THE "GUARDIAN'S" WARNING

Commenting on Lord Zetland's brusque speech the *Manchester Guardian* writes editorially:

Not for the first time are there rumours of some action by the British Government to clear up the obscurities in India's political future. Many of the sanest observers in India believe that there will be an opportunity this summer such as has not arisen since the War—and may not arise again—to settle the relations between India and Britain in a peaceful and profitable manner. It is believed that Indian leaders are prepared to negotiate with regard to the Federal side of the Government of India Act, that there are suitable grounds for negotiations and that such negotiations stand a reasonable chance of success. This optimism is still tentative.

It has received no official encouragement and it has been damaged if not drowned by Lord Zetland's Bombay Dinner speech. There is a feeling that Lord Zetland was unnecessarily brusque. If Lord Zetland's statement means "take or leave it", India will certainly leave it. Lord Zetland and the Viceroy have to decide whether some radically new approach to the problems of Federation—new discussions and new understandings—are not immediately necessary. If they decide that there is no such need, the whole Act may crumble and nobody would care to say what the state of things in India will then be.

There is plenty of evidence from India that it will be worth England's while to reconsider Federation. It may be said that to suggest negotiations now ignores the rights and susceptibilities of the Princes. The future, however unpalatable it may be to some people, and however the circumstances may be used to avoid admitting it must be thought of in terms of a self-governing India and immediately that means free and equal discussions of the difficulties.

INDIAN DELEGATES TO THE LEAGUE

The representatives of India at the September session of the Assembly of the League of Nations will be:

Sir N. N. Sircar,

Sir Sultan Ahmed and

Sir B. K. Shanmukham Chetty

Mr. W. D. Croft will be substitute delegate.

MR. SASTRI ON CONGRESS POLICY

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the Union Society of the Madras Christian College, said :

I think it possible from the vantage ground that they now occupy, for the Congress to declare itself a perfectly constitutional body, to give up the idea that they carry on war, to give up the idea that some day they will have to come out and declare war. I should like the Congress to fall into the quiet ways of Government in power, going from strength to strength, until it reaches the goal which it has set before itself, which I prefer to call 'Purna Swaraj.'

In their march towards Purna Swaraj, they may be sure of the active help and co-operation of all patriotic parties in this country. I know of none who will stand in their way. But there are some parties who would demand this that we must openly and avowedly take to peaceful and constitutional methods for attaining this goal. The Congress and we differ still in this one respect.

While we both are non-violent, it occurs to me, though it might sound a little paradoxical, that the Congress, in its methods of approach to the goal is not nearly so peaceful as other parties would like it to be. And therefore I am one of those who think that there is room for more parties than one even with the British still in power. I disagree completely with the Congress when they say that all the parties must merge in them. I do not think so. I think on the other hand, that the Congress Governments ought to have a good, strong, influential opposition ranged against them. Otherwise there is every danger of their becoming demoralised.

Mr. Sastri continuing stated that so long as the Congress believed that, apart from itself, the only other political entity in this country was British bureaucracy, cut off from all sympathies with the people, and that both were engaged in fighting each other, there could be no peace in this land, and he would do all that he could, to ask the Congress to change this theme in their ideology.

Concluding the Rt. Hon. Sastri said that he thought that India's progress towards the goal of full self-Government might be achieved by ways of peace, and peace only; not by the peace which the Congress called "War," although constantly using the word "Non-violence." His idea of peace was something more deep-rooted.

PT. NEHRU'S BROADCAST IN PARIS

Broadcasting from Paris, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said :

I am glad of the opportunity to say a few words to our friends in France, for France has long been for us a citadel of liberty. In our struggle for freedom in India we have often looked to France and French history for inspiration. Europe to-day is full of crises and threat of a terrible and devastating war hangs over all of us.

People in Europe, busy with their own problems are apt to forget India and the East: yet India and the freedom of India are part of the world problem. Until India is free from imperialist domination and has gained independence, there will not be enduring peace in the world. We claim and expect the good will of the French people who have so long been the torch-bearers of liberty in the world in our struggle for freedom.

Referring to Spain, Pandit Nehru said :

I am convinced that the spirit of the indomitable Spanish people can never be crushed. Spain cannot be subjugated by foreign armies, however long the struggle lasts. India has looked at the struggle in Spain with the deepest interest and all her sympathies are with the Spanish people of the Republic. We consider this struggle of vital importance in the world struggle for freedom.

MR. JAMES ON INDIA'S FUTURE

Speaking on "India's Place in the Empire" at a recent meeting at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, Mr. F. E. James said :

I believe that it is to India's interests as well as to the interests of the Empire, that India should be assimilated into the system of the Commonwealth. Yet India cannot be expected to remain content with the position which she occupies in the Empire to-day. The things for which the Empire stands are being threatened almost daily by dominant and domineering Powers. It is, therefore, increasingly important that India's association with the Empire should be happy, voluntary and beneficial, for the Empire's strength will depend upon its unity. If India can with good will and mutual adjustment achieve in the Empire a permanent and satisfying place, not only will the Empire be strengthened in the day of peril, but it will have pointed the way to the solution of one of the gravest problems in the world, the reconciliation of the East and the West.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

"The Indian defence Problem" was the subject of an informing address at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, when Mr. K. Santanam, M.L.A., Editor of the *Indian Express* urged the need for entrusting India's defence to Indian hands. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, presided.

In the course of the speech, Mr. Santanam discounted all fears of an invasion of India by any Asiatic or European power and pointed out that the abnormal expenditure on defence was mainly due to the British army, navy and air force now preponderating in the country. He stressed the necessity for the establishment of an aeroplane factory in India, which would be able to manufacture all kinds of 'planes including bombers, and of dockyards to build ships and provision of facilities for large-scale training of Indian pilots and seamen. These he said were the fundamental needs of India's defence.

Concluding, Mr. Santanam said that Britain should be asked to accept India's proposals for reorganization, and should be told that India would, in that case, undertake to help in the defence of countries outside India such as the Straits Settlements, Aden and Burma. In the alternative, Britain should be told India would neutralise all her forces in any crisis. "We are not going to be bullied into any action. In the next war we are going to be either friends or enemies. There will be no middle way."

Mr. Natesan in his presidential remarks, said that it had always been the view of Indian politicians that the Army in India was kept at great cost, and was in excess of her requirements. It would be in the

interests of India and of Britain herself if military expenditure was lessened, and the army, navy and air force were indianised. Responsible politicians had always said that if only Britain changed her military policy, the expenditure could be brought down considerably. The truth of the matter was that since the Indian Mutiny, British policy with regard to military matters had been one of suspicion and distrust. Before the Mutiny, the proportion of English soldiers in India was less than to-day.

Concluding, Mr. Natesan said that now a new era had dawned in India. He added:

My own opinion is you cannot achieve anything unless you have responsible government. You have responsible government in the provinces now, and responsible government in the centre should be your next objective. When you get responsibility at the centre then 99 per cent. of India's defence problems will be solved. If responsible government at the centre is given there would be partnership between Britain and India. Then many misunderstandings between the two countries will be removed and cordiality and good-will will prevail to the advantage of both countries.

MR. SASTRI ON INDIA'S DEFENCE

Presiding over a meeting addressed by Mr. F. E. James, in Madras the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri deplored, that after a century of British rule, Britain has left us in an abject and helpless condition of dependence on foreign protection.

When the final account between Britain and India is written there is much that will stand to Britain's credit, a great deal that will redound to the generosity of her heart. But one thing will stand against her to such an extent that I do not know whether both sides of the balance-sheet will really be found equal as they should be; and that is, the condition in which India has been left during all these years of British connexion, in a state, of abject and helpless dependence upon Britain and especially upon the War Office and the state of even greater abject dependence upon this agency, in which we will be found at the end of the war. I request Mr. James to remember this, that in keeping us where we are in matters of defence, Britain has not been fair to us and perhaps it will be found in the end that she has not been fair to herself either, considering her own larger interests.

THE TEACHING OF HINDI

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Madras Premier, has clarified his Government's attitude to the compulsory teaching of Hindi in certain selected schools of the Madras Presidency in an interview to the Press. The Premier says:

The issue is not whether Tamil is going to be ruined, but whether a Government chosen by the people is or is not at liberty to give a liberal education to the boys of the Province. The question is whether the Ministers of the people should govern or a few disgruntled persons should be allowed to intimidate them.

Let every one understand (1) that I love the boys of the Province and want them to be properly educated; (2) that a working knowledge of the language most widely spoken in India is necessary to complete a liberal education; (3) that the Government is not introducing Hindustani in any elementary school where Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, or Kannada shall be the only language taught; (4) that the medium of instruction for all subjects will be only Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Kannada and that the teachers have orders to give up the wasteful use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction; (5) that the Government is taking vigorous steps to enforce a higher standard of efficiency in the mother-tongue among all pupils; (6) that Hindustani is to be taught only from the sixth to the eighth school-year of the High School pupil; (7) that no pupil is allowed to substitute the study of Hindustani for that of his own mother-tongue; (8) that Hindustani will not affect the promotion of any boy or girl from class to class though the Hindustani classes will be part of the regular school curriculum; (9) and that Urdu as well as Nagari are left to the option of the pupil for script, the language being Hindustani as commonly spoken.

THE NIZAM'S MUNIFICENCE

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have given a donation of Rs. 25,000/- towards the Jubilee Fund of the Allahabad University. The Executive Council of the University has resolved to call a wing of the proposed Women's Hostel, for which the donation was given, after His Exalted Highness' name.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

The nomination of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University for a further period of three years has been approved by His Excellency the Chancellor.

GOVERNMENT AND BOARD SCHOOLS

The Government would be taking over the management of the District Board and Panchayat schools shortly and the teachers of these schools would, thereafter, be regarded as Government servants. They would, however, not be entitled to any pension but would secure the benefits of a provident fund scheme which was being worked out.

This announcement was made by Mr. C. J. Varkey, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education, (Madras) addressing a large gathering of Trichinopoly teachers at a meeting held under the auspices of the Trichinopoly Teachers' Guild. Mr. V. Saranatha Ayyangar, President of the Guild, introduced the distinguished lecturer to the audience.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE

A Sanskrit College has been started at Malbari, an important town of the district of Kamrup, from May. It is understood that English section up to the Intermediate Standard will also be opened along with the Sanskrit classes shortly. The public have undertaken to finance and manage the institution the first of its kind in the Assam Valley.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Delhi University has appointed the following persons to be members of the Court of the University, with effect from June 26, 1938:—

Mr. Indra Narayan Brijmohan Lal, Chief Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay, Mr. Muhammad Asmatullah, Delhi; and Mir Muhammad Hussain, Delhi.

THE FEDERAL COURT

"The preliminaries connected with the work of the Federal Court have been completed and we are now ready to deal with any cases that might be referred to us," said the Hon. Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, interviewed at Bombay before sailing for London.

Sir Maurice added that as both the Central Provinces Government and the Government of India might require time to prepare their cases in the dispute relating to the C. P. and Berar Sales of Motor Spirits Act the case would be heard in October when the Court reassembles.

"Now that a beginning has been made by the C. P. case," said Mr. Justice Jayakar, "I am hoping that work will come into our court in profusion. I have no doubt that when the several units of the Federation come to realise what rights they enjoy under the constitution they will be alert in asserting them whenever there is an occasion."

COCHIN HIGH COURT

The High Court of Cochin was inaugurated on June 18. The Chief Justice, Mr. V. D. Joseph, read a message from Sir M. Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India.

Mr. Thomas Manjooran, Advocate-General congratulated their lordships on their appointments and referred to the long history of the Cochin judiciary, while Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Advocate-General, Madras, hoped that the new court would keep up the traditions of Cochin judiciary.

The Chief Justice replying pleaded for mutual understanding between the Bench and the Bar for the cause of the promotion of Justice.

THE 'TRIBUNE' TRUST CASE

After a protracted hearing lasting for over a year Mr. Justice Skemp pronounced judgment in the 'Tribune' Trust case, directing the removal of three of the five trustees, namely Rai Bahadur Kanwar Sen, Lala Jagannath Agarwal and Prof. Ruchiram Sahni.

His lordship directed the remaining two trustees, Mr. Manoharlal and Raja Narendranath, to recommend names to the court for filling the three vacancies.

The suit was brought by Prof. Sahni, one of the trustees, against fellow trustees, Mr. Manoharlal, Raja Narendranath, Rai Bahadur Kanwar Sen and Lala Jagannath Agarwal on the basis of several allegations of mismanagement and misfeasance. The plaintiff prayed for their removal for settling a scheme for reorganising the paper. He also alleged that the policy laid down by the founder of the trust in the will was not being carried out and the paper had become a Congress organ and an organ of urban Hindus. The defence plea was that they were diligently discharging their duties and there was no mismanagement or misfeasance.

His Lordship in the order held that the evidence on the point that the policy of the founder of the trust was not being carried out was insufficient. His Lordship also observed: 'My final conclusion is that the plaintiff has failed in his main case. The defendants, subject to insignificant exceptions have not been guilty of misconduct or breach of trust, but Rai Bahadur Kanwar Sen's appointment 500 to 600 miles away renders him unsuitable as a trustee and the election of Lala Jagannath Agarwal is not proved. They are therefore removed.'

GOVERNMENT AND INSURANCE

The Bombay Government have passed orders that all insurance on Government buildings and other Government properties should be done with Indian insurance companies. They have also instructed the High Court, District Courts and the Attorney-General that any insurance which they may effect should be passed on to Indian companies.

It will be remembered that at the time of the discussion on the Insurance Bill in the Central Assembly, representatives of Indian companies urged that the Government should place all their insurance policies with Indian companies.

When the Congress accepted office in Bombay, representatives of Indian insurance companies waited on Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister, on deputation and urged that Indian companies should be given encouragement. The Bombay Government are annually paying foreign companies over one lakh of rupees by way of premium on their policies. Indian companies contend that this amount would help the latter considerably.

AVIATION INSURANCE

A number of Canadian and American insurance companies have formed the Canadian Aviation Insurance Managers, Ltd., with head offices at Montreal. It will write all lines of aviation insurance for the Canadian aircraft insurance group which has obtained the business of the Trans-Canada Air Lines. The two Canadian companies concerned are the British America and the Western Assurance. Squadron-Leader J. H. Tudhope will be in charge of the Montreal head office.

THE FAMILY INCOME ENDOWMENT

Among the many attractive types of policies issued by the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada is the Family Income Endowment. Mr. R. J. Baker, Branch Manager of the "Sun Life" at Calcutta describes the benefits of this policy in these terms.

The Family Income endowment policy provides the ideal combination of guaranteed capital and income and is probably the most scientifically up-to-date contract for the family man. . . .

The policy provides:

1. An immediate income of adequate proportions when it is most needed;
2. The continuance of it while it is necessary;
3. The cessation of it when it is not required, and
4. The capital sum when the responsibilities and anxieties of rearing for the children have been successfully overcome.

As an example let us consider the case of a young man aged 30 with a wife and two or three children. Normally he would invest in an endowment policy to mature at age 55 for, we will say, £2,000 at the most, and in the event of his death his wife would receive the capital sum of £2,000 or the income instalments offered by most companies but which, based on a capital of £2,000, would be entirely inadequate.

Under the Family Income policy his wife would receive the benefit during the first 10, 15 or 20 years 12 per cent. of the face value of the policy i.e., £240 per annum payable at the rate of £20 monthly. This extra benefit is given in exchange for the payment of the very small extra premium and provides very substantial benefits which would otherwise involve the taking out of, on the basis of 3 per cent. a policy for approximately four times the amount which would obviously be much beyond his means. This monthly income is paid until the expiry of the income period of 10, 15 or 20 years whichever is most suitable and at the end of that income period the full face value of the policy would then become payable.

To give an idea of the cost of these exceptional benefits, this particular company would issue at age 30 a participating 25-year endowment policy to mature at age 55 at an annual premium of £90 but the very substantial family income benefit could be added for 10 years at a cost of £9 per annum, for 15 years at £14-2-0 per annum and for 20 years at £20-2-0 per annum—a very small price to pay to provide a very substantial income for the family at the time when it is most needed. In other words, the company assumes from the outset a very much larger risk for the benefit of the family at extremely low cost.

MR. DALAL'S ADVICE TO EMPLOYERS

"It is not unnatural that on the accession to political power of the wage-earning classes there should be a certain amount of effervescence," said Mr. A. R. Dalal referring to the labour situation in the country, in his presidential speech at the first quarterly general meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, held at Bombay on the 20th June. "The business and commercial community, which has played its part in bringing about the present political consciousness," continued Mr. Dalal, "cannot be accused of want of sympathy or the necessity of a fair and reasonable adjustment of the claims of capital and labour.

All sober-minded employers feel that if the capitalistic system is to survive at all, business activities must be conducted not for the benefit of any particular class, but for the community as a whole and that the fruits of such activities should be divided equitably between those who help in their production.

While we and those whom we represent have every sympathy with the Provincial Governments in their laudable efforts to ameliorate the conditions of labour and while we are prepared to co-operate with them, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that events have recently happened in certain provinces which have caused misgivings in the minds of capitalists. This state of affairs will inevitably result in driving away capital and preventing further investment of capital in industry in the disturbed area.

"One of the solutions of the difficulty," Mr. Dalal pointed out, "appears to me to be the establishment of an industrial council for all India, as suggested by the Whitley Commission, which should be representative of both industrialists and labour.

BRITISH TRADE IN 1987

In the House of Commons, the President of the Board of Trade reviewed the economic conditions of last year, and made references to both the Anglo-American trade negotiations and the positions of the cotton industry.

Mr. Oliver Stanley said the year 1987, apart from the weakness which developed at the close of the year, had been an extremely prosperous year for British trade. There had been hardly a section of British industry which had not been able to increase its production and its profits, and where wages did not tend to rise.

In the first four months of 1988, however, there had been a certain slackening in the increase of production. The Minister cited figures of employment, railway receipts, postal receipts and retail sales in illustration of his statement. Industrial production last year had been nearly seven per cent. greater than in 1936, following increase of 9½ per cent. and just over seven per cent. in the two preceding years.

THE TRAVANCORE NATIONAL BANK

The Travancore National and Quilon Bank, Ltd., have suspended business from June 21. The Madras Stock Exchange have removed the Travancore National and Quilon Bank share from the list for quotations.

The Travancore National Bank Subsidiary Co. Ltd., has also adjourned business consequent on adjournment of business of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank Ltd.

EGYPT AND INDIAN TEXTILES

It is learnt that the Government of India have made representations to the Secretary of State regarding the recent heavy increases in import duties imposed by the Egyptian Government on Indian textile goods.

WOMEN IN POLITICS

Women are not a success in politics, is the opinion of a distinguished American political writer, Arthur Crook, reports the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Whereas "Molly" Dewson of whom it is said that she has won unprecedented political recognition for women in the Roosevelt Administration, said they are, in a lively debate which was waged by the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee in its "digest".

"Both these persons are Democratic, so no partisan jealousies are involved," says the *Christian Science Monitor*.

"Mr. Crook admits that women have made no more mistakes in politics than men would have under the same circumstances. Also that their entry has for the first time made their peculiar and essential interests a matter of Government concern—and properly, too.

But with considerable certainty, he states that women do not and will never make the best public officials in capacities calling for "great force, great dignity or complete emotional detachment." Furthermore, he flatly says he hopes he won't live to see the day when women are Presidents, war and peace officers, or high judges.

"Women approach politics as individually as men do, but they are much more prejudiced as a species, and their prejudices are highly personal. They are neither as reasonable nor as logical, and magnanimity is not their prevailing quality.

"The compassion and spiritual beauty they reveal in personal relationships and in times of national crises do not show in politics at all. Women have not made politics any purer than men have."

WOMEN POLICE IN U. P.

Smartly dressed in khaki shirts, white salvars, blue shawls, neat pump shoes and wearing white armbands with black letters, the United Provinces women police appeared at Cawnpore on June 7 at the gates of the Lakshmiratan Cotton and J. K. Jute Mills.

This is, perhaps, the first occasion in India when women have been enrolled to do police work in public. This necessity arose from the fact that women had taken to picketting side by side with men and it was thought advisable to employ women police to deal with women law breakers.

WOMEN FOR AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

A big drive to recruit women for air raid precaution services was announced by Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, during a debate in the House of Commons.

He hoped shortly to see started a women's organisation, non-party and non-sectarian, representing all the large bodies of women workers in the country, to act in close harmony with the local authorities, and to recruit women for services reserved for women particularly.

WOMEN AND COMMUNALISM

"We do not believe in communal electorates; every women's association in the country has demonstrated that it wants to be free from communalism", observed Miss Mona Hansmen, M. L. C., in an interview before she left for Bombay on June 10 en route to Geneva to attend the Y. W. C. A. Conference as an all-India delegate. "We are inter-provincial and more national and less provincial-minded," she added.

DELHI JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

The journalists working at the headquarters of the Government of India have formed themselves into an association known as the Press Association of Simla, and New Delhi with Mr. J. W. Collins, Reuter's agent to Government of India, as the president. The objects of the Association are defined as follows :—

1. To secure and safeguard the rights and privileges of the members in discharge of their duties in relation to the Central Government and the Central Legislature,
- (2) to maintain independence of the press and
- (3) to encourage social activities in the mutual interests of the members and to arrange lectures and discussions.

INDIAN NEWSPAPERS

Lord Willingdon, former Viceroy, proposing the toast of the Newspaper Press of India at the centenary dinner of the *Times of India* at Grosvenor House, London on June 15 paid a great tribute to Indian newspapers.

He mentioned that during his time in India he had several occasions to take drastic action against the vernacular press. Nevertheless, he had a certain sympathy for it, even though this press propounded strong nationalistic views.

Very seldom, said Lord Willingdon, did the nationalist newspapers overstep the bounds of fairness in their criticism.

YOUNG WRITERS AND OLD

According to Mr. W. B. Yeats, the Irish poet, versification comes more easily in later life than in one's youth. With maturity one can write in a day what once would have taken a week to compose. But ideas do not flow so freely with the advance of age. Much of the fire of youthful inspiration is said to disappear, and the tendency to rattle off bad verse becomes more apparent, unless it is checked by discrimination.

MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN PATNA

Mr. P. R. Das, Barrister, has donated a sum of Rs. 500 to the Mass Literacy Committee, for literacy campaign at Patna. He has also promised a monthly contribution of Rs. 100/- to this Committee.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE

The late Mr. G. K. Gokhale could be said to be the source of inspiration of the present national movement, observed the Premier, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, speaking at the unveiling ceremony of a bust of the departed leader on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, at Poona. Mr. Kher said: "If we look up to Mahatma Gandhi as our greatest leader and revere him as our guru, the Mahatma in turn claims Mr. Gokhale as his political guru."

THE HON. MR. SAMBAMURTI

The Working Committee of the Congress met Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti, Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, during its Session in Bombay and asked him to withdraw his request for permission to resign the speakership and membership of the Assembly.

Mr. Sambamurti has accordingly agreed to withdraw his letter to the Working Committee and therefore, he continues to be the Speaker of the Madras Assembly.

MR. H. V. KAMATH

Mr. H. V. Kamath, who resigned from the I. C. S., and joined the Congress, has been appointed the Parliamentary Co-ordination Secretary at the A. I. C. C. office. This post, it is stated, has been specially created and he has been entrusted with the task of establishing and maintaining co-ordination among the seven Congress provinces.

MR. SHYAM PRASAD MUKERJI

Mr. Shyam Prasad Mukerji, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, has received and accepted an invitation from Geneva to attend the annual General Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations as India's representative in the place of Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

SIR M. N. MUKHERJEE

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee took over charge on 4th June in place of Sir M. N. Sircar, Law Member, who is on leave from that date.

INDIAN SCULPTURE

When delivering the Sir George Birdwood memorial lecture on "The Genius of Indian Sculpture" to the Royal Society of Arts in London, Sir William Rothenstein expressed the view that "no people had been so profusely inventive as the Indian people." Said he:

"Their iconography is, I suppose, the richest and most exuberant ever evolved from the human brain. They have peopled their vast heaven with an incredible number of gods, for all of whom they have invented forms, attributes and attitudes whereby they could be recognized.

"There is a tendency to pass too lightly over this prolific creation of forms, gestures and attitudes perfected by the Indian genius, which were adopted and taken over in all their completeness when Buddhism spread to the Far East. Surely this teeming creative fertility is in itself an astonishing and supreme achievement, the more so since they showed in all the forms they conceived for their gods an equally abundant plastic inventiveness."

The lecturer recalled that it was just 28 years since he listened to an address on Indian art by Sir George Birdwood, "who, though he gave full recognition to the beauty of Indian craftsmanship, denied any fine art to India. 'Times have changed,'" added Sir William Rothenstein. "There is a growing appreciation of the great contribution India has made to painting and sculpture, but even to-day the exalted place given to the art of China and Japan is scarcely extended to Indian art. Yet in Hindu sculpture, apart from its spiritual and symbolical character, there are certain plastic qualities of breadth, volume and poise which seem to me to be unique."

NATIONAL ART GALLERY

An appeal for public subscription towards the establishment of a national art gallery for India has been issued by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society of New Delhi.

The Gallery will start with a collection of modern Indian paintings and, in due course, it is proposed to add on to the Gallery an Academy of Art and also to hold annual exhibitions of modern Indian paintings.

THE CRICKET CLUB OF INDIA

The differences of opinion that have been in existence for a considerable time now between high cricket authorities in this country and the real reasons for the resignation of the Jam Sahab from the presidentship of the Board of Control and of Mr. A. S. de Mello from the secretaryship of the Board and the Cricket Club of India, are revealed for the first time in the reports of certain important meetings that were held in Bombay.

In his letter of resignation His Highness the Jam Sahab made it clear that as long as the Honorary Secretary and the office refused to work under the President's instructions, cricket affairs in India would be a muddle. He cited instances when important decisions had been taken by the Secretary without the President having been aware of them.

As regards the Cricket Club of India, a report of the meeting reveals that the Club is at present indebted to the extent of Rs. 18 lakhs and that liquidation proceedings have not been taken against it by Mr. Shapurji Pallonjee, its chief creditor, only because an assurance was given by Sir Nowroji Saklatwala that sincere attempts would be made to rehabilitate the finances of the Club.

The report also makes it clear that Mr. Bramble threatened to resign from the Club if Mr. de Mello continued to be its secretary.

SILVER STATUE FOR HARBANS SINGH

Sports enthusiasts of Bangalore mustered strong on June 7 at Arya Vidyasala when a public address and a silver statue were presented to Harbans Singh, a wrestler of international repute. Mr. L. S. Raju, president of the Civil Liberties Union of Bangalore, presiding, dwelt on the value of physical culture and hoped that Harbans Singh's example would be one for emulation to all. India, he said, was badly in need of such men.

MADRAS BROADCASTING STATION

The development of broadcasting in India has been carried a stage further by the inauguration of the first broadcasting centre of the All-India Radio in the Madras Presidency on June 16 by the Prime Minister the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. With the opening of the Madras centre seven new transmitting stations have been added to the All-India Radio system within six months making a total of eleven stations in operation.

A unique feature of the broadcasting development scheme in the Madras Presidency will be the establishment by the Government of Madras of village receivers over a large area. It is proposed to supply these receivers in districts as much as 800 miles away from Madras and to provide a service to them from the shortwave station.

"RADIO NURSE"

A sensitive microphone and a loud-speaker, both of which can be plugged into the ordinary lighting sockets in the rooms of a house, have been made in America by the name of "Radio Nurse." If the microphone is left near a baby's cot, or by the bed in a sick-room, the slightest cry or word will be heard wherever the loud-speaker is placed. The baby or the patient can consequently be left unattended.

MR. GEORGE FORREST

The man who made the world's first telephone has died at Bedford at the age of 92. He was Mr. George Forrest, who, when Mr. Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone, made the first receiving and transmitting set. He helped to lay the first French Trans-Atlantic cable, and also took part in the development of the automatic telephone exchange.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE INSTITUTE

Acharya P. C. Ray and Dr. N. Chandavarkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, have been elected to the Governing Council of the Indian Science Institute from the Court.

CINEMA PUBLICITY FOR TEA

Cinema publicity constitutes an important section of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board's effort to popularise tea drinking amongst the Indian masses. During the year 1937-38, the Board have utilised three travelling talkie units which, in the course of the 10 months—from April 1937, to January 1938,—visited 117 towns and villages in all important field propaganda centres and gave 4,545 performances. The average nightly attendance is upwards of 2,500 people. The most encouraging feature of the Board's cinema propaganda is the tremendous attendance of women at the performances. The Board have recently added to their existing stock of propaganda films, four new talkies—2 Hindustani, 1 Tamil and 1 Telugu.

LAKSHMI CINETONE

Lakshmi Cinetone are producing under the direction of Mr. A. P. Kapur "Radha Krishna" in Telugu and "Shyam Sunder" in Tamil. A topical of the Kumbha Mela at Brindhawan which takes place in every twelve years, and which draws to it millions of devotees from all over India, will be shot and shown along with these pictures. This will be a unique news-reel.

A FILM COMPANY IN BURMA

A long-felt desire of the Burmese people—to start an up-to-date picture industry in Burma—has at last materialised. A new Burmese film company entitled the Burma National Picture Corporation has been floated in Rangoon with a share capital of five lakhs of rupees. The company will produce talking pictures both educational and dramatic in Burmese.

A COLOUR FILM OF INDIA

A colour film depicting Mount Everest, Darjeeling, Kanchinjunga, Benares and famous scenes in the Khyber and Kohat Passes, taken by Miss Rosio Newman was exhibited in London recently in aid of the Indian Anti-Tuberculosis Fund. The show was patronised by the Secretary of State for India, ex-Viceroy and Governors and several prominent Indians in London.

MOTORING IN FRANCE

The French Academy of Medicine is taking very seriously the question of automobile accidents, and several of the recent sessions of that learned body have been devoted to discussions on that subject.

First of all, the Academy would like to see the compulsory medical examination which is now given to drivers of public transports and heavy trucks given to all drivers before they may obtain a driver's licence.

Secondly, after the candidate has successfully passed his medical examination, the Academy would compel him to take out automobile accident insurance; on the other hand, no one without his proper medical certificate could be insured by a company.

The Academy of Medicine would not, moreover, be satisfied with a single medical examination in a lifetime, but would examine drivers between the ages of 18 and 45 every six years, between 45 and 55 every five years, between 55 and 60 every three years, between 60 and 65 every two years, and after that every year. It now remains to be seen what reply the Government will make to these recommendations.

AUTOMATIC STEERING

An American traffic expert forecasts some startling changes in motoring during the next 50 years. By 1988 he expects that the steering of motor-cars will be largely automatic and out of the hands of the driver.

Buried under the roadways of the future will be a network of electric cables. One set of electro-magnetic impulses will control the car's speed so that exceeding the limit will be impossible. Another set will prevent a dangerous turn by locking the steering gear just when the motorist is about to offend.

Ultimately, this scientific prophet thinks, the driver, by simply moving a switch, will be able to pass over the steering of his car entirely to the underground cables, sitting comfortably at the wheel until the time comes to switch back to manual control.

FLIGHT LT. JACKSON'S GALLANTRY

The resource and courage of a Royal Air Force officer were responsible for saving the lives of a party of Frontier Scouts, who had been surrounded at dusk on a hilltop by a large body of tribesmen.

This thrilling episode is revealed in a Press *communiqué* issued in Simla which says:

"His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India has been pleased to approve the following immediate award for gallantry during the present Waziristan operations:—

Distinguished Flying Cross:—Flight-Lieutenant G. E. Jackson, No. 5 (A. C.) Squadron, Royal Air Force.

Flight-Lieutenant Jackson's action necessitated very low flying in the face of heavy rifle fire from the ground. Throughout he displayed considerable courage and initiative."

AIR-RAID PRECAUTIONS

A series of lectures on air raid precaution will be delivered at Bombay during monsoon months under the auspices of the St. John Ambulance Association. The lectures are primarily intended for those representatives of various establishments, works, etc., who, after qualifying and passing the prescribed examination, will themselves act as instructors in their own institutions. But the lectures will also be open to others, so far as there is room. The course which includes practical demonstrations and respirator drill, will cover a period of one month. There will be an examination at the end of each course and instructors' certificates, pass certificates and certificates of attendance will be issued according to the number of marks obtained.

BR. AIR MINISTRY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The British Air Ministry has announced that the Government have agreed to buy 400 aircraft from two American firms. Two hundred planes are for general reconnaissance duties and 200 for advanced training duties.

The purchase was recommended by the Air Mission to the United States.

A DAYALBAGH COLONY IN MADRAS

The Dayalbagh Institution, Agra, pioneers in the manufacture of indigenous articles will very soon extend their activities to Madras. The Government propose to give them free about 800 acres of forest land adjacent to Dr. Lakshmipathi's Asram at Avadi with a view to enabling them to start a colony there.

The proprietors of Dayalbagh propose in the first instance to open a dairy farm and tannery industry and it is expected that the colony will be started within two or three months. In course of time, other industries also will be started such as outlery, textiles, electrical goods, etc.

This enterprise, it is hoped, will, in the long run, provide employment to a good number of unemployed educated youths of the Province.

TOE FOR TEA

A new beverage known as "Toe" was mentioned in the course of questions in the Central Assembly last session. Replying to Mr. B. N. Chaudhry, Mr. H. Dow, Commerce Secretary, stated that a net amount of 24,796 dollars had been spent by the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board from April 1934, up-to-date in experiments on this beverage. Mr. Dow added that it was understood from the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board that the beverage was like tea, tasted like tea, had qualities like tea and that it was an aerated, bottled infusion of tea. Replying to a further question, Mr. Dow said that the Government understood that the experiment had been successful to a point, showing that such a beverage could be prepared.

EXHIBITION OF HANDICRAFTS

The International Exhibition of Handicrafts was held at Berlin last month. It consisted of the following: (1) Hall of Honour of International Handicrafts; (2) Cultural and historical show; (3) International show of the different nations with workshops; and (4) raw materials, auxiliary machinery and tools in handicrafts.

The exhibition ground comprised nine exhibition halls with a built-over area of approximately 80,000 square metres and an open ground area of about 100,000 square metres.

PT. JAWAHARLAL ON U. P. TENANCY BILL

"If the zemindars of the United Provinces, invite a conflict on the Tenancy Bill that is before the U. P. Assembly, then they will have to struggle even to retain the semblance of the zemindari system." This warning to the zemindars and taluqdars of the province was uttered by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview, on the eve of his departure for Europe.

"The Congress in the United Provinces as in the whole of India," said the Pundit, "has tried to proceed on a national basis keeping in mind the interests of all groups and classes; but inevitably it has thought and worked in terms of the masses. That has been the very basis of its existence and it must continue to function as such."

"So far as I know nobody has ever heard of this League," he added, when his attention was drawn to the circular letter reported to have been issued by Mr. J. D. Jenkins, ex-M.L.C., on behalf of the "All-India- Progressive League," to tackle the "communist menace" in India.

FEDERATION OF LANDLORDS

At the Oudh Zamindars' Conference held recently at Lucknow under the presidency of the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Darbhanga, a resolution was unanimously adopted urging the formation of an All-India Federation of Landholders "to take joint action in matters concerning the entire body of landholders in India."

In anticipation of the adoption of the resolution, a draft constitution had been prepared and circulated to prominent landholders all over India inviting opinion, suggestions and improvements.

ELECTRIFICATION OF RURAL AREAS

It is understood that the Government of Bombay have under consideration a scheme for the construction of a large dam across river Meera in the district of Poona at a cost of Rs. 40 lakhs with a view to electrify rural areas and helping starting of small industries. This, it is stated, would not only help in electrification but also help a great deal in irrigating lands in surrounding areas, which do not get sufficient water supply for cultivation.

COIMBATORE LABOUR DISPUTE

The Madras Government have published the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the disputes between labourers and employers in the textile mills in Coimbatore.

They state that some of the recommendations of the Court involve legislation and some involve amendments to the rules framed under the Factories Act and the recommendations are being considered.

The Government call the particular attention of mill-owners to the recommendations with regard to the need for an immediate increase in the rates of wages, and the grant of leave to workers.

The Court of Inquiry was appointed in December 1937 to investigate and give findings on the points in dispute between the mill-owners and their employees in Coimbatore District. It was a sequel to a series of strikes in the mills.

The inquiry was conducted by Mr. M. Venkataramayya (District Judge).

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

While realizing that any attempt to apply immediately a uniform rule, providing for holidays with pay for industrial workers, would probably produce serious difficulties, the Parliamentary Committee, appointed last year under the chairmanship of Lord Amulree have unanimously recommended that the employers should voluntarily grant an annual holiday with pay of at least one working week.

The Committee have recommended a probationary period, to enable industries to make voluntary arrangements and to examine many cognate problems, such as the questions of intermittent employment. Legislation, it is stated, should be passed in the 1940-1941 session providing for holidays with pay. In the meantime, the Committee have recommended legislation entitling domestic workers to two weeks' annual holiday with pay, and have also drawn attention to the need of spreading the holidays as much as possible between the beginning of summer-time and the beginning of October. A fixed Easter has also been suggested.

A NEW INDIA

"I hope to live to see India united and independent. When that day comes, I hope to carry out the long-cherished wish of visiting America," says Mahatma Gandhi in a message to Mr. James A. Mills, Special Correspondent of the *American Associated Press*, who has had the privilege of interviewing Mahatma Gandhi in Juhu.

Mr. Mills feels Congress has shown a marvellous sense of reality and statesmanship in accepting offices in the provinces to strengthen its hands. "I find an entirely new India—an India more sure of herself, more optimistic and with no fear of outside influence. It seems to me, India has made more progress towards the goal of self-government last year than she did during the previous 100 years. Indeed, there seemed more hope of a brighter outlook for India at present than the rest of the world which is thrown into wars and revolutions, political and social unrest, dictatorships and a profound uncertainty regarding the future," says Mr. Mills in a special interview, comparing the India of 1931-33 with the situation at the present day.

Proceeding, Mr. Mills states:—

India seems to be emerging from centuries of darkness into the light of freedom and progress. It seems to me that the British authorities, practical as they are, sensing the new spirit of liberty that has come over the Indian people, and following the policy of conciliation and accommodation, are striving to meet the aspirations and legitimate demands of the people. This policy, I think, will make for a Greater India and a Greater British Empire.

RS. 1,00,000 FOR VILLAGE ROADS

The Government of Madras have allotted about Rs. 1,00,000 for the development of village roads during the current year.

The District Boards in the Presidency have been asked to submit schemes of work to be financed from this allotment. About half a dozen of them have so far submitted their schemes.

POPULARITY OF TEA

A few months ago, the Madras Premier signalled the introduction of Prohibition as "a charter of freedom for the poor." The signs of this new freedom are nowhere more discernible than in steady penetration of tea into the lives of the poor and down-trodden masses of India.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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CHANGES IN THE HINDU LAW

BY DR. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER

THE attention of the Central Legislature has in recent years been drawn to the need for effecting reforms in the personal law of the Hindus. The law of inheritance has been recently modified for the purpose of enlarging the rights of women. The age of marriage has been raised and provision has been made for the stricter enforcement of the restrictions imposed by this enactment. It has been stated that a bill is likely to be introduced for the purpose of permitting divorce in certain circumstances. It has also been announced that a bill will be introduced by another private member for the abolition of polygamy. One important consideration to be borne in mind by the legislature is, how far these changes will be in accord with public opinion or, at any rate, command the tacit acquiescence of the community. There was considerable opposition to the Sarda Act raising the age of marriage and to Mr. B. Das's bill to make the law more effective. The bill for introducing the right of divorce is sure to give rise to much difference of opinion and controversy. While I am personally in favour of the introduction of the law of divorce under certain conditions, it is very likely to create a storm of opposition by the conservative section of the Hindu community. Nor is this a matter for wonder if we realise

that the stability of the marriage relation is bound up with the institution of the family and the structure of society. Even in England, it was only the other day that it was possible to introduce some urgently needed changes in the law of divorce. But I think the time has come for the ventilation of the subject of divorce by raising the issue in the legislature.

There is one important feature in the Hindu law of marriage in respect of which the desirability of a change will be practically admitted by all members of the community, except perhaps by the ultra-orthodox who feel bound by the letter of the law without rhyme or reason. I refer to the provision of Hindu law that a marriage between members of the same Gotra or Pravara* is null and void. What is needed is a legislative declaration that a marriage between Hindus shall not be regarded as invalid merely by reason of the parties thereto belonging to the same Gotra or Pravara. I do not wish to touch the provision of Hindu law forbidding a marriage by reason of Sapinda relationship within certain degrees. Prohibited degrees of

* The term 'Gotra' refers to certain remote ancestral Rishis or sages from whom Brahmins and other twice-born classes are supposed to be descended. The term 'Pravara' refers to still remoter ancestors.

marriage are recognised in every system of law, and it cannot be contended that Sapindaship or consanguinity should in no case be a bar to marriage. The precise number of degrees within which marriage should be prohibited on the ground of consanguinity is a matter upon which opinions may differ and, in fact, have differed even in the Hindu law books. The practice, however, at the present day with regard to the impediments of Sapindaship and Sagotraship is inconsistent and irrational. There might possibly have been some reason for the prohibition based on identity of Gotra and Pravara in the most ancient times when membership of the Gotra was confined to a small group living close together and connected by actual or assumed ties of blood. But whatever justification might possibly be discovered for the rule in ancient times, there is absolutely none at the present day. Two families belonging to two far-off districts or provinces and speaking different languages may theoretically be members of the same Gotra or Pravara. A Tamilian or Andhra in the Madras Presidency, a Maharashtra in the Bombay Presidency, a Guzarati, Bengali or Hindusthani in Western or Northern India may all have the same Gotra or Pravara. There may have been no connection or contact between their families for centuries. On what possible rational basis can a marriage be interdicted between such families? The impediment on the ground of consanguinity is quite sufficient to meet all reasonable objections on the ground of too close inbreeding. But strangely enough, the restraint based on Sapindaship has been grossly violated. According to the Mitakshara, Sapindas within five degrees from the common ancestor on the mother's side

and seven degrees from the common ancestor on the father's side, including the parties contemplating marriage in the calculation of degrees, are prohibited from intermarrying. But even in the time of the Mitakshara, one sage had narrowed the prohibition to three degrees on the mother's side and five degrees on the father's side. The marriage of first cousins and second cousins would clearly fall even within the narrowed interdiction. According to the Hindu law-givers, the relation of husband and wife does not arise in an alliance between Sapindas or persons having the same Gotra or Pravara. According to Bodhayana, a man who marries a Sagotra unwittingly must maintain her like a mother. According to other Rishis, a man who marries against these rules has to abandon the woman and perform a penance. In spite of these stringent rules, marriages are common in South India between the children of a brother and sister; and in some communities, especially among the Vaisyas, a maternal uncle is allowed to marry his sister's daughter, though such a marriage might well be regarded as incestuous by most people. Marriages of this sort are recognised in some of the law-books as exceptions based upon local usage. The reason for the prohibition of a marriage between Sapindas or blood relations is more or less obvious, and yet while marriages violating the rule of close consanguinity are practised and permitted, the prohibition based upon identity of Gotra or Pravara is strictly observed and has been upheld by the courts. One of the first things that the parties contemplating a matrimonial alliance make enquiries about is not the existence of an actual blood relationship, but the

theoretical or imaginary identity of Gotra. The interdiction of marriage between Sagotras can only be regarded as a surviving taboo, based upon no reason or a reason which has long since disappeared. This interdiction is a needless and vexatious interference with personal liberty, and circumscribes the choice of a bride or bridegroom. The removal of this restraint can cause no grievance or inconvenience. What is required by way of legislation is not the enactment of any obligatory rule, but only a permission to marry a member of the same Gotra or Pravara. The necessary change can be brought about by a simple rule that notwithstanding any text of Hindu law or custom or usage to the contrary,

a marriage between Hindus shall not be invalid by reason only of the fact that the parties are descended from the same Gotra or Pravara. Nobody would be obliged, as the result of such legislation, to marry a Sagotra. But one who wishes to marry a Sagotra will not be deterred from doing so by the fear of the marriage being regarded as null and void. It is to be hoped that members of the Central Legislature who are keen on social reform will take the earliest opportunity of introducing this mild, but much-needed, measure of reform. I do not suggest any legislation on the subject of prohibited degrees which is now regulated by usage, local or communal.

ORGANISING PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

BY PROF. SRI RAM SHARMA

NO party in the country seems to have given much time to the question of organising Provincial Governments, though now and then questions of details have arisen and have been settled individually.

The problem raises three questions: The first is the question of filling the *gaddis* of the Provincial Governors. When the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed, nobody seemed to notice that the Provincial Executive Councils would come to an end and that, therefore, it would not be possible to fill the Office of the Governors easily from the same province in case a Governor went on leave. Still further the changed nature of the Office was not recognised and the statutory rights and legitimate interests of the Services were probably so interpreted as to make it impossible for the Government

to decide that public men be appointed to these offices rather than Civil Servants. Some hold that the question of appointing suitable Indians to this office should also have been explored. Now to take the last of the question first, in view of the current opinions of the Governors' Special Responsibilities, that British Government could not have devoted any attention to the problem of appointing Indians to be the Governors of the Provinces. The Special Responsibilities, as then understood, involved the presence of an Umpire as well as an Agent of the British Government in the provinces as the Governors. It is no slur on Indians to have to admit that such persons could not, and cannot, be easily found from among us. If we have brilliant statesmen and clever politicians, we need them as our ministers.

The problem of importing a larger number of English public men to fill the office of the Provincial Governors raises another issue. The 'Assurances Controversy' has rendered necessary a new type of men to become Provincial Governors. The virtues that are now necessary in the almost constitutional Governors of the provinces are not essentially the virtues of the Civil Servants. But it will have to be admitted that Civil Servants who have been acting as Governors under the new constitutions have not so far exhibited any signs of the defects of their qualities. The British Government has already shown that it is capable of adjusting itself to new conditions by appointing a member of the political service to be the Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar. If a concession can be made to the Nizam of Hyderabad, there is no reason why some concession should not be made to Indian public opinion by reserving the governorships, at least in the major provinces, for English public men. The problem of making arrangements during the absence on leave of a Governor should better be solved by reverting to the old system under which no leave of absence was admissible to a Governor. It may be a heroic remedy but it is the only one that is practicable.

The second question raises the problem of the constitution and function of the Ministry. How many members is the Ministry to contain? How many of them are to have a place in the Council of Ministers? What is to be the relation of the individual Ministers to the Council of Ministers? What are the questions on which a Minister should keep his colleagues informed of the action taken and what are the questions which must be

decided by the Council of Ministers rather than be left to the discretion of individual Ministers? How often should the Cabinet meet? What should be the relations between the Cabinet and the Governor? All these questions require careful consideration. Answers to most of these should be sought in the rules of Business and Rules for the submission of cases to the Governors which are supposed to have been made by the Governors in their individual discretion after consulting their Ministers. These Rules came into force on April, 1937. In some cases at least the Ministers do not seem to have played any important part in their formulation. In others they do not seem to have cared what they are.

Every province has at present a Prime Minister who is also the Minister in charge of some subject as well. This arrangement is defective in the extreme. Wherever possible, the Prime Minister should have no department under his own control. Then alone it would be possible for the policy of our Provincial Governments to obtain a cohesion that it lacks at present. Then alone it would be possible for a Prime Minister to avoid incidents such as have recently occurred in the C. P. and N.-W.-F. Provinces. But if the resources of a Province cannot stand a Prime Minister without portfolio, it is best for the Prime Minister to assume charge of the Finance Department. The Finance Department is the watch-dog of the Government. It controls all expenditure in the province, it sanctions all schemes involving new expenditure. It is necessary, therefore, that the Finance Member should have no preferences and, therefore, should not be in charge of any spending department. The number of other Ministers required and the departments

they should control is a matter in many cases for local investigation and settlement. But if democratic government is to be made a success, it is necessary that the distribution of work among the Ministers should be related to the organisation of the Secretariat. It is no use continuing the present system when, as in some provinces, items of administration selected at random from various Departments have been grouped together to form a Ministerial portfolio. This grouping in most cases is arbitrary. The result is that, as in the Punjab for example, a Minister has to deal with as many as six departmental Secretaries, and several Secretaries have to deal with as many as six Ministers. This arrangement does not make either for efficiency or smooth administration. There is no Civil Servant adviser of the Minister advising him on all questions arising in his departments. The result is a chaotic condition of things when it becomes possible for an Indian Minister in charge of Jails, among other things, to sanction instructions excluding Indians from the post of the Superintendent of Jails, simply because in good old days retired British army officers were preferred for these jobs by a British Executive Councillor. This system puts too great a strain upon individual ministers and is prone to lead to favouritism. It tends to negative continuous popular control over various departments as well. These defects impair the quality of the day-to-day administration of various departments which may remain long unnoticed.

Here and there this grouping may represent a better organisation of Provincial administration. Where it is so, there is no reason why it should not penetrate

down to the Secretariat organisation of departmental work. Our Provincial Secretariats seem to have been organised to meet condition of work that existed in various provinces before 1921. Since then accretions have come about, modifications have been suggested and sometimes carried through, but of wholesale organisation we have had not much. It is time something was done in that direction as well. In most Provinces, the Cabinet has been working without a proper Secretariat. It is time that a Secretary to the Cabinet, equal in rank to other Secretaries, was appointed in every province. The Office of the Chief Secretary is a legacy of the past when the Departments controlled by the Heads of the Provinces had to be thus distinguished, or when only one Secretary was given the right of access to 'the presence'. There is no Chief Secretary in the Government of India. Why should the provinces be allowed that luxury? Various independent and attached offices have also grown in various provinces. All of them should now be brought under the general scheme of the Secretariat organisation. The position of the Directors of various departments should also be assimilated to the changed condition of things. In the Punjab, for example, the Director of Public Instruction is an Under-Secretary by virtue of his Office. But there is no Secretary through whom he submits his papers. He does so directly. The position of the Directors of Agriculture and of Veterinary Departments and of Industries, the Inspectors-General of Hospitals, of Prison and Police are still more anomalous. As the Secretary of State suggested to the Provincial Governments in February 1937, all papers should come

to a Minister through a Secretary who should be responsible to one Minister alone.

But to revert to the Ministers. It is necessary that the meetings of the Cabinet be held more frequently where all major questions of policy be settled. So far the fact that the Governors have, in their discretion, the right of presiding over these meetings has resulted in some provinces, at least, in leaving most of the work to be done by individual Ministers. As the working of the Provincial Governments for the last year or so must have convinced most Governors this right is not of much value, it is much better that the Governors should depend upon the Prime Minister for informing him of the decisions taken by the Council of Ministers than that the Governors should be present at meetings like a ghost at a feast. Of course, the shadow of the Congress High Command has cast a gloom over Provincial Ministries and made their efficient working difficult. When most major questions are settled by an outside authority, not much work is left for the Ministers to perform. It is time that the Congress High Command made itself content with supervising the work of the Ministries and surrendered to them the initiation in all matters. If it does not do so, it will soon precipitate crisis. Already the situation in the Central Provinces has provided a warning. The spectacle of three Ministers threatening to resign being called into conference at Bombay which, however, fails to give a definite lead was not edifying. The peremptory orders to the Speaker of the Madras Assembly not to proceed to England to study Parliamentary practices even when the Legislature had granted money for the purpose are no less

unedifying. If the truth must be told, the Parliamentary Board has assumed all the Special responsibilities—and more—of the Governor's in the provinces.*

The number of Ministers in various provinces raises a difficult problem. At present it varies from eleven in Bengal to 8 in Orissa. The number is, of course, a matter of local consideration. But, as argued above, if the Ministership is to be linked with the departmental organisation of the Secretariat, it is arguable that the number of Ministers in charge of Departments should not exceed that of the Secretaries. But this leaves it open to the Provincial Governments to appoint Ministers without portfolios. The question of the status of the Parliamentary Secretaries also requires consideration. The Punjab has done better. In order to satisfy the cravings of as large a number of people to hold office as possible, it has created, besides Parliamentary Secretaries, Parliamentary Private Secretaries, a species of Public Servants whose functions even the Speaker found it difficult to ascertain. Here again it is much better to adopt the British convention of making these Parliamentary Secretaries as Assistant Ministers for all practical purposes allowing them to assist the Ministers in various ways. All orders and instructions, however, must be issued in the name of the Ministers. For nothing Administrative or Political should the Parliamentary Secretary be allowed to shoulder responsibility. He is a Minister in training and during the period of his pupillage, he should not assume any responsibilities.

* Witness Dr. Khare's resignation and subsequent acceptance of office followed by his reappointment to the Working Committee. It is time that the Provincial Governments were allowed to resume their liberties of action.

This raises the problem of the relations of the Ministers with the Governors. The existing rules give all Secretaries the right of deciding if action proposed to be taken in any matter would impugn upon their special Responsibilities. That devolves a political responsibility on them. It makes it necessary for them to take a decision without the instructions of their Political Chiefs, the Ministers. It is better that the position of the Chief Minister be now brought into line with the new developments. It should be his duty to keep the Governor informed of whatever

is happening in all the departments whether it is or is not likely to involve his Special Responsibilities. Of course, it would then be possible for the Governor to call for more information on any question, or ask the Prime Minister to explain to him the implications of a decision taken by the Cabinet. This would make it unnecessary for the Governor to preside at the meetings of the Cabinet as well. Of course, the Governor always retains the right of disagreeing with his Ministers and calling for their resignation.

THE WARDHA LEAD

THE meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Wardha in the last week of July was looked forward to with more than usual interest. For many questions were pending solution and no single authority in the Congress high command was competent to give direction and lead. The lead was to come from the Working Committee.

In the first place, the sudden crisis in the C. P. Cabinet resulting in the resignation of part of the Cabinet and the dismissal of the rest overshadowed a situation already tense with many perplexing problems; (ii) there was the ticklish question of the Hindu-Muslim tangle which called for an immediate answer to Mr. Jinnah and the League's impossible terms; (iii) the controversy over the question of Federation and the Congress President's challenging statement followed by counter-statements from the exponents of the Parliamentary section called for clarification; (iv) the demand for linguistic Provinces had become more

and more insistent and a deputation of Andhras waited on the Working Committee to press for the separation.

There were other problems awaiting solution, but we must confine ourselves to these principal questions in this brief review.

The C. P. Ministry had by its domestic squabbles brought much discredit on the Congress Government. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee which investigated the crisis last May confirmed the charges of nepotism and inefficiency, but a patched-up solution managed to keep up the Khare Ministry. Dr. Khare has not been able to compose the differences in his Cabinet between the Maratha and Hindustani groups. And then it was evident to every one outside the Congress that the extra constitutional authority to which the Prime Minister and his colleagues have to submit themselves must prove injurious to Cabinet responsibility. This fear has proved true in the case of the Khare Cabinet. Dr. Khare has not been

able to steer through the dual control of the Zonal authorities on the one hand and the proprieties of constitutional procedure on the other. That has led to his fall.

In settling these differences, the Working Committee sought the advice and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and at his instance the Committee passed a resolution severely censuring Dr. Khare for his acts of indiscipline in resigning his premiership without the permission of the Congress authorities and re-accepting office without consulting them. His subsequent recantation did not help him out of the morass. He was precluded from standing again for leadership, and he was declared unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress. The Resolution adds:

By all these acts of his, Dr. Khare has proved himself unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in Congress organisations. He should be so considered till by his services as a Congressman, he has shown himself well-balanced and capable of observing strict discipline and discharging the duties that will be undertaken by him.

This was really hard on Dr. Khare, but painful and unhappy as the episode turned out for him, "it has a lesson for the whole of India," said Mr. Subash Bose, the President of the Congress, who stressed the need "for discipline and morality at a time when the lure of power and position may tempt us in the direction of unworthy thoughts or deeds".

Mr. Bose goes on to say:

During the last few days, there has been a great deal of talk of parliamentary conventions and democratic procedure. Let us not forget that our loyalty to the Congress must have precedence over our loyalty to any individual or group or to any conventions or procedure. When a nation is engaged in a life and death struggle, the need of discipline and morality is paramount.

On the Congress-League question, Mahatma Gandhi also took part in drafting

the President's reply to Mr. Jinnah. The reply is couched in conciliatory terms. But the Congress Working Committee considers the Muslim League's demands as extraordinary. The Committee makes it clear that if the League abandons its quarrel over non-essentials and comes down to brass tacks as to the needs of minority communities, it is prepared to enter discussions and reach a settlement.

President Bose had informal talks with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sardar Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad about the Federation issue with special reference to the recent controversy over it. These talks have cleared up some misunderstandings and it was noted that nothing has happened since the Haripura Session of the Congress to deserve special notice from it now. All suggestions about the slightest weakening of the Congress attitude towards the Federation Scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act were discounted, says a Press report. Mark the words carefully used, "the Federation Scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act". That brings us back to the same old position and much may be said on both sides!

In reply to the deputationists on behalf of the Andhras, the Working Committee held that the Congress was committed to linguistic provinces and the Madras Legislature has passed a resolution favouring such separation. But it could not materialise till the Congress attained full power. It would be folly to obscure the real issue of independence by stressing minor issues.* The Working Committee adopted the following resolution:

This Committee desires to assure the people of the areas concerned that a solution of this question would be undertaken as part of the future scheme of the Government of India as soon as the Congress has power so to do, and call upon the people of these areas to desist from any further agitation in this behalf which may divert the attention from the main issue now before the country.

Cost of High Living *versus* High Cost of Living

BY

MR. P. PARTHASARATHI IYENGAR, B.A., B.L.

MR. E. T. GOOD in a thought-provoking paper published in the *Bankers' Journal* for May 1988 is of the opinion that it is not so much the high cost of living as the cost of high living that is the trouble. "The people to-day," says he, "want far more luxuries than their parents or grand-parents wanted or expected. Besides this our local rates have been increased by about 200 per cent. and our national taxes by nearly 900 per cent. in the last 25 years." Public opinion in England and other countries in the West is, however, veering around the view that the Government must be advised to better not merely defence conditions, but also to effect social economic conditions. The rationale for this attempt is in the well known truth that the former is facilitated by the latter. The Government has already raised public loans to the tune of about 200 million pounds for defence purposes. But the cry is to finance health and house building purposes also by the same process.

The last budget revealed an official surplus of £28,786,000 as compared with the anticipated surplus of only £250,000. Of course, the official surplus includes £10,544,000 added to the sinking fund. But as this is only optional you must take it, the surplus is £39,330,000. With the increasing of National debt, these schemes are vigorously pursued. It is expected of the newly appointed Economic adviser that he should take stock of the Indian Finances and see to it that India has to her credit an ear-marked sinking fund, an economic study and compilation of the

cost of life of an average individual, supply means both preventive and curative for health, strength and stamina of the individuals, a general improvement of the level of life, and the amenities civilisation affords to the fed-up nerves of the populace. Mr. Gregory would do well in co-operation with the provincial and central governments to develop the industries, big and small, with financial subsidy and the like, so that the utilisation of the indigenous talents of the country are only for the Nation's cause. Be it known to him and other heads of the responsible Governments that "bread and butter" are the first things to be attended to, and not resort to Language-study and Roman scripts unwanted and unappreciated by the millions of pinching stomachs. It is ignorance that perpetuates poverty and low living, and on their trail, inability to resist disease.

England needs India's help to maintain her power and prestige which lay considerably dwindled—whatever Jingoism say—in the world's stage and international morality. Leaving for the moment the question of currency and exchange, a national currency for India, India's salvation lies in preparing to defend India by her own man-power, by multiplication of her industrial activity. This latter has two aspects—conserving and converting her own resources for the ease and prosperity of Indians and encouraging such mass production as would create a market for foreign exports and on her own terms. This should be the first and last concern of any Government, and it

needs hardly any mention once we satisfy good food, clothing and housing problems, which at present are in deplorably low conditions, then the next question of high living would arise. But there needs some caution in the stigma of so-called high living. I don't agree that there is any rational standard of high living. It is the chimera of idealists to set up a level of living beyond which you shall not proceed. It is fundamentally wrong. It gloats on an equally unfounded simplicity of living of the mystical past.

There is and there is bound to be a progressive rise in the scale of living and otherwise the country is bound to retrogress. Progressive rise is bound to occur, but every nation is responsible to create peace and tranquillity by which the said progress can be assured. That would be surely a creature of a sense of security—a collective security—against aggression depending upon international understanding. In the meanwhile, measures which cannot stand delay must be undertaken by the central and provincial governments.

Retrenchment at the top in the Services, Indianising the departments in the Army and in the Railways, prohibition of imports of commodities which could be manufactured or produced in this country, encouraging foreigners touring in this country by regular institution of publicity and advertisement have to be effectuated. Furtive suggestions are made in certain quarters for State lotteries being introduced, and unless a fastidious moral canon is applied, there could be no objection to the system. There would form a separate contribution for health and industrial improvements.

A ready-at-hand method for making the masses active and interested is in the

fostering of cottage industries. There is plenty of Indian talent and even hereditary equipment and skill till now neglected. Mr. K. T. Bashyam in Mysore referring to the budget opined that industrialisation should not be pursued at the expense of cottage industries, such as khadi, oil, bangle making, and chericar manuring. There are also toy making, doll making, idol manufacturing, brass ornament and vases manufacturing, etc., which are the admiration of the West. Banks must be advised to finance these village manufacturers. There are products which could be raised without affecting mill activity and industry, fruit rearing, dairy products, pickles and condiments, and I am sure if only they are given encouragement by initial capital, they would quickly improve the country's wealth and raise the level of average life. If India should become self-contained by her own resources and industries yielding all that is wanted for the people, as the Minister for Labour, Madras, recently opined in the Salem district, nothing would be more welcome than a vigorous campaign being launched at once. That is the only way by which Indian trade can prosper and the bogey of unemployment shut out of view.

That the present is passing through a severe trade crisis is clear from the gloomy reports we hear all around. The Madras Chamber of Commerce report says that there was some business in anticipation of reduction of duties, but that it was hampered by the further weakening of the exohange. The League of Nations bulletin for May shows that world trade fell by 12 per cent. in the first quarter of this year much more than usual at this season. It is a standing sterile excuse very often made that because

the world trade fell, India too suffers dullness. But very few realise if India should soon start its own industries, she is bound to acquire a double advantage, make her people happy internally and clutch at a large share in the export trade of the world and assure for herself a favourable trade balance. The Government of India's tardiness in the matter of inquiry into the ways of means of small industries development in arresting competition of Japan is most deplorable. The provincial governments have no enthusiastic agencies to help the development of industries. Technicians and specialists in industrial and chemical science have not been trained yet, and people like Mr. Kamesam, Sir C. V. Raman and Sir Visveswarayya have not yet been requested to launch definite and concrete plans for the purpose. Such brilliants are lost to their country. The initial step has not been taken of training batches of young men for helping the starting of industries. It is no use depending upon companies and factories run by foreign agencies and on foreign capital to help India in this respect. After initial acquisition of the theoretical and practical knowledge in the colleges as far as possible in India, such of them as merit training abroad and in the West should be handsomely paid for it and sent out. By the time they come back to India, they must be employed without any more ado in working industrial concerns. We have yet no indication of any serious

attempt at tackling the problem. Industrial enterprises for manufacturing the requirements of the country would stimulate trade and road improvements. Should the industries be State managed or privately managed? It depends upon the nature of the industry. However it can be asserted safely that in India largely, there must be initiation and management by the efforts of the State till private management be gradually substituted. Whatever we are capable of doing or not doing, he is no good citizen who goes against the interests and prosperity of India by helping foreign exploitation. His aim is towards active participation in making India self contained. Till then fancies and fabrics can abide. The admonition given by Mr. E. T. Good in his contribution to the *Bankers' Journal* for May is worthy enough to be quoted as a piece of wisdom which this poor country cannot help following. He says: "It is not only the manual workers who call for higher wages and spend more on luxuries, but those we loosely termed the middle classes are more extravagant than ever they were. They want motor cars even when they have public service trams and buses near their doors and railway stations near by. Many millions a year are spent on foreign petrol which money might be more usefully spent on British products or invested in British productive industries." Substitute Indian for the word British and that is the moral for our country.

CANAKYA : THE GREAT CHANCELLOR

BY PROF. H. C. SETH, M.A., Ph.D. (LONDON)

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A better interpretation of the events, following the invasion of Alexander and leading to the rise of the Maurya dynasty, can be obtained if we know about Canakya. The whole career of this great man is shrouded in mystery. Some new light is thrown on him by the conclusions that I have elsewhere set forth that Chandragupta Maurya originally belonged to the Gandhara region and that the starting point of the big empire created by him was the north-west of India.* Chandragupta headed a revolt west of the Indus against Alexander himself about the time when the latter was at the bank of the Beas. This revolt was the real cause of Alexander's sudden retirement and flight through Sindh and the Makran desert, where most of his army was destroyed. Chandragupta's power was first consolidated in or about 325 B.C. in his own home provinces in the north-west of India, and it soon extended to Central Asia, part of Persia and towards the south as far as Sindh.

This conclusion of ours is borne out by the accounts about Chandragupta given both by some of the early European historians and in the Indian literary traditions. Justin and Plutarch inform us that Chandragupta was in the north-western parts of India at the time of Alexander's invasion, and he had some considerable dealings with him as, according to Justin, Alexander ordered his beheadal. It thus seems that the north-west of India

and the Punjab were the scenes of the early activities of Chandragupta. The drama Mudraraksasa bears out this conclusion. According to it, the forces with the help of which Chandragupta conquered Magadha were all drawn from the north-west of India and beyond. I have also suggested that Parvataka, Chandragupta's ally in the overthrow of Nanda king of Magadha, was none else than the great Porus of the Greek historians.

The overthrow of Nanda king of Magadha was undertaken by Chandragupta after he had uprooted the Greek power west of the Indus. It is absurd to say, as Vincent Smith* and some others do, that several years afterwards Chandragupta came from Magadha to destroy the Greek forces left behind by Alexander in the Punjab and the north-west, when really none worth the name were left there within a few months of his retirement. As a matter of fact even before Alexander had actually left the confines of India, almost all the Greek satraps he had appointed, Nicanor, west of the Indus, Philips of the royal family, satrap of the Punjab, and Apollophanes, satrap of Gedrosia were killed. The only person who stayed for some time in India was a petty official Eudamus, who most probably took service under the king of Takasila, or Porus, or may be under Chandragupta himself, in which case the force under Eudamus may be the Yavanas which, according to Mudraraksasa, formed part of Chandragupta's army which invaded

* "Did Chandragupta Maurya belong to North-western India?" *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II. And "Chandragupta and Samprapti", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

* It appears probable that before he undertook the expulsion of the foreign garrisons, he had already overthrown his unpopular relation the Nanda king of Magadha.—"Early History of India", 3rd Edition, p. 118.

Magadha. The drama *Mudraraksasa* also suggests that with the help of Canakya, Chandragupta, even prior to the conquest of Magadha, had conquered some other parts of the country and assumed the imperial title. Magadha was the biggest kingdom in India at the time of Alexander's invasion. But its overthrow by Chandragupta was facilitated because of the extreme unpopularity of the reigning monarch, which is mentioned alike in the Greek and the Indian traditions.

This reconstruction of the events of the period throws new light on Canakya's character and achievements. We learn from the Buddhist sources that Canakya also belonged to the north-west of India. He was a Brahmin of Taksasila. It is likely that as a young prince, Chandragupta received his early education at the feet of Canakya in the famous University of Taksasila. The drama *Mudraraksasa* everywhere shows very cordial relations between Canakya and Chandragupta, and also a deep appreciation by them of each other's merits, which could only be the result of a long and intimate contact between the two.

As belonging to north-western India, Canakya witnessed the danger of a divided country at the time of Alexander's invasion. He must have seen that only a well organised and closely knit imperial India could successfully withstand a foreign invasion like that of Alexander. It has been correctly surmised by the author of the "Cambridge Ancient History" that it seems to have been among the Brahmins of the Punjab that the reaction started which placed Chandragupta on the throne of a united India.* In view of

the facts that Canakya belonged to Taksasila and that the Indian literary traditions so closely associate him with Chandragupta, the central figure in this revolt in establishing the vast Mauryan Empire, it seems that Canakya was the instigator and the leader of the revolt against the Greeks. The vision of a strong unconquerable and united India, which he then formed, was successfully realised within a few years. As Vincent Smith remarks: "The conception of an Indian Empire extending from sea to sea and embracing almost the whole of India and Afghanistan was formed and carried into effect by Chandragupta and his Minister in the brief space of twenty-four years. History can show few greater political achievements. Not only was the empire formed, but it was also thoroughly organised that the sovereign's commands emanating from Pataliputra were obeyed without demur on the banks of the Indus and the shores of the Arabian Sea. The immense heritage thus created by the genius of the first emperor of India was transmitted intact to his son and grandson."*

It thus seems that Canakya was associated with Chandragupta right from the beginning in establishing a vast empire over practically the whole of India and far beyond in Central Asia, the starting point of which was north-western India. His help in the conquest and the annexation of the kingdom of Magadha to the empire of Chandragupta was perhaps the last political episode in his political career. After this, as we learn from the drama *Mudraraksasa*, he retired from active politics, which may explain the absence of reference to him in the fragments of

* "The Cambridge Ancient History", Vol. VI, p. 412.

* "Asoka", p. 104.

Megasthenes, which have been reported by the early European historians.

Canakya's winning over of Raksasa, the popular Minister of Nandas, was a master stroke of diplomacy. It quashed completely whatever opposition there might have been in the east to the newly founded empire of the Maurya. The drama Mudraraksasa not only throws light on how Chandragupta's position was secured in Magadha, but how even the ineffectual opposition raised by Raksasa and Malaya-ke-tu with the help of Kashmir, Sindh and some other western powers was nipped in the bud, and with the fall of Magadha the supremacy of Chandragupta was fully established over a great part of India. Thus, it was only after he had seen the Great Chandragupta seated firmly on the throne of a united India, that Canakya, one of the most resolute, self-denying and incorruptible souls produced by India, passed out of the political horizon, but, perhaps, only to devote the resources of his mighty intellect to the bigger social and religious problems that faced the vast empire which his genius had helped Chandragupta to create.

It is a pity that by taking the view that Canakya was involved only in a family quarrel between Chandragupta and the Nanda kings, and that the driving motive of Canakya for the great political upheavals and carnage of blood, which he undertook, was just an insult by the Nanda king, we have made him look very mean and revengeful. In the drama Mudraraksasa, Canakya himself suggests that the Nandas were overthrown, because of their complete disregard of the kingly duties.* The unpopularity of the Nanda

king of Magadha is not only attested by Mudraraksasa, but even the Pauranic traditions attest to the hatred in which Nanda king was held. The extreme unpopularity of the king of Magadha reigning at the time of Alexander's invasion is also recorded by the Greek historians. According to them he "was a man of worthless character, the son of a barber, and that he had obtained the throne by the murder of his predecessor whose chief queen he had corrupted."* Jayaswal was, perhaps, right in concluding that the powers in Gandhara, when faced with Alexander's invasion, "looked towards the imperial power of Magadha".† But no help was obtained from that quarter, and Canakya found that for the safety and the imperial unity of India, the Nandas, like so many other monarchs, had to go. In the young but gifted Chandragupta, he found a fit sovereign head of a united India.

Really speaking, Canakya's was the administrative genius which firmly established over almost the whole of India and far beyond the mighty and very efficiently organised empire of Chandragupta. As Vincent Smith remarks, even "Akbar's machine of government never attained the standard of efficiency reached by the Mauryas eighteen or nineteen centuries before his time."‡ If we remember that it was only the great political fabric which was raised with the help of his genius, which made it possible for India in the time of Aseka to send to the world for the first time the message of peace, love, and universal brotherhood, that we can rightly regard Vishnugupta Canakya as a maker of one of the greatest ages, not only in the history of India, but in the history of the world.

* "Cambridge History of India", Vol. I, p. 408.

† "Hindu Polity", p. 175, Vol. I.

‡ Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 396.

* मन्वेर्दिनुकमपेक्षितपञ्चमः (Act. III.)

CREDULITY AND CRAZE

BY PROF. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

CREDULITY is an attitude of mind which we understand but need not define. Like the mote in the eye, it is more easily detected in others than seen in ourselves. It is a will to believe anything within a particular universe of ideas. It implies unregulated and untrained belief. Not that a credulous man would literally believe anything, but he would certainly believe anything of a particular sort.

Credulity is not confined to savage or uneducated mind. A savage certainly is credulous; but so is a civilised man, too. Only, there is a difference in the credulity of the two. An African savage who does not see water freeze, would not believe that it can; but he would readily believe that the snake is a sacred animal, or, that there is a deity that throws the thunderbolt. The credulity of a modern man is somewhat different. He would much rather believe that the scientist in his laboratory would one day manufacture human blood than that fever is caused by the wrath of an evil spirit. Both men are credulous; but there is a difference in their angles of vision and hence there is a difference in what they are inclined to believe. The modern man is obsessed with visions of the potentialities of science; hence he is ready to accept as possible whatever smacks of a scientific character. The savage, on the other hand, has his mind filled with ideas of ghosts, deities or spirits; he, therefore, finds no difficulty in believing that a spirit appears or a ghost acts. Though the two minds do not move in the same atmosphere of thought, both are credulous. Science, too, can be superstitious.

Whether credulity takes a scientific colour or is superstition, pure and simple, its psychological meaning is the same. It is a hindrance to progress. The real scientific attitude is sober and reasoned belief and not an eagerness to credit whatever is trumpeted under the banner of science. Science does not claim that man already knows whatever is worth knowing; or, that there is no limit to human knowledge or human achievements. Scientific thought does not encourage the belief that because a cure for malaria has been discovered, death also has been conquered. With all its magnificent results, science has its limits and will continue to have them.

Nor is it a sign of sobriety to think that, because science has its limits, because science cannot account for the genesis of life on earth, or foretell the future of the universe, therefore, whatever a hermit from the hills says is true. Yet there are plenty of men in spiritually-minded countries like India who, taking advantage of the admitted limitations of science, would preach any kind of spiritual possibilities.

Credulity is unphilosophical and is, therefore, unprogressive. Whether a people is progressing on the path of truth and sobriety is evidenced by what it believes; and an index of what it believes is furnished by what its newspapers publish for its consumption. Judging according to this standard, what should we think of ourselves?

(1) Only recently, a gentleman announced in the correspondence columns of a well-known Calcutta paper—and the Editor had no hesitation in publishing it—that a *neem* tree somewhere was yielding a measured quantity of sweet honey every day! The *neem* is well known for its

bitter taste: its bark, its fibres, its leaves and its juice—all are bitter to the extreme. There is nothing sweet about it. Yet here was an exceptional *neem* which behaved in an extraordinary manner. It yielded a juice—12 seers of it every day—so we are told, neither less nor more! And lo! and behold, it was all sweet honey!

(2) Some two or three years ago, after the well-known Hindu festival *Saraswati Puja*, a certain image of the goddess in Calcutta—so the papers announced—began to nod! Religious emotions were easily roused and hundreds of men and thousands of women congregated every hour of the day to have a vision of the image suddenly come to life! Religion was not dead, the old men assured us; and the gods and goddesses were still there, alive and kicking, as when the human mind first knew them! And what was more important, they could still be *seen*, though only by the lucky few. The tram-cars, the buses and the streets of Calcutta bore signs of an unexampled revival of Hinduism till at last we heard no more about this live *Saraswati*. Parenthetically, rumour has it that the blessed owner of this image had his financial position considerably improved, because money and other gifts were lavishly bestowed upon the deity by the devout visitors, and even the living goddess did not touch them!

(3) Not long ago, it was again in Calcutta that people began to believe that stones used for grinding spices—an article of domestic use which most houses keep—were infected with small-pox! Stone after stone began to wear pox-scars and every one was convinced of the truth of the story. The reason for this unusual manifestation of the disease was also not far to

seek. It was the wrath of the goddess of pox, provoked somehow by some one somewhere. Every believer in divine retribution soon knew that this *was* the case! And since Calcutta houses reported the disease in stones, it was only meet and proper that the *mofussil* should follow suit. And the infection of grinding-stones spread like wild fire!

Grinding-stones were kept away, soaked in cold water, sometimes even in the water of green coconuts, to give them relief! And machine-ground spices came into vogue. The price of this commodity as well as of the machine was soon kicked up. Eventually some one ventured the hypothesis that the whole thing was a hoax and was probably due to the design of people interested in the sale of machine-ground spices. Gradually the scars of small-pox began to vanish from the affected stones, until all of them again wore their normal appearance and were reinstated to their wonted office.

(4) The latest of the exhibitions of popular credulity is *jhin-jhinia*! Thanks to the persistence of newspaper circulation, some people were actually smitten with hysteric shivering—cases of sheer auto-suggestion! But the vociferous public made even the Government move in the matter. Responsible and qualified doctors made careful investigations in areas reported to be suffering from the disease. But no genuine cases have been detected. Since then the virulence of the disease is rapidly subsiding. And when a disease disappears from Calcutta, it automatically vanishes from the *mofussil* also.

(5) Another piece of amusing news that our newspapers report now and then, is that of change of sex. Sometimes, perhaps, it is in Bulgaria that a boy of

nineteen suddenly becomes a girl of the same age; or, it may be in Paraguay that a woman after several years of married life discovers one fine morning that she is no longer a woman! Advertisements of hair-oils often give pictures of woman rubbing the oil on their faces and instantly growing a full-sized beard! This is understood to be an exaggeration. But reports of physiological transformations like change of sex are published as *news*. The publications of such news implies that there are men according to whom anything may happen anywhere any day.

We do not multiply instances of credulity; we have not the space for it. But credulity is only one side of the picture; the other is craze. Credulity is passive acquiescence; craze is active participation. Craze in its simplest form is manifested in the life of modern cities in such things as cinema, or cricket or hockey. The number of persons liable to its influence is legion. Witness the number of spectators who throng a football field and the degree of physical torture and inconvenience they can put up with. What does it shew but a kind of brain-fever popularly known as craze? And look at the prominence that newspapers assign to a film-star or a hockey celebrity or a cricket notability! They rank with rulers of states or business magnates or eminent soldiers or scientists. Their pictures fill newspaper pages oftener than those of kings and potentates. Even racing horses are more important in the eye of the newspaper world than University professors. And the pedigree of such horses is more important history than the battle of Waterloo or the Treaty of Versailles.

Channel-crossing and air-race, Everest-climbing and non-stop flight are some of the latest crazes to be added to the list. These are sports, and some of them are adventures, too, no doubt; but one wonders how the human race is benefited by them and to what extent. Yet these things hold one-half of humanity in their grip.

In the spiritual East, it is credulity rather than craze that reigns. Here the field is occupied by a honey-giving *neem* tree or a nodding *Saraswati* or a *Sadhu* who has seen three long centuries roll by his feet and who occasionally has visions of God also and holds conversations with Him.

What with credulity and what with craze, the world is becoming a difficult place for sober men to live in!

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The Prospects of Fresh Taxation in Madras

By MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNA AIYER, M.A.

(Lecturer in Economics, Annamalai University)

It is understood the Finance Department of the Madras Government are considering six proposals for additional taxation to make good the immediate loss of Rs. 26 lakhs annually consequent on the introduction of prohibition in Salem district and the ultimate loss of Rs. 4½ crores when total prohibition in the Presidency is a *fait accompli*. The proposals are a petrol tax, electricity tax, death duties, advertisement tax, a provincial entertainment tax and a marriage tax. The main policy of the Government in regard to fresh taxation seems to be the distribution of the increased financial burden due to prohibition on the richer classes.

Before these new taxes are examined and are rejected or recommended, it is necessary to have some idea as to the distribution of the burden of taxation in the province of Madras at the present time. In fact, the question of imposing additional taxation can only be decided with reference to three sets of considerations: (1) The need for additional revenue; (2) the equity of the prevailing distribution of the burden of taxation; and (3) the technical merits of the taxes proposed. The starting-point is an established system of taxation with its various parts, each with its own incidence, and we are to consider whether any of the taxes included in the preceding paragraph is suitable for imposition in the province either as an addition to the existing ones or as a substitute for one or more of them. A canon that applies to the entire system of taxation is that it should be equitable,

i.e., bear evenly on all, and the component parts must, therefore, be so devised as to realise this aim. Additional taxes must accordingly maintain the existing equity or redress the prevailing inequality, while alternative taxes are designedly intended to redress a felt inequality or other defect in the existing system. Therefore it is not enough to know that a given tax is suitable in itself. It is far more important to know whether it falls on a class lightly taxed or already overburdened and it is a truism to say that every system of taxation is always approaching but never realising equality of taxation on account of changes in the yield of the tax as well as in the economic conditions of different classes and of the community as a whole.

The petrol tax and the electricity tax now contemplated by the Government of Madras will affect the respective consumers. It is understood that the petrol tax would be in the form of a gallonage fee on petrol and is likely to be deferred till the October Session of the Madras Legislature when the decision of the Federal Court on what is known as the Central Provinces 'test' case is known. The Government of the Central Provinces have introduced a petrol tax bill levying a duty on sale of petrol in the province, which the Central Government contend, belongs exclusively to the Federal Legislative list. With regard to the electricity tax, it is understood it will be levied on consumers of above a certain limit of units, but the proposal is still in the stage of examination of data and

exploration of methods of how best the tax could be levied.

The proposal for taxation of advertisements, however, is likely to come up at the ensuing Session of the Legislature. It will be on the lines of the Madras Corporation scheme. It is understood the relevant bill will provide for the appointment of inspectors to collect advertisement revenue as it is felt the range of taxation would be too wide for the revenue officials to scrutinise the working of the Act in addition to their usual onerous duties. The urgent claims of local bodies—district boards at any rate which, under the provisions of the new Panchayat Act, would lose the land and education cess—will probably be met from the additional revenue expected from these proposals. The duty on advertisements may take the form of a tax on posters and other forms of displayed advertisement, or of a tax on newspaper advertisements or both. The former is usually levied through a stamp affixed to the poster, and the latter on the basis of returns of revenue from advertising submitted by newspapers at regular intervals. Apart from the theoretical objection that the tax would hamper a necessary and developing adjunct of trade, the tax on newspaper advertisements would bring little revenue. But if the municipalities in the larger towns are to adopt the tax on posters, etc., it might go some way to augment their slender revenues.

As regards the succession duties, it is generally conceded that these duties should be the first among those to be considered in the event of new sources of taxation being required to replace old sources that may be condemned. Something

like the duty on inheritance is now levied at varying rates in the shape of fees under Act VII of 1870 on probates and letters of administration under the Indian Succession Act, the Hindu Wills Act and the Probate and Administration Act and on certificates under Succession Certificate Act. The broad effect of the existing legislation is that except as regards Hindus, Jains, Sikhs, and Buddhists in Lower Bengal and in the Presidency towns, Hindus, Mahomedans and Buddhists are outside the compulsory effect of the Probate Law. Indian Christians have been treated in a special manner in being allowed to take out a succession certificate for the collection of debts instead of obtaining letters of administration to the whole of the estate in a case of intestate succession. But the considerations applicable to intestate successions are more complicated. Real difficulty will be experienced in the application of the principles of inheritance taxation to cases in Malabar and Canara, where partition is not allowed and the idea of heirship would never present itself in the mind of any member of the family and to joint Hindu families governed by the Mitakshara law. Any practicable measure of taxation must exempt from its scope such cases. Either a tax on the share which devolving by survivorship augments the shares of other members of the family, or any tax on the whole property on the death of each managing member is not a thing to be favoured. In the former case there is no succession. In the latter case the suggestion is crude and unenforceable in practice. From the financial point of view, the most important thing is whether the succession duties will be productive in our province. Unfortunately no figures exist which could

assert us in forming even a rough estimate. Some idea as to the amount that might accrue could be obtained from (i) statistics of the distribution of land among landholders; (ii) statistics of income-tax levied on trade income; (iii) statistics of the distribution of securities. In conclusion it is worth emphasising that whatever the yield, succession duties are essential in any system of taxation that claims to be equitable. Its yield will increase *pari passu* with the prosperity of the people.

The taxation of marriages in the form of a fee for registration of marriages is not quite a new proposal. The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee (1926) suggested this measure, but its recommendations are cautious and tentative and it is very

doubtful if local conditions are favourable. However, the city municipalities may try a variant of it in the shape of a licence fee for marriage processions of any kind. Registration fee on marriage seems to be quite reasonable provided a graded scale is introduced but the trouble in our country is twofold. It introduces the element of registration in a purely religious ceremony, for marriage at any rate among the Hindus is a sacrament and not a contract. Secondly, we pay a sufficient fee to the *Purohita*s and to the community for evidence of the marriage. A further registration fee may reasonably be held to be an additional burden, and from a fiscal point of view, the yield of such a duty in our province is not likely to be considerable.

Pushkar : The Lotus Lake of Rajputana

BY MR. RAM CHAND MANCHANDA, B.A., LL.B.

PUSHKAR is the name of a lake, forest, town, and a Tirath. It is picturesquely situated in a valley surrounded by a ring of rocky hills of the Arravali range, seven miles away towards the south-west from Ajmere, the headquarters of the province of Ajmere-Merwara. It consists of a series of three apparently separate lakes, *inter se* connected through subterranean streams. The highest one is called the Kanishtha, or Buddha, the middle one, which exists only in imagination, Madhya, and the lowest one Jaishtha (eldest). It is situated in a valley within an area of six miles, and 2,869 feet above sea-level.

Etymology.—According to an account of Pushkar as given in the Padma Puran, it is the birth-place of Brahma, the

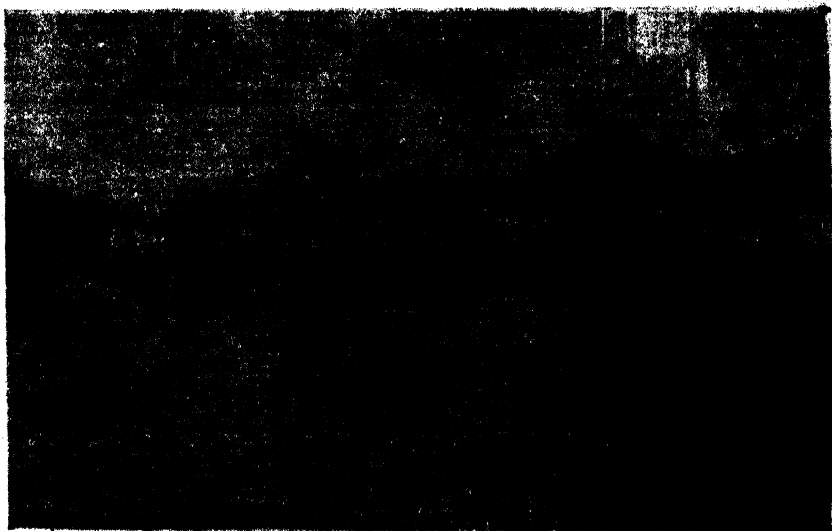
creator of the Hindu Trinity, who, in a Council of Gods held at Vajjarath, at Sumero, decided to create a temple on earth, and like other Gods of the Trinity to receive the offerings and be worshipped. The Council selected this place on account of its purity and fascinating beauty. The lake, the water of which is never dried, is enclosed by green trees in fragrant blooms and delicious fruits, ever green shrubbery presenting a unique combination of lake, forest and hill scenery, very much alike in its physical charms and purity and other features, the Sumero (Olympia), the abode of the Gods of the Trinity, and all the rest. Here Brahma performed a Yagaa (sacrifice whereby this lake became so holy that a sinner by taking a dip in it earns the delights of the

Paradise). Brahma, while visiting this place, had a lotus in hand which fell down, and the spot at which the flower fell gave rise to springs of water which assumed the form of a lake after the shape of a lotus lily. In Sanskrit, Pushkar means a lotus lily and hence the name Pushkar.

The lake and the lotus.—The visitors do not find now-a-days any lily growing

that was for making money by the sale. Strange as it may appear, the lotus lilies disappeared from the lake after the decision of the case, to the great disappointment of the quarrelling Brahmans and the pilgrims visiting the Tirath. This is one of the mysteries of Pushkar.

The Gujars and the lake.—The Gujars of Rajputana claim the lake as one of the places of their early settlements with their



"PUSHKAR—THE LOTUS LAKE OF RAJPUTANA"

The romance of Pushkar, its surrounding hills with temple of Savitri on the peak of one of them.

in it, nor a lotus lily can be traced. But investigation revealed the fact that the shallow parts of the lake abounded in lotus lilies, and the leaves provided food for the cows and the seeds for the pilgrims. The Brahmans, who claim to be the owners of the lake, felt tempted to make money by the sale of the lotus. This led to a split amongst them and ultimately to a ruinous and protracted litigation terminating in favour of the party

herds of cows, and in support of their claim, they offer the name Padma Puran which says that Brahma married a Gujar virgin, Gayatri, who acted as his consort (Ardhangi) in the Yagna ritual. They have been so very much sentimentally attached to this place that they carry their dead hundreds of miles to be cremated on the banks of this lake, and they own a special Ghat for the purpose. They do not call it Pushkar, but Gujar Nada (Gujar water pool). This

is another point worthy of note by the antiquarians and a point of considerable importance.

The lake and the sanyasis.—The herding Gujars, finding a permanent water supply in the lake and abundant grass in the surrounding hills and the valleys, seem to have permanently settled down at the place and retained its exclusive possession and control for a great length of time. It is said that the sanyasis wanted to use this place as a Tirath, but the Gujars would not let them do so without their consent. This led to a quarrel, and a fight between the army of sanyasis and that of savage Gujars. In 1157 A.D. a decisive battle was fought between the two opposing factions, when the sanyasis on the night of the Dewali made a determined attack, killed the Gujars and took possession of the lake. They gave control of the place to the ancestors of the present-day Brahman Pandas, and left their own representatives in charge of the five principal temples: the temple of Atmadeshwara, Varah, Badrinath, Brahamaji and Savitri, and the descendants of those representatives still hold the charge of these temples, and the descendants of the Brahmans still own and control the affairs of the lake.

Pushkar and the Jains, and the Buddhists.—With the rise of Jainism, and Buddhism, the lake seems to have attracted their attention in the arid sands of Marwar, and the out-up dry country of Mewar. This lake, the water of which never dried up, was a place of immense importance, and like all other important places such as Benares, Muttra and Gaya, the Buddhists took possession of it during the days of their power, established Viharas and temples and founded great prosperous

cities, the ruins of which lie buried under sand rolled up from the Marwar deserts. These ruins of the cities' temples and fortifications of the Jains and the Buddhists need excavations by the archæological department to lay bare the material evidences of their pristine greatness and glory.

Pushkar and its antiquity.—According to Hindu belief, Pushkar is as old as the creation and popularly it is believed to be one of the two eyes of Dharti (earth) the waters of which have never been known to have dried up, even when a drought lasted for years and years together. The other eye of Dharti is said to be Katash Raj—a perennial spring in the famous salt range of the north-western Punjab. It is considered to be as one of the most ancient places in India, and as a matter of fact, contemporaneous with the birth of the modern Hinduism itself. The subject has not been scientifically investigated and the exact date of its birth determined, and so it is impossible at present to say when it first came into existence. During rains, when the surface of the surrounding hills is washed away, people come across Punch-marked coins of a date anterior to the fourth century B.C., also Bactrian, Greek, and Gupta coins.

Ramayana and Pushkar.—It is mentioned in this oldest epic that Viswamitra, a renowned Rishi, performed his tap and went through a course of self-mortification at this place. It is also mentioned that a celestial fairy, Menaka, came down to earth to have a dip in its sacred waters to wash off her impurities. The Mahabharata also mentions Pushkar, a place visited by the Pandavas, as it mentions Katash Raj as the lake (Vishv-Kund) turning into Amar-Kund for the sake of the Pandavas. Diwan Bahadur

Harbilas Sarda of Ajmere has done very useful work in this direction and collected the up-to-date available information in a book called "Ajmere: Historical and Descriptive" wherein he mentions the various coins found at Pushkar.

Pushkar and "Prithviraj Vijai".—This important book which deals with the achievements and great deeds of famous Chohan king, Prithvi Raj, who fought against Mohd. Gauri, written in the 12th century A.D., dilates on the sanctity of Pushkar and mentions a famous temple of Ajagandha and Mahadeva, which does not exist now, and, like all other ancient temples erected on the banks of the sacred lake as monuments of Hindu piety, seems to have suffered at the hands of the Muslim idol breakers.

The sanctity of Pushkar.—The great sanctity of the lake is an argument in support of its great antiquity. It is visited by pilgrims from all parts of India and beyond, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Kashmir, Nepal, Deccan, Gujarat and Bengal. The offerings made by them are sufficient to maintain a colony of two thousand Brahmans. All the imperial houses of ruling princes in Rajputana and Malwa have built ghats along its bank and erected princely houses. There are a number of charitable houses, from which food is doled out to the poor and the mendicants. Lately, a rich Deccani millionaire Seth, has built a magnificent temple dedicated to Ranga Swami at a cost of 25 lakhs of rupees, which is being maintained at a monthly expenditure of thirteen hundred rupees. It is a fine specimen of architecture as illustrative of the skill which the Indian artist still possesses in the line of architecture and sculpture, and it is

worthy of a visit. There are other temples neither very modern nor very ancient, which attract the pilgrims, and the important of these are the one dedicated to Brahma and erected by Perikh, a Mahratta General about 1825, Atmateshwar, Savitri and Varah.

Pushkar as a Tirath.—This place is a favourite resort for those who want to conquer the self through tapa (austerity). A Bengali tapani, who had passed 10 years at Gangautri and only two months at Pushkar, affirmed the supreme importance of the place as most suitable for tapa, if a guba (cave) in the surrounding hills is chosen for abode, and that what he could not achieve in 10 years in the Uttarkhand was achieved at Pushkar in two months.

Such is the unique importance of Pushkar from a spiritual and religious point of view, and it is believed that it is a replica on earth of Sumero, the abode of Gods.

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SAIVA SIDDHANTA

BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)

(Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Madras University)

THE Saiva Siddhanta is one of the many religious schools in Hinduism. There are many books on the subject in Tamil and a few in Sanskrit. In a modern European language there is only one work on the subject, namely, 'Der Saiva Siddhanta' by Schomerus. It is in the fitness of things that under the auspices of the Department of Indian Philosophy in the Madras University, a research student* has undertaken a critical study and analysis of the system; and that the Department and the student deserve congratulations for being able to present a thorough exposition of the system in a way that meets the needs of a modern reader.

In the first chapter, the author deals with the literature bearing on the subject, noticing the textual and chronological relations of the various works. In the next chapter, the Saiva Siddhanta epistemology is elaborately dealt with. In the following six chapters, the problems of God, Man and the World and the release of man are considered, and in the ninth and last chapter there is a treatment of the other systems both allied to and remote from the Saiva Siddhanta.

It is very easy for the personal bias of the author to creep in, mostly inadvertently, sometimes even deliberately, into a work of this nature dealing with theology and religion. The author is a Christian by persuasion and it is creditable to note that the personal beliefs of the author have been kept absolutely in

the background and the whole work has been conceived and executed with a purely scholarly detachment, and the only goal of the work is to find out the truth and to present it clearly, which is the right goal in all University Research.

The author says that her effort is to evaluate the Saiva Siddhanta System "in the light of critical idealism" (Preface). Here there is considerable scope for differences of opinion regarding the legitimacy of adopting "critical idealism" as a measuring rod to evaluate a religious system like the Saiva Siddhanta. There can be no two opinions on the fact that in taking up this measuring rod, the author has not brought in any personal factors into the treatment of the subject. Thus her evaluation of the Saiva Siddhanta is strictly impersonal, and a reviewer has only to consider the legitimacy of adopting this measuring rod.

Every religion postulates three entities: GOD, MAN and the WORLD; and it postulates them as Absolute realities. In the terminology of religion, God is said to transcend man and the world to be independent of these, and man and the world are said to be dependent upon God. But strictly speaking, God is as much dependent upon man and the world as these two are on God, in so far as no religion can show any purpose in postulating a God unless there is man whom God guides and protects and the world which God controls. Some religions may accept the immanence of God, the creation of the world by God, and other doctrines. But no religion can and does ignore the reality of God, man and the world.

*"Saiva Siddhanta" by Miss Violet Paranjoti, M.A., B.T., Ph.D., Luzac & Co., London, 1939, 6 sh. net or Rs. 4. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.

It is a certain need of man—the religious need—which urges him to postulate God and God's absolute reality. But there are other needs in man and other urges in him besides the religious need; and the other need also comes in when he begins to examine himself and the world around him. It is one of these other needs that urges man to take up idealism as the measuring rod in his examination of himself and the world around him. Thus both in pluralistic religion and monistic idealism, the subject of investigation is the same, namely, man himself and the world around him. Religion leads him on to one more reality, namely, God; idealism leads him to suspect the reality of these two.

Thus when two conflicting conclusions have been arrived at as a result of the investigation of the same problem and when a student tries to examine one of these conclusions, it will be utterly uncritical, and it may even be purposeless, if he does not carry on his examination in the light of the other conclusion. True, it will be equally legitimate to bring in the conclusions of religion for testing idealism. This is what is found in all ancient Sastraic works. When in works on religions and on theistic philosophies, the idealistic position of Sri Sankara is considered and criticised, the untenability of the idealistic position is shown only in the light of religious experiences. Idealism cannot be used as a measuring rod in testing itself, it can be used only in testing other positions; and the subject-matter of the book under review is the proper place where idealism can and has to be legitimately applied.

Having taken up the correct measuring rod and having begun to apply it in the right place, have the measurements been

properly taken? This is a question which a reviewer has to ask. This is the only correct test for evaluating the work under notice. It is found that the author has critically examined even very minute points in the Saiva Siddhanta and arrived at very safe conclusions.

On p. 88, after describing the Cit or Intelligence nature of God, she remarks: "It seems as if all that has been said of the Omniscience of God is undermined by the Siddhantin's further contention that 'sat' knows not 'asat'. The Siddhantin tries to meet the difficulty by saying that Siva cannot know 'asat' as an object, as pasu and pasa are not foreign to him." Then the author says: "Here the Siddhantin verges on Advaitism, for the world and the souls are only elements of the Absolute," and the author adds, "and this position is inconsistent with the statements that there are three entities: pati, pasu and pasa, each having its own individuality". Even without resort to idealism as a measuring rod, there is a good deal of truth in this estimate of the absolute nature of God with his constituents and attributes, and of man and the world. There are various places where the author points out difficulties in accepting the position of Saiva Siddhanta. On p. 187, she says: "It has been noted how the qualities of anava are considered to interfere with the absolute nature of God. The Law of Karma again, in manifesting its attributes, renders God not an absolute monarch, but a constitutional king." In the subsequent passages she considers the limitations imposed upon God, and till the end of the chapter, she attempts to show how these difficulties can find a solution from the absolutist point of view.

I need not multiply examples. The whole book is well thought out and planned and the arguments are clearly and impartially reasoned out.

CHANGING TIMES*

By MR. G. A. NATESAN

WE are passing through a time of rapid changes and that makes it difficult for us to realise exactly the magnitude of the transformation that is taking place before our very eyes. This microphone which helps to carry my words to you is in itself a symbol of the new age.

I am now thinking of what Madras was nearly half a century ago when I first came to the city to join the Matriculation class. If I compare the city now with what it was then, the contrast is vivid. After a lapse of nearly five decades one sees changes of sights and scenes almost unrecognisable. Indeed almost everything has changed except the long stretch of the sea coast and the great temple towers of Mylapore and Triplicane.

Think of our magnificent Marina with its blaze of electric lights that transform night into day and the unending procession of people that swarm the foreshore like the waves of the sea. It was not always so. I remember a time when people groped about under dim kerosine lamps that glittered like glow-worms in the distance. The old straggling jutkas and victorias have fast disappeared and given place to a procession of cars which vie with one another in splendour as well as in speed. I hope a humaner civilisation will soon dispense with the riksha and the country cart,—both horrible anachronisms in an age of rapid mechanisation.

Let us picture to ourselves the rapid expansion the city has undergone. The middle and richer classes have escaped congestion by migrating to the suburbs.

* A broadcast talk from the A. I. R., Madras.

And within the last twenty years, Madras has extended itself to Avadi on the one side and Mambalam on the other. Fine mansions and garden houses built on the most fastidious styles of architecture afford real pleasure to the eye. The inventions of our civilisation have annihilated distance. The electric trains, the telephone and the radio are knitting us together every day of our lives. Even in distant Thambaram, we do not feel we are away from the metropolis. That is the one commanding benefit of modern inventions.

It has been said that every third house in the city is either a hair dressing saloon or a coffee hotel. Possibly there is some exaggeration in this, but do you know how quietly yet effectively they have levelled up distinctions? Could education or legislation have done that work with equal rapidity?

Our picture houses have contributed not a little to the process of levelling. It is true that no mechanism, however perfect, can bring back the inspiration that comes of hearing the living voice. We cannot share the thrill that moved the men who heard the music of Maha Vaidyanatha Ayyar or witnessed the acting of Kalyanaraman. No one, therefore, with any tenderness for the past, and a feeling for true art, can view with equanimity the disappearance of our histrionic art with all its traditions. But I realise that no old world theatre could have coped with the demands of the immense multitude of sightseers who throng the picture-houses now. What art and talent and enterprise have been pooled to draw such crowded houses! I take it that these amenities have added considerably to our comforts and made life more interesting.

Who could have thought years ago that so many of our women would congregate on the sands on the beach to hear songs and talks broadcast from a far away station? Who could have thought of the tremendous change in fashion that has taken place in the dress of our fair sex? Witness the smart tight fitting jacket replacing the long loose *saree* of old. Our lady graduates in arts and law and medicine are not exactly the shy young things of the nineties, moving gracefully with their eyes fixed on their toes. They walk with their heads erect and they discuss with their comrades in perfect ease all the problems of the day. They drive their cars along in perfect nonchalance. They play their part in the municipal councils and in the legislative assemblies and that with credit. They discuss too their disabilities, they plead for their rights and privileges and some of them long for their independence. I like the change that has come over the position of women in our social life. Yet I must confess that I occasionally think aloud and pray that the transformation that is now taking place in Hindu society may not lead to the disappearance of the grace, the charm and the beauty of a social order so dear to our civilisation. To the women of the present generation, I would like to say: remember our ideal, Sita and Savithri.

A welcome development of recent years is the growing interest in sports. Vast open spaces are filled with happy bands of sportsmen. Crowds come not only from the city but from distant towns and villages to witness cricket matches in rain or sun. Our daily papers are full of the reports of matches played by well known Teams not only in India, but all the world

over and there are many today, particularly among the young, who are anxious to read the sports column in preference to other sections in a newspaper. Here again I am tempted to observe that I have a feeling that the modern English sports are being overdone and that our own simple, cheap and healthy games are being neglected.

A sure index of a people's progress is to be found in their newspapers. Today they are legion. But I remember a time when a belated English Weekly answered the needs of scores of really educated people. Now there is hardly an educated home without its daily paper: English or Vernacular. And mark you, how varied and comprehensive are the contents of our daily papers—both British and Indian owned—catering to the tastes and needs of all classes—Sport, Art, Drama, Film, Foreign News and Home Politics, Finance, the Market Rates and the Weather. There are sections also for women and children.

Have you noticed the change that has come over the Anglo-Indian Press? They do not specialise any more in barrack room ballads and the doings of Memsahibs and retired Civilians at Home. There are plenty of things really Indian in our present day British-owned papers and their comments are marked alike by sympathy and understanding without a touch of that superiority complex which made their tone so insufferable in those days. I tell you our Anglo-Indian papers are trying to become *swadeshi* and as up to date and interesting as the British Press.

But I must admit that the Cinema, the Daily Press, and the political agitation of the past decade have deflected public interest from serious literature. Any publisher will

tell you that apart from text-books there has been steady deterioration in the circulation of classical literature. There is no doubt a demand for propagandist literature. But I do not find as in the old days a desire to acquaint oneself with all the literature that tells you the pros and cons of a public question and thus enable you to form a considered and independent judgment. To me, however, it is some satisfaction to note that there is a wide-spread desire among the people to acquaint themselves better with the contents of our sacred scriptures.

Thanks to the efforts of our reformers and humanitarians and the soul-stirring appeals of Mahatma Gandhi, great interest has been manifested in the improvement of the status of the Harijans and the condition of the workers and the poorer classes of our population. Employers are daily being compelled to realise that the large numbers of men and women whom they employ in their factories, workshops and offices are not mere machines but human beings with souls. Further they are made to realise that a great part of the wealth, the comforts and happiness they enjoy, they directly owe to the many workers who toil day and night. Public conscience has become alive to the needs and comforts of workers more than ever before. There is a real and genuine desire on the part of some employers, Indian and European, to improve the lot of their workers. I have been much impressed by the efforts of the Tatas at Jamshedpur and of the management of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras in providing housing and welfare facilities. In our own city, the Madras Corporation which often comes in for a great deal of undeserved criticism has set an admirable example in the direction of clearing the slums and providing suitable housing accommodation for the poor. I must not fail to mention the large number of

schools which it has started for the education of the poor in the city.

Everything is on the move. Politics is no exception. The most momentous changes have been taking place in the history of the world. Within the last quarter of a century, the map of Europe has been changed beyond recognition. And what of India? We no longer hear of the dumb pathetic contentment of the masses. I remember how in the early days we were content to ask for a few nominations to the Municipalities and District Boards, a few more additions to the elected seats in our local legislature and for the nomination of an Indian Member to the Executive Councils of the Governor and the Viceroy. The persistent efforts of the venerable veterans of the Indian National Congress, the tearing Home Rule campaign of Mrs. Besant and the non-violent non-co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi have effected a wonderful transformation in the politics of our country. This brings to my mind what Lord Morley said not many years ago: "for as long a time as my poor imagination can pierce through for so long a time our Government in India must partake, and in no small degree, of the personal and absolute element". The great statesman-philosopher could not conceive of the day when India would be fit for parliamentary or responsible government. Poor Morley, his imagination could take him no farther!

The unprecedented political agitation of the last 20 years, and the tremendous sacrifices to which our patriots subjected themselves, have brought us nearer the goal. Many a settled fact has since been unsettled. They who were once denounced as seditionists are now wielding the reins of government in the Provinces. In our own city there are no more able and energetic upholders of law and order than those who not long ago defied the bureaucracy and courted imprisonment. "C. R." and his team have brought us credit and so have their compeers in some of the other provinces. May their successful administration of the provinces lead soon to the capture of the Centre! May this great land of ours, ere long, occupy its proper place in the comity of nations!

Principles of British Foreign Policy

By DR. MAHMUD HUSAIN, Ph.D.

(Reader in Modern History, University of Dacca)

ONE who proposes to deal with the principles of the foreign policy of Great Britain finds oneself in a particularly difficult position. The main lines of the policy of other States are, as a rule, clearly recognizable. The foreign policy of France, for instance, has for a long time been determined by the fear and suspicion of Germany, and *vice versa*. Not so with Great Britain. She does not believe, so it seems, in permanent friendships and permanent enmities.

The main difficulty of a student of British policy is that one never knows where Britain stands at a given moment. Sometimes serious consequences follow due to this ambiguity. It is now recognized by all competent authorities that if in 1914 Great Britain had definitely told Germany that in an eventual conflict Britain would join France and Russia, Germany would not have adopted the attitude that she did. Or, conversely, had Britain informed France and Russia that she would remain neutral, they, especially Russia, would not have precipitated the crisis. But the trouble was that nobody knew what Great Britain would do, not even the British people themselves.

As in 1914 there is to-day an ambiguity, an uncertainty about British foreign policy. In spite of it, however, or perhaps because of it, it may be worth while trying to find out the principles that govern the relations of Britain with the rest of the world.

It is not certain whether the past is a reliable guide for the future, although Seeley tells us that history should not only gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his

forecast of the future. Anyhow, if we look at Britain's past, we notice that although Britain has shown great inconsistency in making and retaining political friendships and enmities, she has been quite consistent in the aims of her policy.

Great Britain's relations with other countries have been determined by her geographical position in Europe and her imperial interests in every corner of the globe. She cannot disinterest herself altogether in the affairs of Europe, for she herself is in Europe. But her foreign policy must needs be also influenced by consideration for the interests of the Empire of which she is the leader. If on the one hand she is a part of Europe, she is on the other the heart of a great empire. Consequently, there have been two predominant aims of British foreign policy.

To safeguard herself in Europe, she has tried to maintain the balance of power between the several Great Powers of the Continent. For more than four hundred years she has held fast to this policy. The principle became clearly discernible during the wars waged by Great Britain in the sixteenth century against Spain. Even in the age of religious wars, Protestant England co-operated with Catholic France to defeat the attempt of Spain at world-dominion. But when under Louis XIV France stepped into the position of Spain, Britain allied herself with the Habsburgs and fought against France. By the War of Spanish Succession, she prevented the union of the French and Spanish Crowns. England, however, was not prepared to allow another Power to acquire the position so long held by France; and thus when

confronted by the union of the Spanish and Austrian Crowns under a Habsburg, she severed herself from her allies and came to an agreement with her late enemy. The same policy was at work in the wars waged by Great Britain against Napoleon I and Nicholas I and William II. In every case her principal war aim was the same—to maintain a system of counterpoises and to prevent the rise of any omnipotent rival who might endanger the balance of Power among the Continental States. She had cleverly acted on a large number of occasions as a sort of indicator in the balance and at the crucial junctures she has thrown her weight into the scale in favour of the declining side.

As a corollary to this principle, Great Britain has made it her lasting concern to prevent Belgium from passing into the hands of a strong Continental Power. Obviously it was from here that the greatest danger could threaten Britain. This has been a decisive consideration in her wars against Philip II and Louis XIV and Revolutionary France and Imperial Germany. Britain has always intervened most strenuously in defence of the neutrality of Belgium.

Next to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, British policy may be said to have been influenced by the desire to secure immunity for her overseas possessions. It is the expansion of England that has made her what she is to-day. It is amusing to recall that at the Council of Constance in 1414, as Gibbon tells us, France disputed the title of England to a voice in the affairs of Europe, contending—and rightly—that England was one of the "lesser kingdoms". But with the expansion of England there came a change in her status. Britain owes her position as

a great Colonial Power to geographical situation and to her comparative freedom from the Continental entanglements which handicapped her rivals—Spain, Holland and France. Her coal and iron enabled her to take the fullest advantage of her position which the discovery of America offered her.

It is a picturesque fallacy to say, as Seeley did, that the English people conquered half the world in a fit of absence of mind. There has been not a single first class war during the last three centuries in which Britain, if victorious, has not made substantial additions to her colonial empire. Even defensive wars—and Great Britain, as a rule, fights only purely defensive wars—have handsomely contributed towards the growth of her overseas possessions. Britain has only too often shown a great distrust of countries which threaten her empire. She has been able to control her vast possessions through her supremacy over the seas, and she has a natural suspicion of the Power which wants to possess a big navy. She attaches great importance to her naval strength; for it has been ever since the time of Elizabeth the bulwark against invasion. It has offered protection to the British carrying trade and has been a "screen behind which colonial expansion could be conducted". Further owing to her world-wide overseas possessions, Great Britain has been specially interested in certain strategic and commercial routes. Any one who looks at the map of the world will at once notice that the spinal cord of the British Empire is the route—London-Gibraltar-Suez-Aden-Persian Gulf-Ceylon-Singapore. This line may be called the highway of the Empire. Two routes branch off from the main highway, one towards the

West leading to Canada and the other towards the East leading to Australia. The most important strategic points for Britain, therefore, should be Gibraltar, Port Said, and Singapore. Naturally the British navy cannot but be concentrated in these three places and from here it protects British interests in three waters—the Atlantic, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans.

Thus we may sum up the purposes of British foreign policy in two phrases—balance of power and security for the Empire. Of course, none of them is exclusive of the other. Indeed, as a rule, it has happened that the country which has tried to

dominate over Europe and disturb the balance of power has also pursued a policy which has appeared to Great Britain as a menace to some interest actual or potential of imperial security. Any State that has chosen to come in the path of Great Britain and has threatened her possessions has been turned aside from its course or even crushed by the Island Empire or by some mightier combination engineered by British diplomacy. With remarkable success during the past few centuries, Great Britain has maintained the balance of power, expanded her imperial domain and strengthened her vital lines of defence.

MYSORE GAZETTEER

EXACTLY 70 years ago, the idea of a gazetteer of Mysore in eight volumes, one for each district, was projected. But owing to different causes, only two volumes—those relating to Mysore and Kolar—were compiled. In 1871, the late Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., then Director of Public Instruction in Mysore and Coorg, was entrusted with the work of issuing in two volumes, the first dealing with the State as a whole and the other by districts. These two volumes won the high approbation of the late Sir W. W. Hunter, afterwards the editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Mr. Rice lived to see through the issue of a new and revised edition of this work of his in 1897. The revised edition made a great appeal and was long the standing reference work on Mysore. But the lapse of time—nearly 40 years—rendered that work far too old and antiquated to prove of practical

use. The Government of Mysore accordingly decided upon its further revision and entrusted that task finally to Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, who is responsible for the five volumes* in which it has been now issued. Mr. Hayavadana Rao has had experience of this particular kind of work, having been responsible for several of the volumes of the *Madras District Gazetteers* and for the Madras Volume in the new *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The Government of Mysore could not have hit upon a better choice for a new edition of their *Gazetteer*.

The arrangement of the volumes of the new edition is in keeping with the requirements of to-day. Progress during the past 40 years in Mysore has been so great—indeed in some respects even

* *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vols. I to V. By C. Hayavadana Rao. New and Revised edition. Price, Rs. 15 per set. Each Volume can only be had separately. Mysore Government Press, Bangalore.

phenomenal—that the recording of the chief events connected with it has necessitated a change in the entire plan of the work. The bulk of the work has been raised from two to seven volumes, including an up-to-date map specially prepared for the work by the Government of India Survey Department.

Even to indicate very briefly the contents and character of the volumes before us would require much space. But it ought to suffice if it is said that Volume I, Descriptive, deals with the physical aspects, geology, meteorology, botany, zoology, ethnology, language, religion, population and public health and vital statistics. Each of these heads is presented in a readable chapter devoted to itself. Taking religion, by way of example, we can state how complete is the information included in it. Animism, Vedic Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and later Hinduism are treated of in it in a most entrancing manner having regard all the time to their local bearing. Under the last of these heads, *Later Hinduism*, we have an account of the several Brahman sects and the lives of their teachers, such as Sankaracharya, Sri Vaishnava Alvars, Ramanujacharya and Madhvacharya including their different works, all based on first-hand and authoritative information. Then we have an account of the Lingayats, who form so large a population of the State, and of Islam, whose followers, historically speaking, occupy an influential position in it. The Christian sects are not forgotten and the history of the different Missions forms interesting reading. The chapters on Ethnology and Caste, Population and Public Health show that no pains have been spared by the Editor to make the volume, in which

they are included, thoroughly reflect progress achieved in recent research.

Similarly Volume II, which is in four different Parts and devoted to the history of the State since the earliest times, is a veritable mine of information. The history of the Cholas, Hoysalas, and Vijayanagar included cannot, perhaps, be superseded for many years to come. The history of the present ruling dynasty of Mysore has been entirely re-written, and what is most noticeable in this part of this Volume is that the memory of Krishnaraja Wodiyar III has been fully and ably retrieved with the aid of unimpeachable documents.

Volume III, which is devoted to *Economic* matters, is perhaps the one that will appeal most to traders and commercialists. It records the systematic progress made by the State in the industrial development it has consciously aimed at. Its chapters are worthy of the closest attention of those who desire to obtain any idea of the motives and impulses which have actuated successive administrators in Mysore. It is a just tribute to their work and the very high ideals that have inspired the present Great Ruler of Mysore, Sri Krishnaraja Wodiyar, who is not only a philosopher among kings but also a king among philosophers.

Volume IV, devoted to *Administration*, is equally well laid out and contains a splendid sketch of the work done for the State by successive Rulers and administrators. We ought to mention the authoritative accounts of the administrations of Dewan Rangachariu, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Sir Mirza M. Ismail (up to the date of publication) and other Dewans, whose work has added so much to the prestige of Indians as practical administrators.

The fifth and the last volume devoted to the accounts of the eight districts of Mysore included in it is of equal interest. These accounts are descriptive, historical, economic, and administrative.

Indigenous Banking and its Future

By MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, B.A., M.L.A.

SOUTH India recently passed through a serious Banking crisis following upon the suspension of payment by one of the big banks operating in this area. The tension has now eased and normality restored. But it is not exactly a case of "All is well that ends well". The crisis exposed several weak links in the chain which necessitates a calm retrospect with a view to strengthening the position of indigenous banking concerns and making them the better able to meet a crisis should one arise in the future; for, so long as banking means lending depositors' money, this risk is always present. The points may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The views held by the Reserve Bank with regard to its responsibilities towards the Scheduled Banks in times of need.
2. The evident lack of powers for the Reserve Bank to help its member banks as revealed by their recent interpretation of certain portions of the chief section in the Reserve Bank Act which governs its relations with member banks.
3. The absence of suitable legislation in respect of commercial banks which leaves them free agents as to the maintenance of a certain proportion of fluid assets to their liabilities; the absence of powers of inspection or audit by either the Central Bank or in the Government over the commercial banks excepting for the few sections which were added to the Indian Companies' Act, 1936, regarding banking, which appear to be wholly inadequate in times like those through which these institutions have recently had to pass.
4. The total absence of effort by the Government and those interested in Banking to implement some of the important

recommendations of the Banking Enquiry Committee, notably in regard to the provision of public warehouses in important commercial and agricultural centres.

5. The need for re-examination of the relative advantages of usance bills over promissory notes in the light of the fact that the commercial community is disinclined to change over to the bill habit and if necessary to stimulate the bill habit in preference to the systems now obtaining.
6. The absence of legislation with regard to banks incorporated in a foreign state to protect the interests of the people in British India and to ensure a fair measure of control so far as their liabilities to British Indian citizens are concerned.

When public interest is properly focussed on the question of the future of indigenous banking, many other problems will also arise which will have to be solved, in addition to those referred to above. Many of the points which I have mentioned above are inter-dependent and in view of the importance of the first two of these points relating to the position of the Reserve Bank *vis-a-vis* the Scheduled Banks, it might, perhaps, be useful to just outline the position without going fully into the merits of the question. The Memorandum presented by the Scheduled Banks' Association, Madras, to the Reserve Bank authorities recently affirms "that the Reserve Bank was of very little assistance on the present occasion". There does appear to be considerable truth in the statement made by the Scheduled Banks. It is not possible in a short article like this to discuss the various aspects of this question fully and I shall

merely indicate a few general considerations. It was stated that the powers of the Reserve Bank to help must be sought within the four corners of the Reserve Bank of India Act, and this led to an examination of Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, and more particularly of sub-section 2 and sub-clause (d) of sub-section 4 of that Section. The first one raises the old issue of promissory note and usance bill and the second one the question whether documents of title to goods are a better security than possession of the goods themselves. Both these points arise because of long standing commercial habits of the people in India which, everybody admits, have to be altered, but no one has suggested the means for such rapid alteration. The difference between a promissory note and a usance bill is well understood and there is not much difference of opinion that as a commercial instrument the latter has definite advantages over the former. And yet it is the promissory note which is almost universally current in our country. The bill habit will take long to establish itself among our people. Secondly, advances on the security of warehouse-keeper's certificates as distinct from those on that of the goods themselves, is what is said to be contemplated by the Act when it refers to documents of title to goods. The establishment of a system of public warehousing has been advocated by the Banking Enquiry Committee. It has been repeatedly stressed in the bulletins from the Reserve Bank. But, at any rate, in this part of India, little or no effort appears to have been made to encourage the establishment of such warehouses.

In the result, the insistence of the Reserve Bank authorities, acting according

to their understanding of the Act, that no advances are possible except on usance bills and that the warehouse-keepers' certificate and no other instrument, not even the goods themselves, constitutes a satisfactory security resulted in the Scheduled Banks having had to go without any assistance from the Reserve Bank at a time of paramount need. It was pointed out that Sir George Schuster in the course of the debate on Clause 17 of the Reserve Bank Bill at the Indian Legislative Assembly had admitted "that the main purpose of that section of the Reserve Bank Act was that the Reserve Bank has to stand behind commercial banks and make their assets more elastic in times of need", but this did not weigh with the authorities who preferred to stick to the words of the section in the spirit of a cold and dry lawyer. The public are entitled to ask that if the sub-sections of Section 17 are really so wooden in their scope, the Reserve Bank should take it upon itself to move the Government of India to get it suitably amended in view of the fact that the law prevents the Reserve Bank from acting as it should at times of serious crisis when a more liberal provision would have enabled it to avert such crisis more effectively and quickly.

The question of amending and amplifying the law relating to Banks is extremely urgent and important, but there is no sign that the Reserve Bank authorities have appreciated its urgency or its importance. On the contrary it appears that they prefer to follow the British practice whereby banks are governed by the Companies' Act and the relations between the Central Bank and the other commercial banks are left for mutual

adjustment outside the ambit of the statute. It is a matter of opinion whether legislation regarding commercial banks is necessary for this country. But a comparative study of legislation regarding commercial banking reveals that in most progressive countries, some form of legislation to control commercial banks is usually undertaken. I hold the view, however, that a Banking Act is one of our needs and that the British system is hardly suitable to an undeveloped country like India. If this view is accepted, the question will arise as to the agency which should be entrusted with powers of control and supervision under a Banking Act. The agency varies in the practice of different countries. In some it is the Central bank, in others it is a department of Government acting under an Inspector-General of Banking, in still others there is a Banking commission or what is called "Statutory Board". As an example of the first instance may be mentioned the latest legislation regarding banking in the Argentine Republic made on the recommendations of Sir Otto Neimeyer. In Japan, the control is wholly governmental. In the totalitarian states, the control is through the Central Bank but again such apex Banks themselves are controlled by the state. Examples of Banking Commissions are found in Belgium and Switzerland where the commission is clothed with wide powers of inspection and control over commercial banks. Upon a consideration of the alternative systems, I am inclined to think that an amendment of the Reserve Bank Act which will give some kind of control to the Reserve Bank over the commercial banks, is, perhaps, most suitable for India.

The question of providing public warehousing and that of stimulating the bill habit, if it is found absolutely necessary, are such as to make Government intervention imperative. If the Government will not take the initiative in regard to establishment of public warehouses, I think that at least the merchants should see to it that a warehousing enterprise is encouraged by them by suitable guarantees of business and return, to make it safe and attractive to investors. As for stimulating the bill habit, one method of doing this certainly would be by removing the stamp duty on Bills or reducing it to nominal limits.

The question of control of foreign banking enterprises operating in British India has assumed much practical importance because there are several such banks and one of the biggest of them suspended payment recently, causing a financial calamity of the first magnitude. There is no use of Government attempting to regulate banking business of companies registered within its own jurisdiction while allowing other companies which are not subject to the same laws as companies registered within its jurisdiction, to function with greater freedom. The least that the State can do is to put foreign banks on the same statutory footing as local banks, and provide for sufficient guarantees to ensure that adequate resources are maintained by these banks in British India to meet their British Indian commitments.

These are some of the points which arise out of the recent crisis. They have to be tackled as soon as possible so that the credit structure of the country may continue to be stable. It is to be hoped that bankers, public men and legislators will examine these problems and find solutions which will restore confidence among the investing public as well as bring prosperity to trade and commerce; these, indeed, are the objects of any sound banking system.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Congress in Office

WITH the passing of July, six out of the seven Congress Ministries have completed a year of office and the anniversary of office acceptance by the Congress has been celebrated with becoming enthusiasm in the different provinces. It will be remembered the Madras Ministry was the first Congress Cabinet to be sworn in on 14th July last; the Central Provinces Ministry took office on the 15th, the Bihar Cabinet on the 16th, the Bombay Cabinet on the 17th, Orissa and the United Provinces Ministries on the 18th. From time to time we have in these pages recorded with appreciation the achievements of the Congress Governments in the Seven Provinces under their control. There is no doubt cause for considerable satisfaction that they have tackled, and in no small degree implemented, the programme chalked out in their election manifesto. But apart from the specific achievements of the Ministries as in the carrying out of the Debt Relief Bill or the Prohibition experiment or other special features of their administration in regard to rural reconstruction, there is decidedly a healthy change in the general outlook of the people who have become conscious of a new strength and self-respect born of responsibility bravely undertaken and competently discharged. As a European observer has put it: "Everywhere there is a strong plea for simplicity in government in an effort to adapt Indian administration to Indian needs and capacity to pay, and Indian political leaders have shown their willingness and capacity to govern." Office acceptance in the Provinces has thus been amply vindicated.

The Success of Prohibition in Salem

The results of nine months' working of the Prohibition experiment in Salem are now before the public in the form of a very interesting report issued by the Ministry of Public Information, Madras. "The success of the campaign," says Mr. Dixon, I.C.S., Collector of Salem, in his review of the working of the Act, "has exceeded the

expectations even of some of the most ardent supporters of the movement, and while no relaxation of preventive action or slackening of control can be permitted as yet, I see no reason to anticipate that permanent success will not reward the efforts of those official and non-official Prohibition workers, many of whom have laboured so hard to make the movement a success."

To change the habits of 7½ lakhs of people scattered in 1,827 villages was certainly a formidable task which the administration undertook with a courage worthy of the cause. It must be heartening to all concerned to read this record of fine achievement and a wholesome lead to workers in other areas.

Sir Akbar on Hindu-Muslim Problem

In his convocation address to the Dacca University, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari dealt at some length on the many problems touching University education in India. But the greater part of his address was devoted to the problem of the differences that exist between Hindus and Muslims.

"I for one," he said, "refuse to believe that those differences are not capable of a lasting solution such as would, on the basis of a common nationalism and of national endeavour in the service of a common patrimony, lead to mutual respect and understanding."

Sir Akbar strongly urged that Indians should dissociate themselves from sectional or "communal" activities, "decommunalise" their histories and study the inner meaning of religion.

The Cawnpore Settlement

One of the biggest and the most disquieting of industrial disputes affecting 50,000 labourers in Cawnpore has been satisfactorily settled. The announcement has been received with a sigh of relief all over the country. For the strike had lasted 50 days, and the prospect of a prolonged struggle was certainly perturbing in a turbulent city like Cawnpore when such disorders had led to scenes of savage rioting in the past.

That such an extensive and protracted strike, fraught with alarming consequences, has been brought to a conclusion without grave disturbance to peace reflects credit on all the parties concerned in the settlement. The *Statesman* observes :

The part played by the Premier, Pandit Pant, as mediator during the concluding phase of the struggle was of great value and has further increased his authority in the Province and his reputation as one of India's most level-headed political leaders. To employers and workers the resumption of work means the cessation of financial losses which were becoming serious to both. The former's readiness to modify their original opposition to certain proposals made by the Labour Inquiry Committee was the principal cause of the settlement and has been widely praised. The workers deserve commendation for the remarkable discipline which, on the advice of their leaders, the great majority displayed throughout the strike.

The compromise now effected seems to be reasonable and just to all parties concerned, and one wonders why the concessions had not been made earlier and the very strike averted. It is useless to speculate on what might have been done. But if the present settlement leads to a proper handling of future troubles, or even to the avoidance of such troubles in the future, the hardships and ordeal of the last few days would not have been borne in vain.

Speakers and Politics

Writing on this subject, Mahatma Gandhi has some refreshing observations in a recent issue of the *Harijan*. His line of argument is characteristically different, but he comes to the wholesome conclusion that by not taking part in party politics the Speaker will prove himself a true Congressman and assist very greatly in the advancement of Congress ideals. While he maintains that a Congressman who is a member of an Assembly, no matter what office he occupies there, is subject to the discipline of the Congress and has to carry out its instructions from time to time, he emphasises that a speaker "has to discharge the functions of a judge when he occupies the chair" and, therefore, he has to be "strictly impartial".

If a speaker outside the House ceases to be impartial and indulges in party politics, he cannot properly carry the weight he would if he observed impartiality and calmness everywhere. I claim that if a speaker cultivates the habit of uniform impartiality outside his own very limited sphere he will enhance the Congress prestige.

Travancore

We congratulate the Dewan of Travancore on the Budget for the year which discloses the highest income ever got by Travancore without recourse to any fresh taxation and in spite of large schemes of industrial projects. During the course of the Budget debate we find references to the political situation in Travancore by some members of the State Congress. It is difficult to believe that such a progressive and enlightened administrator like Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer would be guilty of anything unconstitutional or high-handed. One hears everywhere of a spirit of revolt and indiscipline against authority. After all the primary duty of any government is to govern; and we have no doubt that order and discipline will soon be restored and the atmosphere made favourable for the introduction of a scheme of reforms acceptable to the Government and the people alike.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Royal Visit to Paris

A welcome almost unparalleled in the annals of the French Capital for warmth and spontaneity was accorded to Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth when they arrived in Paris on July 10. Being the first official royal visit of the new reign, the occasion was marked with befitting magnificence.

At a banquet at Elysee to Their Majesties, M. Albert Lebrun, President of the French Republic, after expressing sincere joy that France was greeting the Sovereigns of a nation which was their friend, said:

The Franco-British *entente* was founded by your illustrious grandfather and gave under the glorious reign of George V a measure of its efficacy during the dark period of the World War. In the world's present state of moral unrest great obligations still lie on the two nations, both equally interested in human progress.

M. Lebrun added:

The maintenance of peace within the limits of respect for the international law permits neither hesitation regarding the task to be accomplished nor falling off in our daily effort.

His Majesty the King, speaking in French, said that he was deeply touched by the welcome and declared it to be impossible to recall a period in which the Anglo-French relations were more intimate. They inspired the same ideal and had the same attachment to democratic principles and the same belief in the benefits of individual liberty. His Majesty continued:

We are proud of this political faith which we share with other great nations, but we fully realize that it carries with it heavy responsibilities; and in a period in which we live, it demands from us all to a high degree noble qualities of courage, wisdom, and determination.

In his parting message, the King spoke of the welcome

as yet another proof of those ties of cordial friendship and mutual esteem which have so long bound our two countries together, with friendship based on common ideals and common sacrifices and directed solely to the maintenance of just and lasting peace.

Italy and the Spanish Rebels

A frank admission of Italy's participation in the Spanish rebellion is made by Mussolini in a preface to the third five-year series of Acts of the Fascist Grand Council published recently.

"We just had time," he writes, "to salute this victory—the conquest of Abyssinia—when from over the Mediterranean came an appeal.

"Since the Bolsheviks made the Spanish War their war, the battalions that had just returned from the conquest of Abyssinia were reorganised.

"We do not know whether this clash may to-morrow develop into one, embracing the whole of Europe and the world; what we know is that Fascism is not afraid of a combat which must decide the destinies of Continents."

After this admission, why the farce of non-intervention?

Minorities in the Czech

Four separate Parliaments for Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia and Ruthenia, with complete provincial autonomy but with State finance, foreign policy and defence reserved to the National Assembly, are reported to be the main points in the Government's Minorities Statute now completed.

In each of the four Diets, seats will be divided into electorates representing various nationalities. Thus Bohemia consists of Czechs and Germans; Moravia-Silesia of Czechs, Germans and Hungarians; Slovakia of Slovaks and Germans; and Ruthenia of Czechs, Poles and Germans.

Each Diet, acting as a body, will control general local matters, while each National section will have charge of questions particularly affecting their own Nationality.

Japan and China

In recent weeks we do not hear much of the resounding victories of Japan in China. For one thing Chinese resistance seems to have stiffened; secondly, the unexpected floods in China have upset all calculations of the Japanese headquarters. Japan must be prepared to continue hostilities in China for at least 10 years, says her Minister for War. This statement, observes the *Statesman*, is certainly candid; whether it is wise is more doubtful. The Japanese public have hitherto been kept in ignorance of such reverses as their armies have sustained.

In the Shantung campaign this produced some curious discrepancies; the newspapers jubilantly reported the capture of towns whose fall had been celebrated in Japan weeks before, but whose loss to the Chinese during the intervening period had not been mentioned. The Press used the same discretion in reporting events in Shansi. The war opened with a series of resounding victories, the capture of Peking, Shanghai, Nanking and recently Suchow. Then came the floods and it was impossible to conceal that progress could not be as rapid as the public seemed to expect. But an open admission of the possibility of war lasting for 10 years will be rather a shock to the morale of the Japanese, and on public confidence will depend Japan's chances of success in the 10 years' war. Her financial position is as bad as that of all totalitarian States, but economics, as the Great War showed, is not an infallible science when it applies to belligerents. More serious is the fact that each month of war will increase the confidence of the Chinese and dishearten the invaders. Can the Japanese military caste continue to regiment the people for a period as long as that forecast by the Minister for War?

Germany and Austria

With reference to the German annexation of Austria, the following extracts from Herr Hitler's *Mein Kampf* will be read with interest. On the very first page of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler declares his conviction that Austria will have to become German, and immediately after he writes:

From my earliest youth, I was convinced that Austria's destruction was a necessary condition for the security of the German race . . . Even

then I perceived the deductions from this realization; intense love for my German Austrian home and deep hatred against the Austrian State.

Further he says:

German-Austria will have to return to the great German Motherland, but not for economic reasons. No, no! Even if a reunion, looked at from that point of view, were a matter of indifference—nay, even if it were actually injurious—it would still have to come. Common blood should belong to a common Reich. The German people have no right to dabble in a colonial policy as long as they are unable to gather their own sons into a common state. Not till the confines of the Reich include every single German, and are certain of being able to nourish him, can there be a moral right for Germany to acquire territory abroad whilst her people are in need.

With the Anschluss (union) so suddenly created by threat of force, Hitler's ambition is realised in a remarkable way. In his speech at Linz, he claims to have discharged a mission designed for him by "Providence".

M. Litvinoff on Non-intervention

"In the more or less near future, Germany intends to proceed to the restoring of her pre-War frontiers and at the same time to capture from the ex-Allies very strong and vital positions which belonged to them before the World War," said M. Litvinoff, Soviet Foreign Minister, in a speech on International Affairs in Leningrad.

Hitler, he said, is encouraged in his game by the policy of non-resistance by the democracies.

The substance of the whole diplomacy of the Western Powers for the last five years has been the avoiding of any resistance to Germany's offensive, the fulfilment of her demands and even whims and the fear to arouse her discontent and disapproval even in the slightest degree.

Referring to the Non-intervention Committee and the Russian part in it, M. Litvinoff stated:

Russia joined the Committee on the assumption that it can ensure absolute non-intervention. But at present her role in the Committee consists in not allowing the intervention of the Committee itself in Spanish affairs on General Franco's side.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

June 27. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan introduces the Punjab Press Bill in the Legislative Assembly.

June 28. British War Office announces complete re-organisation of anti-air craft defences.

June 29. The Central Advisory Board of Education meets at Simla to consider the Wardha Scheme.

June 30. The Tillman Expedition abandons the attempt to reach Mount Everest.

July 1. Sir George Stanley, ex-Governor of Madras, is dead.

July 2. Irish Dail elects by 75 to 45 Mr. de Valera as Prime Minister of Eire.

July 3. Mr. G. S. Khaparde is dead.

July 4. The French occupy Paracel Islands near Indo-China.

July 5. Cawnpore Mills' strike is called off.

July 6. Russia and Britain sign the protocol of London Naval Treaty of 1936.

July 7. H. M. the King confers the title of K. C. S. I. on the Maharajas of Bhavanagar and Jhalawar.

July 8. Mr. S. C. Bose issues an important statement on Congress attitude to Federation.

July 9. The Governor of Sind and the Ministry differ over the Sukkur Barrage assessment.

July 10. H. E. the Viceroy reaches London.

July 11. Mr. S. C. Bose meets Hon. Sir K. Nazimuddin in connection with the release of remaining detenus.

July 12. Japanese bomb Wucheng.

July 13. People's Political Council of China support unanimously the Government's military programme.

July 14. His Majesty's Government holds a reception at the India Office in honour of Lord and Lady Linlithgow.

July 15. The Sind Cabinet crisis is tided over by postponing the question of assessment of Sukkur barrage.

July 16. New York gives a rousing reception to Airman Hughes who toured round the world in 8 days.

July 17. Airmen Knockinaki and Briandinsky are awarded the title of Hero of Soviet Union and 25,000 roubles each.

July 18. Sir S. Radhakrishnan unveils the portrait of the Premier of Madras at Gokhale Hall, Madras.

July 19. Prof. Meghnada Saha joins Calcutta University as Palit Professor of Physics.

July 20. The Editor of the *Hindusthan Standard* is acquitted.

July 21. Dr. N. B. Khare, the C. P. Premier, resigns and forms the new Cabinet.

July 22. Ahmedabad goes dry.

July 23. Sir Nowroji Saklatwala is dead.

—Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetti is dead.

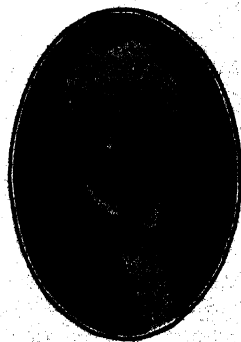
July 24. Dr. Khare resigns the Prime Ministership along with his colleagues.

July 25. Congress Working Committee meets at Wardha.

July 26. Germany and Turkey sign a treaty providing for exchange of goods.

July 27. Congress Working Committee censures Dr. Khare.

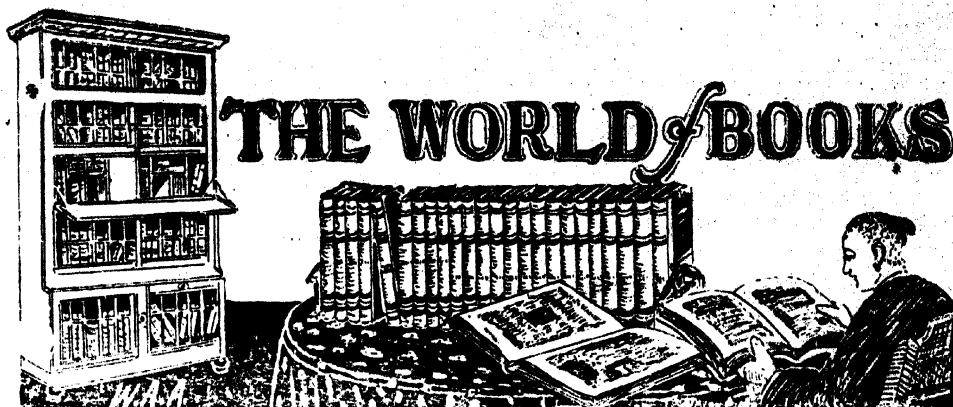
—Mr. R. S. Shukla is elected leader of the C. P. Congress Assembly Party.



LATE MR. M. K. KALANDAVELU

July 28. Mr. Kalandavelu [Mudaliar, of Messrs. Muller & Phipps, a prominent businessman and an unostentatious public worker of Madras, is dead.

July 29. Mr. R. S. Shukla forms the C. P. Ministry.



INDIA AND THE PACIFIC. By C. F. Andrews.

Allen and Unwin. 8sh. 6d.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has made himself quite an authority on the problem of Indians overseas. His latest book deals with India in the Pacific and the problems Indian settlers and workers have to face in that region. His earlier report made jointly with Mr. W. W. Pearson drew the attention of Indian leaders to the plight of our countrymen abroad and was responsible for the abolition of the labour system in 1920.

Now he writes of the latest phase in the struggle for equality, racial and economic. He draws particular attention to the necessity for tackling without delay such questions as (a) the adjustment of the rights of Indian settlers *vis-a-vis* the original population in each colony; (b) the evil legacy left by the indenture system; and (c) the relationship of colonial-born Indians to the mother country.

Mr. Andrews makes a striking appeal for justice.

The later chapters deal with India's place in the Pacific and of the relations between Europe and Asia. He envisages a bright future for India and believes that in reconstruction of cordial relations between the East and the West lies the most enduring guarantee of a just and true world peace.

HEAD IN GREEN BRONZE AND OTHER STORIES. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 8s. 6d.

This new volume of short stories from Hugh Walpole, the great novelist, is a valuable addition to the world of popular short stories.

The volume under review is a variegated collection of 19 short stories with differing backgrounds. The stories are not very exciting though they are pleasant. The story "Exile", which is the third of the series, has hollywood the modern paradise as its background. There is throughout a touch of the love of nature and the scenery of the English-lake districts. The stories are not very realistic. They have strength but no humanity. The characters are not very simple. The development of each character is represented as a dramatic tension between two forces, namely, the wishes of the character and their environments. The humour in the short stories is not very striking to the reader, who is not aware of the English life. In this connection we do not find the bold romantic realist Walpole. The stories are cleverly told without the touch of sentimentality.

Adventure of the imaginative child, The happy optimist, The Honey-box Heaving Hearts, and The Exile are perfect short stories. The great merit of this collection is that has something for all tastes.

FURTHER UPWARD IN RURAL INDIA. By D. Spence Hatch. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Rs. 2-8.

Mr. Spence Hatch's brief but significant book "Further Upward in Rural India" is a sequel to his "Up from Poverty". It attempts to tackle the problem of rural India from a realistic standpoint. It is full of illuminating suggestions with regard to every aspect of rural uplift. It is a record of actual experience in practical and rural reconstruction evolving from the five kinds of needs of every villager's life—spiritual, mental, physical, social, and economic.

The author writes with sympathy and understanding. What is more he writes with authority. The fruitful experiments he has pursued in his endeavour to reconstruct rural areas are traced with singular skill and precision.

A LIGHT SET UPON THE HILL. By Walter Clemon Lanyon. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

Mr. Clemon has to his credit a dozen popular expositions of the various aspects of the Christian Gospel. He writes with the ease and persuasion of the ex-Dean of St. Paul, Dean Inge. In all his writings, he emphasises the need to harmonise the social as well as the individual duties enjoined by the Gospel. Christianity for him stands for social reconstruction as well as for individual salvation. It is a religion where the individual develops his complete personality through the channel of social service in the name of Christ. The book under review contains about 50 sermons. The best are: 'The Temple of the Living God', 'The Second Coming', 'Life' and 'The Beggars of Life'.

THE TREASURY OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE.

By Ram Labhaya, B.A., and Jaishi Ram Coil, B.A., LL.B. Messrs. Ram Lal Suri and Sons, Lahore. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) Rs. 8-8.

The book covers a vast field of general knowledge, specially compiled for the benefit of students appearing for the competitive examinations held by the Central and Provincial Public Service Commissions. But judging from the nature of the contents, we have no doubt it will be found of equal interest to other readers.

We are told that over 400 works of reference, pamphlets, and periodicals have been laid under contribution in the preparation of this volume. Practically every question of public interest today is adequately covered with facts and figures culled from varied sources of information. The wide scope of the volume, and the vast range of topics dealt with, would be of little use but for the authors' skilful presentation of the enormous material at their disposal. The selection and classification of information under appropriate sections leave nothing to be desired.

BALADITYA. By A. S. Panchapakesa Iyer, M.A., I.C.S. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 4.

In this brilliant volume the author transports the reader to those chivalrous times when the world was young, when women loved ardently and men fought bravely. The story is packed with hazardous incidents and love episodes. Through the long-drawn conflict between the Aryans and Huns, the love story of Baladitya, the king of Maghada, and Saraswati of Yasodarman and Charumati is cleverly intermingled. The Swayamvara of Princess Charumati and the great battle of Karur, wherein the Huns are utterly routed, testify to the author's powers of description.

SEX IN MARRIED LIFE. By G. R. Scott. T. Werner Laurie. 8sh. 6d.

Ignorance of the facts of sex and of the implications of marriage which accounts so largely for tragedy and misery in married life still, one fears, exists to a very great extent. Manuals in non-technical and frank language like the one under review are, therefore, desirable. They answer to a real need. Most of the problems arising out of sex in married life are discussed in this slim little volume with a refreshing frankness and a reassuring brevity. The book is heartily commended to all who are married and, in particular, to those who are about to be married.

DEVKI'S PROBLEM: A play in three Acts.

By Pandit Bishan Narain. Ramakrishna & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Re. 1.

Changing times and conditions produce domestic and social upheavals inevitably and necessitate a revaluation of old values. Inter-caste marriage and widow marriage are two problems that affected the young lives of Sundari and Devki. Madan elopes with Sundari and defies the existing social order. Devki seeks to drown herself in Ganges, but is rescued by her brother Nanak, and Sundar Lal, a friend, offers her re-marriage. Swami Anand, a much travelled preacher and philosopher, expounds his ideas. The dialogue is well sustained throughout the drama and provides much food for thought.

BOOKS RECEIVED

: O :

FOOD-PLANNING FOR FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS. By Radha Kemal Mukerjee. Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London, W.C. 2.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CAD. By A. G. MacDonell. Macmillan & Co., London.

TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL. By B. Attam. Frederick Muller Ltd., 39, Great James Street, London.

BEATING THE CULBERTSONS. By Dr. Paul Stern. T. Werner Laurie, London.

APHORISMS OF YOGA. By Bhagwan Shree Pathanjali. Translated by Shree Purohit Swami. Faber and Faber, 24, Russell Square, London.

WARDHA DITAM (IN TAMIL). By P. K. Sundararajan, B.A., L.T. Manikodi Pustakasala, George Town, Madras.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF YOGA. By Swami Jnananda. S. H. Amrutalal Panchavate. Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.

MODERN GIRLS' GUIDE TO HOME MAKING. By Mrs. Freda M. Bedi. "Modern Girl" Mohani Road, Lahore.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN TARIFF BOARD re. PAPER AND PAPER PULP. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

PETALS OF ROSES. By J. S. Bright. 33, Grand Trunk Road, Lahore.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF 8TH ORIENTAL CONFERENCE (1935). Superintendent, Government Press, Bangalore.

SUGGESTIONS TO THE EDUCATIONAL REORGANIZATION COMMITTEE OF BIRAR. By Ram Lochan Saran. Pustak Bhandar, Lahore.

THE MACHINERY OF SOCIALIST PLANNING. By G. D. H. Cole. The Hogarth Press, 52, Tavistock Square, London.

THE COMMON INDIAN PLANTS, THE OUTLINE OF RATIONALISM, AND SEXOLOGY OF THE HINDUS. By Chandra Chakravarty. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta.

A GUIDE TO BELUR. By Dr. M. H. Krishna. Government Press, Bangalore.

MILITARY SCIENCE. By G. M. Jadhav. 55, Girgaum Road, Bombay 4.

TRIENNIAL REVIEW OF IRRIGATION IN INDIA. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE GOVERNMENT OF COCHIN ACT AND RULES THEREUNDER. Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY FOR INDIAN STUDENTS. By Cyril S. Fox. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

INDIAN CURRENCY PROBLEMS IN THE LAST DECADE (1926-1936). By Prof. J. C. Sinha, University of Delhi.

SIVA-MAHIMNA STOTRAM. Text in Sanskrit. Devanagari with English translation by Swami Pavitranaanda. Advaita Ashrama Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas.

HINDUS IN HYDERABAD. By Syed Mohd. Ahsan. Osmania Printing Works, Kingsway, Secunderabad.

READY RECKONER. By A. T. Dey and Prof. R. P. De. Published by the authors, 23/5 B. Jhampukur Lane, Calcutta.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

PAPER INDUSTRY IN HYDERABAD

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have recently sanctioned in favour of the Hyderabad Construction Co. Ltd. a scheme for the establishment of a Pulp and Paper Mill in the State. The mill, which will have a capacity of producing about 6 thousand tons of paper per annum, will be located at Sirpur where good quality of bamboo and coal are available within easy reach. This unique feature of finding coal and bamboo within a distance of 80 miles of one another places the Sirpur Mills in the most advantageous position as compared with any other mill in India.

It is estimated that the industry will realise a return of 10 to 12 per cent. per annum on its capital outlay.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Hanumanth Rao, Chairman of the Hyderabad State People's Convention, has addressed a letter to Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council. The following are the important extracts from the letter :

The conditions both within the State and the surrounding States are changing so rapidly that any delay made or grudging spirit shown in introducing constitutional reforms is bound to create misgivings and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people.

The Constitutional Reforms Committee was appointed by the Government in September 1937 with a direction to complete their work within six months. The time originally fixed was extended, in the first instance, by one month and then again by a further period of two months and a week, i.e., up to 1st July 1938. It is not now known to the public whether the Report of the Committee has been submitted to the Government or not, but so far as I know the Committee does not seem to have completed its labours and it is feared that a further period of extension may be given by the Government.

The letter urges His Exalted Highness not to give any more extension of time to the Committee and to expedite the formulation of final proposals and the inauguration of Responsible Government in the State.

Baroda

SIR GOVIND MADGAOKAR

The Baroda Government have sanctioned the appointment of Sir Govind Madgaokar, the retired Judge of the Bombay High Court, as the President of the Huzur Nyayasabha (the Supreme Court of Justice) in the State, on a salary of Rs. 2,500 per month. Sir Govind has joined his new duties on July 1. It is understood that he has also been entrusted with the work of preparing a scheme of the reorganisation of the Huzur Nyayasabha and the Sadar Adalat (Final Court of Appeals for Departmental cases) long since contemplated by the Government.

CATTLE AND POULTRY FARMING

Baroda is taking keen interest in the matter of improving cattle breeding and animal husbandry. It is evident from the fact that out of the 11 animals of the different kinds and breeds exhibited by the Baroda State at the recent Cattle Show in Delhi, 8 were selected by the judges for awards and cash prizes. The State has recently put into operation a new scheme to make sustained efforts to improve poultry. A Poultry officer was appointed last year and steps were taken to survey suitable areas for immediate development.

VILLAGE UPLIFT IN BARODA

The Suba of Okhamandal presided over a meeting, held at Dwarka, to devise means to speed up village uplift in that part of His Highness the Gaikwar's territories. He stressed the need for reviving cottage industries in rural areas, providing facilities for agricultural education, encouraging weaving and developing internal transport and water supply in villages.

Mysore

PROHIBITION IN MYSORE

The following declaration of the Government policy on Prohibition was made in the Mysore Legislative Council recently when demands for grants were voted:

"Through prohibition we lose not only the revenue we will otherwise have derived, but also we are forced to find funds for enforcing prohibition. However much one may agree with the desirability of introducing prohibition over the whole State, one has to face the question of 'cash'. Before we can introduce prohibition on a large scale, we have to find sources of revenue to balance the budget."

The Government, it was stated, were serious in their small experiment in prohibition in the Closepet and Channarayana taluqs and would decide on their future policy from the experience gained.

IRRIGATION IN MYSORE

In the matter of irrigation development, Mysore is much advanced. The extent of the irrigation works of Mysore may be gathered from the total annual revenue derived from irrigation alone, which is about Rs. 40,00,000 or 27 per cent. of the land revenue. The only concern of the Government now is to maintain in efficient condition all tanks, channels, wells, spring channels and improve their capacity wherever possible.

Rewa

CAPT. KHANWILKER

Captain D. S. Khanwilker, M.C., a prominent resident of Kolhapur, who had a distinguished career in the Great War and served in the British Army during the siege of Kut, has been appointed Chief of General Staff in Rewa.

Travancore

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. IN STATE

"So far as the question of responsible Government is concerned, constitutional and proper agitation devoted to the attainment of constitutional advance will never be regarded by any civilized Government as disloyal or subversive provided, of course, in an Indian State the fundamental principle of monarchy on which this Government rests are kept in view."

This statement was made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, addressing the Srimulam Assembly (Lower House of the Travancore Legislature) during the discussion of the motion of Mr. T. M. Verghese and Mr. P. Nanu to censure Government for alleged acts of rowdism at State Congress meetings.

TRAVANCORE DISTURBANCES

The Travancore Government have issued a *communiqué* on the disturbances that have been taking place outside the Assembly Hall during the past few days and the lathi charge made by the police on a crowd that had gathered in the Trivandrum Science College grounds on Friday the 15th July. The Government desire that not only educational authorities but also the public should discourage students from getting mixed up in political agitation.

MR. C. O. MADHAVAN

Mr. C. O. Madhavan, who is the first Ezhava to act as Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore, has taken charge of his office. Mr. Madhavan has been Excise Commissioner for the past six years and prior to that he was successively District Munsiff, Division Assistant and Devikulam Commissioner.

Kashmir

KASHMIR POLICE

In order to improve the efficiency of the police force, His Highness' Government have sanctioned the establishment of a Police Training School at Srinagar. The Principal of the School is an officer of the rank of Senior Superintendent of Police, and he has an adequate and experienced staff to assist him. New entrants to the department will be given thorough training in law, drill and practical duties, and it is hoped later to arrange refresher courses for men already in service.

WARDHA SCHEME IN KASHMIR

Mr. K. G. Saiyda, Director of Education, Kashmir, who is the Chairman of the newly appointed Committee for reorganisation of education in the State in the light of the Wardha Scheme, has issued a questionnaire to the public inviting suggestions. Among the questions are: What are the crafts which, in view of the local conditions, could be usefully introduced in schools? What steps can the schools take to bring education into closer contact with the life of the masses?

Gwalior

THE GWALIOR REFORMS

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia has instituted a committee to report at an early date what reforms are necessary to make the Majlis-i-Am (State Legislature) a true representative body and also to confer upon it more powers.

This Committee is composed of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Major Sardar C. S. Angre, Rao Bahadur L. B. Mulye and Major Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Pawar with Mr. S. S. Gaur as secretary.

Cochin

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN COCHIN

The Government of Cochin have prohibited the taking by sea out of Cochin State of sugar in any of its commercial forms except the product finally sold as molasses, provided that nothing in this notification shall be deemed to apply to sugar manufactured outside India and exported to Burma, British India or any other State in India.



Mr. N. D. VARADACHARIAR

the Madras Advocate, who assisted in the drafting of the new Constitution Act of Cochin. He was presented with a Veerasinkhala (gold chain) by the Maharaja of Cochin at the Special Durbar held on June 17.

Benares

PROGRESSIVE BENARES

The latest to join the progressive States who are ready to grant some measure of self-government to their subjects is the State of Benares. The Maharaja of Benares has ordered a committee to draft proposals for the constitution of a Legislative Council where the people will have a say in the administration of the State.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

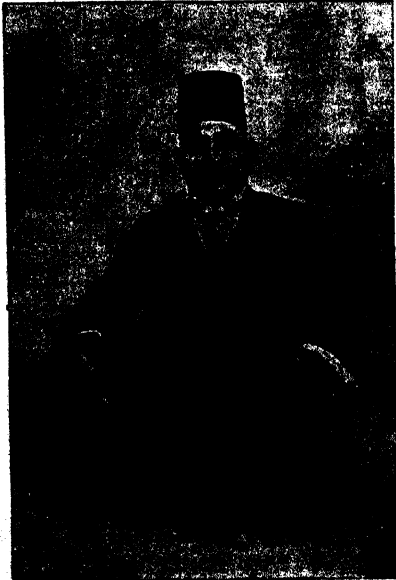


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Overseas

PROBLEMS OF INDIANS ABROAD

Sir Syed Raza Ali, ex Agent-General for India in South Africa, recently gave a lecture in Simla, giving a graphic



Sir SYED RAZA ALI

description of the conditions of Indians living in South Africa. The question of South African Indians, he said, is part of the bigger problem of the position of Indians overseas. The entire problem can be divided into three parts:—

Status of Indians in the self-governing dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations;

Their status in the British Colonies; and

Their status in foreign possessions and territories.

South Africa represents one phase of the Indian problem, which falls within the first category described above. Another phase

is represented by the treatment of our people in Zanzibar and Kenya and falls under the second category. One sees the third phase of the Indian problem in foreign possessions, notably the Portuguese East African territories.

The difficulties with regard to Indians' position in countries other than India arise from the fact that Indians are denied in full the treatment to which the people of the Self-governing Dominions of those belonging to the British race are entitled. These differences inside the British Commonwealth of Nations encourage foreign countries to adopt a policy of discrimination against Indians. Our endeavour should obviously be to secure the removal of these differences in status between Indians and the people of the Self-governing Dominions.

Fiji

INDIAN TRADERS IN FIJI

Mr. C. F. Andrews has sent a note to the Press saying that the following telegram has been received from the Secretary of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Fiji:

The Fiji Government are refusing to renew the licences of all country retail stores which are built on Fijian land with the exception of those that are already registered by Government. If this is carried out, many Indians will be compelled to close down and face ruin. The Indian Chamber of Commerce solicits your urgent help. Please inform Andrews.

This telegram, says Mr. Andrews, appears to mean that Indians who have built retail stores in the country districts on land which has been leased to them by the Fijians, or else sub-let to them by Indians who hold Fijian leases, will now have to close down their whole trade unless they receive a registered certificate that they are licensed in that particular area to sell goods to the Fijians.

The matter should be taken up immediately by the Government of India and an effort should be made to prevent the new Ordinance being regarded as retrospective and thus interfering with existing vested rights.

South Africa

INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL

The efforts of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the South African Indian Congress to cancel legislation considered harsh and oppressive to the Indian community are described in the Secretarial report of the Transvaal Indian Congress for the period November 1934 to May 1938.

The report records that the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act of 1936 was passed despite strong protests from Indians in South Africa and India. The Feetham Commission was constituted as a result of this Act and the South African Indian Congress resolved not to co-operate with the Commission. A Select Committee was appointed before which the Congress gave evidence. The report of that Committee resulted in the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act of 1936, which in some measure relaxed the disabilities of the Land Tenure Act of 1932 and the Feetham Commission's recommendations.

It is, however, considered that the Congress, as a matter of principle, should continue to press for the repeal of this legislation.

The Mixed Marriages Bill, the Asiatic Land Bill, and the Employment of White Women Bill (1937) were introduced during the last session of Parliament when there were anti-Indian feelings in Parliament. Parliament appointed a Commission to consider them, says the report.

The Transvaal Asiatic Land Bill and the Provincial Council Powers Bill were referred to a Select Committee before which the South African Indian Congress

submitted evidence and proved that there was no justification for either of the Bills.

By reason of the existing delicate situation, the South African Congress called upon the Indian employers of female European labour, to whose employment exception was taken, to dispense with such employees.

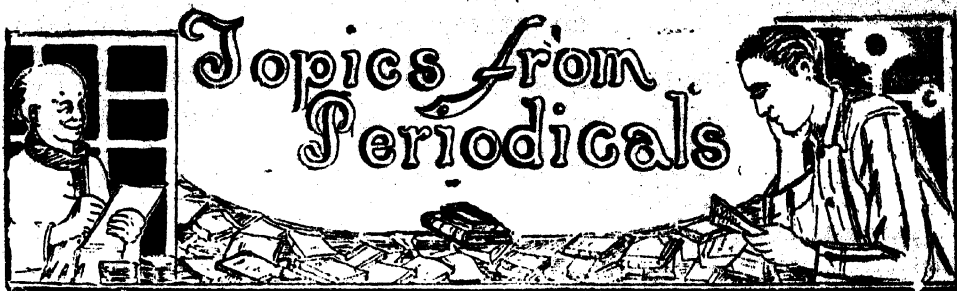
Indians employed in the catering industry were in constant fear of their dismissal as a result of operations of the Liquor Act of 1928. The Congress, we are told, made representations on their behalf and was successful in bringing about some relaxation in the rigid restrictions imposed on their employment.

FRANCHISE IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is considered likely, says the *Hindu* correspondent in Simla, that Mr. B. Rama Rau, Agent-General in South Africa, will explore the possibilities of a Round Table Conference in South Africa on the question of franchise for Indians.

Senator Brooks declared at a recent public meeting that the time was now ripe, with Bantu representation in Parliament, for beginning a discussion with the Government of India on the Franchise question.

Recently, on the occasion of a public welcome to the new Agent-General, the President of the Natal Indian Congress repudiated the rumour that the Congress favoured a non-European Front. The object, he maintained, was not to create a united front of non-Europeans against Europeans, but a united front of all sections of the South African Nation, including Europeans. A danger, however, existed on account of the trend of the Union Government's legislation discriminating in favour of Europeans.



THE CONGRESS IN OFFICE

The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 has passed through various stages in its career of over half a century. Writing in the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. Nagendranath Gupta observes:

The Congress spoke fearlessly of freedom, it accepted without hesitation the challenge thrown out by the Government, it submitted without complaint to lathi blows, but it never thought of accepting office under the present regime. And yet the unexpected has come to pass. The Congress is well astride the saddle of office and its seat is becoming firmer every day. The other day when the Ministers of Bihar and the United Provinces resigned, it seemed as if the brief reign of the Congress was over and another period of a bitter struggle was about to set in. Happily, however, the united good sense of the Viceroy and the Governors themselves prevented the precipitation of such a catastrophe and the Congress continues to remain in office.

By one of those ironies which cannot be explained, says Mr. Gupta, there is no Congress Ministry in Bengal—Bengal which has taken such a leading part in the building up of this great national institution.

The President of the first Congress was a Bengali and so is the present President, but the Congress is in a minority in that Province. Not only so, but the Cabinet there is a most unsatisfactory one and there is not one Minister who has the confidence of the people. It is quite on the cards that the Congress may come into power in Bengal, and Assam may follow. But the Punjab and Sind will stay out though, all things considered, the non-Congress Governments in those Provinces are satisfactory.

The Congress Governments have done good work and may do better. They have justified popular confidence. They have abated no jot of their independence and their goal remains unchanged. At any moment they will be prepared to exchange office for prison. What more do you want? Prohibition is assured and the people will become sober and wholesome. Let us criticize the Congress by all means, but let us not expect the impossible from it. Let us wait and watch certainly, but let us hope also—hope that the path to liberty is clear and in a few decades India will be free—as free as Britain.

REINCARNATION

The June number of the *Aryan Path* contains many articles on the much debated subject of Reincarnation and Karma by various writers. Prof. Mahendranath Sircar, writing on "the process of reincarnation in Hindu philosophy and psychology", says:

The Hindus advance psychological experience in favour of reincarnation. The soul can be so detached that it can see the body separated from it. It can stand outside and see the subtle thread of connection through which it can pass into and out of the body. This fitness, acquired by training, is an opening in psychic consciousness. With this training the parts of our being can be so modulated that the soul can feel its freedom and see the path of its exit. This, indeed, is the beginning of a new knowledge called "Secret Wisdom."

The psychic experience can grow so luminous that it can revive memory of many past lives. Such adepts are called *Jatismaras*. Such advanced soul sometimes see the past lives of other souls too.

The psychic experience reflects the path of exit from, and entrance into, the body. There are different centres in our psychic being, outlets through which the soul can pass into higher or lower worlds according to its tendencies and *sanskaras*. The soul reincarnates according to these tendencies, for they determine its concrete nature. The nature of exit determines its future birth, if the soul is not psychically gifted enough to take the path whence no soul returns. One who takes the path of the Sun (*Surya-Marga*) does not return to earthly life.

Reincarnation affords the privilege of recreating destiny. It teaches us to accept the trials and tribulations of life with sustained faith and hope.

The moral momentum that one acquires by Karma serves him in his evolution. Karma is associated with progressive soul evolution and it is within human power to curb nature's crudities and ensure spiritual and moral elevation. Before the spiritual harmony can be reached where nature offers no obstacle, a firm conviction of the continuity of our creative existence and freedom to reshape nature is imperative. Evolution, strictly understood, is the resurrection of spirit over nature, and reincarnation affords us this privilege.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE CONGRESS

In the *Twentieth Century* for July, "I. D." discusses the problems facing the Congress. After referring to the virtual break-down of the Hindu-Muslim negotiations, he draws attention to the various other problems confronting the Congress governments in different provinces.

The Congress economic policy has led to serious disorders in industrial areas like Cawnpore; its agricultural policy has created a tremendous unrest in the country-side, particularly in the U. P. where the friction between the landlords and the kisans threatens to have serious repercussions on the future of the country. Its programme for the spread of Hindustani has antagonised some important elements in the South, and brought in its wake anti-Ministerial demonstrations. Its rural uplift programme is responsible for a minor scandal in U. P., while in C. P. "a document of the most devastating character" has caused violent heart-searchings in non-violent breasts.

The Ministers, says the writer, are finding it a tough job to implement their election promises. Little wonder that in such an embarrassing situation they sometimes feel that "to go out of office will mean wilderness while to remain in office will mean waiting, weary waiting, for complete independence". Their very strength has sometimes proved to be a weakness "while the Single party domination they have set up in the majority of the provinces has created a situation which promises no redemption".

The Congress must ere long make its choice on the issue of Federation, even as it did on the question of office acceptance.

No commitments or doubts were allowed to handicap its decision then; no more need there be now, since Congressmen have proved more than once that they are not averse to cosmic adjustments. If Britain is wise, she will explore the avenue of a friendly settlement by taking the advice of the *Manchester Guardian* and modifying the Act. But if Britain is thoughtless, the Congress can't afford to be tactless. The greater will be the need for its cool judgment and constructive decision. It is in the hands of the Congress, and of the Congress alone, to repeat at the Centre its victories in the Provinces, or at least to stand there as the bulwark against the reactionary forces.

SOUTH INDIA, ARABIA AND AFRICA

The *New Indian Antiquary*, a new monthly journal published in Bombay, contains a number of interesting articles on Indology. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University contributes an informing article on the relations between Southern India, Arabia and Africa to the first number. Prof. Sastri writes about the trade relations between South India and other countries long before the dawn of the Christian era.

There were two routes taken by the traffic between East and West; one, an older route from the head of the Persian Gulf along the Euphrates to the Syrian and Arabian coast; and a later, and in some respects more advantageous route, was that from the East coast of Egypt to the Nile. This latter commanded a stream better suited to navigation and involved a shorter land transport. "Not twenty ships in the year," observed a writer in the reign of Augustus, "ventured forth under the Ptolemies from the Arabian Gulf; now 120 merchantmen annually sail to India from the port of Myos Hormos alone." Then came the discovery of Hippalus, "the pilot, who by observing the location of the ports and the conditions of the sea, first discovered how to lay his course straight across the ocean". Arabia also took part in this trade, and in the houses of rank in India, as Mommsen said, Arabian wine was drunk alongside the Falterian from Italy and the Laodicean from Syria; and the lances and shoe-makers' awls which the natives of the coast of Malabar purchased from the foreign traders were manufactured at Muxa.

The rise of the kingdom of Aksum on the ruins of the kingdom of Meroe in the first half of the first century A.D. and the consequent increase in the importance of Adulis, the chief port of Aksum, appear to have opened the way for the penetration of South Indian influences in this part of the East African coast. Soon after Nero's time, Aksum was the neighbour of the Roman Empire in the south in North Africa and had contact with Roman territory in Arabia across the straits. The relations between Aksum and the Roman Empire and the aim of Nero's policy in this direction have been the subject of an interesting discussion in recent years. It has been suggested that Nero aimed at safeguarding the commercial interests of the empire by securing the decaying Marcotic kingdom against the encroachment of the expanding Aksumite kingdom of Abyssinia, which threatened to monopolise the African ivory trade and obstruct the direct trade route to India. Others have held that this theory will hardly bear close scrutiny. However that may be, we may be sure that the rise of Aksum and its chief port Adulis carried one stage further a process that had already been at work for a

long time. From the earliest times, Egyptians had traded with East Africa, and in Hellenistic and Ptolemaic times, they developed, as we have noted before, direct sea communications with India in competition with those of the Selucid land routes.

Prof. Sastri is of opinion that the high culture of various kingdoms in Abyssinia, Aksum and East Africa in those days was due to the spiritual elements of South Indian origin, which then spread over the whole of the civilised world. South Indian merchants contributed not a little to the cultural development of the ancient Arabian and African coastal kingdoms.

THE CONGRESS AND THE STATES

In the course of an article in the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi writes in vindication of the Congress attitude to the States and appeals to the States' subjects to realise the full meaning and potency of *satyagraha* in their struggle for freedom. "Events seem to have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution of non-intervention in the affairs of the States." He writes:

The constitution, however unjust, arbitrary and illogical it may be, is such that, legally and politically, every State, small or big, is an independent entity in its relation to the other States and that part of India which is called British in contra-distinction from the States.

The similarity common to all is that they are under the iron grip of British rule. But geographically and ethnically the people of the States and the other parts of India are one and indivisible. We 330,000,000 men and women are blood relations who cannot be parted by any constitutional or military device.

By its resolution of non-interference, the Congress has put the States' people on their mettle. In other words, set in motion the natural forces, or the powers latent in the people themselves. In a few recent instances it has been found that the people, having discovered their strength, have used it without any aid from outside and won. The result also was that the assistance of Congressmen was invoked by the States' authorities in order to settle the differences between themselves and their people.

The conditions of success of *satyagraha* in the States are as rigid as in British India. The Congress cannot dictate

unreasonable terms. The people must have a real grievance and they must approach it with pure hands—"for the tool of *satyagraha* is *ahimsa*, i.e., self-suffering without inflicting suffering on the opponent for the vindication of a cause which must be absolutely just".

If only the people of the States can realize the full meaning and potency of *satyagraha* (non-violence), they will win their relative freedom from India as a whole comes into its own. Thus they can have full liberty of non-violent speech, writing and action without having to deal with the cumbersome British machinery. They can secure with comparative ease a more equitable, even if not an equal, distribution of the wealth produced in the States.

They can without much effort regulate the privy purse of their Princes and can have cheap and pure justice guaranteed. They can deal with the problem of poverty and village reconstruction with infinitely greater ease than in the unwieldy and bureaucracy-ridden British India. They can have real national education for the asking.

This will be their *swaraj*—no doubt far short of the independence that the Congress wants. But if the people of the majority of the major States rise to their full height, the days of independence will be hastened in a manner that no one has dreamt of.

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BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT BENGAL

Bengal was the last stronghold of Buddhism in India. It has been mentioned that Buddha once lived at Letaka, a town of the Sumbhas in western Bengal. Mr. P. L. Paul, writing in the *Journal of the Indian History*, observes:

A Nagarjunikonda inscription which is to be paleographically assigned to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. states that Vanga was one of the countries that gladdened the hearts of the *Theravadin* teachers. That the *Sthavira* school flourished in eastern Bengal is also confirmed by Yuan Chwang, when in the description of Samatata the Chinese traveller observes that it had 30 Buddhist monasteries and above 2,000 Brethren, all adherents of the *Sihavira* school. The Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta, dated 508 A.D., records the grant of land to a congregation of Buddhist monks belonging to the *Mahayana* sect in the Tippera district.

From Yuan Chwang's accounts it appears that at the time of his visit the three principal religions, viz., Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, had each a fairly large number of adherents in Bengal. . . . In Kanjangan (modern Rajmahal) there were six or seven monasteries and above 300 Brethren. In Pundrayardhan there were 20 monasteries and above 3,000 Brethren and both the Great and Little Vehicles were followed. In Samatata there were more than 30 monasteries and above 2,000 Brethren, all of the *Sihavira* school. In Tamralipti there were above 10 monasteries and more than 1,000 Brethren. In Karnasuvarna there were more than 10 monasteries and above 2,000 Brethren who were all adherents of the *Samatiya* school. There were also three monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta, milk products were not taken as food. Besides there were two universities—one in Pundravardhana and another in Karnasuvarna. The former, Pochipo *Sangharana*, has been identified with *Bharu Vihara* by Cunningham, four miles to the west of Mahasthana in the Bogra district. In it lived 700 priests who studied according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned men from eastern India dwelt there. In the Raktaviti University of Karnasuvarna congregated the most distinguished, learned and celebrated men of kingdom.

The cause of the increasing influence of Buddhism within 50 years was, perhaps, due to the ardent and vigorous support of the Khadga dynasty which ruled in Samatata within the period between A.D. 850 to A.D. 750.

All the known wide pendent kings of Bengal before the middle of the seventh century were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Khadgas were devoted Buddhists, and we are fortunate to have a picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhists and of the part played by Rajabhata, the ruling king at the time of Beng-chi. The king himself was an *Upanishad* and all the 4,000 monks were maintained by him.

WOMAN IN HINDU RELIGION

That woman was not an impediment in the path of religion, and in fact her presence and co-operation were absolutely necessary in all religious rites and ceremonies, is the key-note of an article entitled "Woman's place in Hindu religion" by Dr. A. S. Altekar in the June issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata*.

In the Vedic age, women enjoyed all the religious rights and privileges which men possessed. They used to receive Vedic education. Many of them were even the authors of Vedic hymns. Women, therefore, could recite Vedic hymns as a matter of course. Some women, especially unmarried ones, are seen offering Vedic sacrifices all by themselves. In one place we find a maiden finding a shoot of the Soma shrub while returning from her bath and straightway offering it in sacrifice to Indra when she returned home. In another place we find a lady, named Visvavara, getting up early in the morning and starting the sacrifice all by herself. In the Vedic age, there were no images to be worshipped and temples to be visited. The Bhakti school advocating simple prayer to God by songs of devotion was yet to come into prominence, as also the Jnana school emphasising the contemplation either of Atman or of Brahman. So the offering of sacrifice was the only popular and well-established mode of worship. It could not, therefore, be interdicted to unmarried women or ladies whose husbands were away, especially in view of the Vedic initiation being then quite common among girls as well.

The religious disenfranchisement that resulted from the ineligibility now-a-days of women for religious functions produced a disastrous consequence upon the general status of women in society. The restoration of religious rights and privileges to women depends much upon education and the acquisition of economic rights and independence which they have lost. The writer concludes:—

It would be, however, in the interest of Hindu society if it remains constantly alive to the full implications of the Vedic viewpoint that the husband and the wife are equal and necessary partners in divine worship. The principle implies that men and women have equal rights and responsibilities in matters temporal as well. Since the spiritual disenfranchisement of women, men have become accustomed to regard women as their inferiors in all the spheres of life. This outlook must disappear. We must remember that women have done greater services to religion than men by preserving the old religious traditions, moral fervour and spiritual vein in Hindu society. These constitute priceless heritage and men ought to be grateful to women for preserving it.

SALARY RETRENCHMENT

Rai Saheb G. L. Chatterji writes on retrenchment of salaries of Indian service holders in the *Hindustan Review*. He says that the Ministers should lose no time in the interest of their long-suffering fellow-men as much as for their own reputation, "to stop the exploitation of the low-paid men and the pampering of the so-called gazetted service-holders". He writes:—

At present these salaries range between Rs. 20 and over Rs. 2,000 while the average income of Indians per caput is barely Rs. 10 a month. Considering the present-day demands upon the resources of the salaried gentry, and the real and fancied responsibilities borne by them in attempting to conform to rising standards of living that have little relation to the general financial condition or the avenues of employment of the wage-earning capacity of the people, it may at first sight seem impossible to fix anything like a maximum. At the same time there is little doubt that such a maximum can be laid down for all practical purposes, for the pardonable ambition of every Service man to live in comparative luxury can never be gratified by increasing the salaries and the allowances. The Congress maximum of Rs. 500, which can hardly be supposed to have been heartily acquiesced in by the majority of those upon whom it has been imposed in a somewhat arbitrary manner, may well seem to be rather low, but the figure is very near the mark, for it must be remembered that the spending power of a man cannot be equal to his earning power. Increased by a few hundred rupees, the figure can well be fixed as a general rule as the maximum salary that an Indian Service man can expect. More than anywhere else perhaps, thrift and economy is necessary in India. The ideal of plain living and high thinking is India's own, and worn out though it be, is a great ideal.

The saving effected by reducing the maximum salaries will be counterbalanced to some extent by the raising of the minimum salaries payable. The present minima are almost scandalous, and the sooner they are raised, the better for all concerned. It is, indeed, irrational and immoral that a man should be paid Rs. 20 or 40, and tied down to a maximum of hundred or two hundred rupees, while one possessing the same educational qualifications, belonging to the same social status, gifted with similar intelligence and aptitude, should enjoy considerably higher salaries and privileges.

Rao Saheb Chatterji pleads that accident or luck should not operate in the matter of salaries. The minimum ought in all conscience to be Rs. 60 to 80 preferably the latter in the majority of cases.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA IN AMERICA

"The Vedantic doctrine of the divinity of man which was emphasised and explained by the great Swami Vivekananda, the foremost disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, is giving a new outlook of life and will gradually change the relation of man to man," writes Swami Akhilananda, the founder and the leader of the Vedanta Society of Providence (U. S. A.) in the July number of the *Vedanta Kesari*. The Swamiji writes of the type of service that Indian ideals can do to America:

All persons, Eastern and Western, will treat their fellow-beings not as mere men but as veritable embodiments of the Divine Being. This emphasis has slowly been changing the conduct of the students of Vedanta and of others, directly and indirectly. Men can no longer do things for his own selfish ends but has to learn to serve his fellow-beings in the spirit of service and worship embodied in the gospel of Karma Yoga preached by Swami Vivekananda.

Activities motivated by selfish ends, profit and accumulation, are creating serious social and economical disturbances. The mechanical and other scientific devices are helping mass-production, thereby creating big syndicates and other such organisations. Individuals are losing their initiative, integrity and often their sense of self-respect. Consequently there have been innumerable internecine and destructive quarrels. These are inevitable evils due to a selfish interpretation of the law of survival of the fittest. Sri Ramakrishna's teaching, "Jiva is Shiva," namely, man is divine, and his emphasis on the spirit of service, would really ward off the evils of the modern clashes of interests. Man will then work, not for his selfish ends, but for the good and happiness of family and society. Social justice which is craved for to-day can be established only when a man realises that he is doing his duty in the spirit of service to his fellow-beings who are divine. This is the real basis of humanistic social justice.

The divinity of man and its logical conclusion of Karma Yoga, says the Swamiji, are the greatest contributions of the Ramakrishna movement to modern America, nay to the world.

MISSION OF OUR MASTER. Essays and discourses by the Eastern and Western disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the "*Indian Review*", Rs. 2-5.

G. A. Newman & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

BALADEVA'S CONCEPTION OF HEAVEN

Baladeva, the theologian of the Chaitanya school of thought, is also a commentator of the *Brahma Sutras*. His conception of God and Heaven is presented in an article by Mr. P. Johannus in the July number of the *New Review*. The soul's formal participation in God or *Svarup-nishpatti*, according to Baladeva, is explained in the following words:

As a poor man becomes rich when he takes refuge with a rich person and becomes his favourite, so the soul, essentially atomic, becomes infinite through the infinity of the Lord (*Sutra*, 4, 4, 20). He also expressly states that, since the soul is atomic and God all-pervading, the soul is not by nature equal to the Lord; the equality lies only in the object of enjoyment. In other words, although the soul is different from God, as a being of atomic size is different from an all-pervading being, or as a drop is different from the ocean, nevertheless the soul enjoys the happiness of God as God enjoys it.

It is true that the soul enjoys the happiness of God as God enjoys it, but not to the same extent. A finite being, although it may enjoy God as God enjoys Himself, can only do so in so far as its character allows, be this character supernatural or natural. When we say that the soul enjoys the infinity of happiness of God as God Himself does, we merely wish to stress the greatness of a formal participation in God. The soul is happy and divinely happy in so far as it reaches and is able to participate in God. This is a practical infinity, for there is no limit to any desire that may arise in the soul, nor to any exertion which it undertakes. It sees all it can wish to see and does all it wishes to do without ever meeting with any resistance; thus it is infinite in its own way but not infinite in the way of God.

Baladeva says that the beatific vision or remaining with God is eternal. The Lord never abandons His children, who are a fragment of His essence after having brought them to His home.

The more so since the promises of the Lord are ever true. His resolutions are never frustrated. He is an ocean of protecting kindness to all those who take shelter under Him, and He is the Lord of all. Such a being will never renounce His devotees who have abandoned everything. The soul also, on the other hand, whose quest was happiness and who had constantly been deluded by a shadow of it in the shape of wives, children, etc., and who had passed innumerable lives in the pursuit of these false pleasures, will not leave that infinity of true joy and wisdom, the best friend and master, when it has found Him through the grace of a guru, teacher.

WOMEN AND CO-OPERATION

"The creation of a new rural civilisation is in India the greatest need of our time, and it is because co-operation may provide the basis of this new social order in rural India that it becomes necessary to urge women to associate themselves with the co-operative movement," writes Mr. V. L. Mehta in the *Indian Home* for July. Although in India, women play a negligible part in the co-operative movement, in the world outside women's association with it is almost as old as the movement itself. Many international institutions view the problem of social reorganisation mainly from the standpoint of the individual as a consumer, which is probably the correct attitude to adopt in a civilization predominantly urban and industrial.

The needs of India with its seven lakhs of villages, and with a population that derives its sustenance very largely from the land, are bound to be different. That even in India there is scope for the consumers' movement goes without saying, but the fact cannot be overlooked that for the bulk of the population the aspect of economic life that is of vital importance is that relating to production not consumption. It is a recognized fact of our rural social life that except when they are occupied in domestic work or in the gathering of crops, the women in the country-side engaged themselves in some occupation or industry allied to agriculture. Under the inspiring lead of Mahatma Gandhi, the All-India Village Industries Association has taken in hand the task of promoting the extensive use of these rural products. Through co-operative organisations, women can assist both in stimulating this demand and in taking effective steps to see that it is met. This they can by forming or assisting co-operative organizations of customers which make it their prime duty to support and patronise cottage industries where production is carried on in the interests of the producers.

In conclusion, the writer adds:

The formation of women's guilds may follow once contact is established between groups of women consumers and producers. After organising the demand, the next task will be to organize efficient production, especially among women in rural areas. It is only when this constant effective demand is organized at the one end and production co-operatively organized among women workers at the other, that the women and their productive workers in the country-side will be able to derive the full benefit of their labour.

PRAYER IN RELIGION

The July number of the *Aryan Path* publishes a summary of a paper prepared by Prof. Alban G. Widgery, of the Duke University (U. S. A.) on the "significance of religious practices". Prof. Widgery regards prayer as the most important feature of religious practices. He considers prayer not as a contemplation but as supplication, and says:

"The first significant thing here is that mankind from early times should have adopted such a practice and have continued it into the highest stages of religion. Prayer implicates not merely needs on the side of the subject, but also the apprehension of a being upon whom the response is dependent. It is an attitude towards a spirit able to understand what is asked. The problem that has been raised with regard to prayer is whether it is, or indeed, can be answered. If it is answered, of course it necessarily follows that it can be. But whether prayer is answered cannot be definitely established, so that a philosophy of religion could definitely affirm that as a truth. For it cannot be shown in any case that what happens would not have happened without the prayer. Further, it may also be urged that if the prayer is for something which God intends, it will happen without the human prayer; while if it is for something in opposition to what He intends, He cannot be expected to grant what is asked. There is much in that contention, especially when the prayer is concerned with what involves the physical world. Nevertheless, where spiritual ends are sought, it may be replied that what God intends involves the attitude of prayer on the part of His creatures, and that without it

achievement is not possible. For if the degree of freedom of human minds is to be preserved, and if the subjective attitude is an important essential in religion, prayer may be necessarily implicated in attaining some spiritual results."

The writer admits the higher the stage in religious development, the less the emphasis on prayer as the way of obtaining results in the physical world and the more the insistence on the use of one's own intelligence and strength. That has not ruled out prayer for physical results, but has turned attention to the character of such prayer as a reverent acknowledgment that even physical welfare is ultimately dependent on God, that the range of human intelligence and power would be insignificant if it were not in relation with a physical world that is dependent on God. The higher the stage in religious development, the greater the emphasis on prayer as an aid to spiritual growth. For in prayer the devotee, as it were, "holds converse" with the deity and must inevitably endeavour to adopt an attitude of mind in accord with the sentiments of awe, reverence and praise that arise in his apprehension of God.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

WOMEN DURING THE RAMAYANA PERIOD. By Miss P. C. Dharma, M.A. [*Journal of Indian History*, April 1938.]

THE SYNTHETIC METHOD OF THE UPANISHADS. By Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D. [*The Prabuddha Bharata*, July 1938.]

LIBRARIES IN BENGAL: Present and Future. By Nehar Ranjan Roy, M.A. [*The Calcutta Review*, June 1938.]

INDIA IN FISHER'S HISTORY OF EUROPE. By Ramanohar Lokia. [*The Modern Review*, July 1938.]

BENGALI POETRY OF TO-DAY. By Mohini Mohan Mukharjee. [*The Triveni*, July 1938.]

SCHOPENHAUE AND INDIA. By Heinrich Zimmer. [*The New Indian Antiquary*, April 1938.]

MINORITIES IN INDIA

"No other country can boast of so many minorities as India," she is a veritable museum of minorities," says Prof. L. R. Sethi writing in the June number of the *Punjab Review*.

The Government of India Act, 1935 recognizes as many as 10 different sections of the Indian Nation as "Minorities". The ten are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Depressed Classes, Indian Americans, Anglo-Indian, Europeans, etc. The classification has been based upon no uniform principle. It is as novel as it is interesting. The claims put forward by the minorities and recognized by the British Government are various and often contradictory in character. Some communities base their claims on the ground that they belong to the depressed and backward classes, while others form their demands on the grounds of their superior wealth, education and vested interests. Other communities again base their claims upon their loyalty and services during the Great War and upon their potential value for recruitment to the Army. There are also communities which base their claims upon the ground of their past political predominance and their martial superiority or their capacity to give trouble and disturb the peace. Even sex has been recognised, chivalrously be it admitted, by the British Government as a basis for being classified as a minority.

Another characteristic of the Indian problem is that there are no "national minorities". The European problem is fundamentally a problem of "national minorities".

In India, on the other hand, the minorities with one exception form part of a single nation. They are not aliens in any sense of the term, in spite of a few suggestions to the contrary by a few spokesmen of some of the minorities. The Muslims are the largest minority. Their total strength in British India is 64.5 millions out of 236.8 millions—25.9 per cent. The Sikhs are neither a race nor a nationality nor a caste, but are primarily the followers of a religion. Their total strength in India is 4,305,000; of these 3 millions live in the British Provinces in the Punjab and over a million in the Indian States geographically associated with that Province.

The Indian minorities are not "national", but primarily social, religious and political, and as such if they existed in Europe, the League would not have recognised them.

No recognition is given by the League to minorities political (such as liberals or communists) social (like Brahmans, non-Brahmans or Depressed Classes) or economic (such as peasants or industrial labourers). There is another difference between the Indian minorities and the minorities recognised by the League. All the League Treaties require as stated before the minority to constitute "a considerable proportion of the population". A mere microscopic minority does not come within their purview. The limit of 20 per cent. is recognised as the irreducible minimum in these international stipulations.

The minority problem in India, at bottom, is a communal one, the problem of the Hindu and Muslim communities. The other communities are a recent force in Indian politics and have appeared because of the example set by the Muslim community. The writer concludes:

The Hindu-Muslim problem, however, is tragically real and intensely grave; stripped of all fine rhetoric, it is a brazen scramble for power; a grab for the loaves and fishes of offices. The Muslims being in minority in India as a whole fear the Hindu majority and are nervous of their existence as a separate entity. The Hindus, on the other hand, although in a great majority all over India are in a minority in the Punjab, Bengal, North-Western Frontier Province and Sind. In spite of their All-India majority they are afraid of the Muslims in these provinces.

As the problem fundamentally is a struggle for power, it is only confined to the middle classes. The masses have not been touched by it. It is primarily a problem of the cities. In the villages the Hindu-Muslim relations are very amicable. (90 per cent. of the Indian population is rural.) The illiterate villagers have neither the capacity nor the inclination to understand the implications of "separate electorates", "weightage" and "reservation of seats."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

PANDIT NEHRU'S PARTING MESSAGE

In an interview to the Press in England before his departure to Paris, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:—

As one who ardently desires a world order based on peace and freedom, I have much to say to England and her people. The present



PANDIT NEHRU

Government of Britain is pursuing a policy disastrous alike to peace and freedom. That policy widens the gap between England and India, since we are entirely opposed to it and consider it as one of the major evils of the present-day world. There cannot be co-operation between us on this basis.

As a socialist, I have even more to say to British Labour which in the past wobbled dangerously on imperial issues and more particularly on India. Its record is bad; but in these days of peril none of us dare wobble or equivocate. Therefore, it is time that British Labour acted on the principles it has enunciated; and even expediency demands such action. Labour, which is anti-Fascist, must also equally be anti-imperialist.

It must stand for ending the Empire. It must clearly declare for the independence of India and for the right of the people of India to frame their own Constitution through a Constituent Assembly. It must be prepared to do everything in its power to bring this about.

We are not much concerned with the Federation, as we want the whole of the Government of India Act to go and want it to be replaced by a constitution of our own making.

It is gratifying that British Labour Leaders are thinking on these lines, and it is still more pleasing to find the rank and file of the labour movement responding enthusiastically to this call of freedom.

CONGRESS AND FEDERAL SCHEME

MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The threat to resign office, if necessary, in order to be free to carry on the agitation against the Federal scheme was made by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a comment on the statement of Sir Frederick Whyte at a recent meeting in London which was addressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Bose said:

When I was in London in January last I declared, both publicly and privately, that there was no analogy between Provincial Autonomy and the Federal scheme. Consequently, acceptance of office by the Congress in the provinces should not be construed as a stepping-stone to acceptance of the Federal scheme at the Centre. The temper of the rank and file of the Congress is such that I cannot conceive how the Federal scheme can ever be accepted by that body, and in the absence of proof I cannot believe that any influential Congress leader has been secretly negotiating with the British Government on the Federal scheme.

If, however, the Federal scheme is adopted by a majority in the Congress by some chance, there will be nothing less than a civil war within that body. The anti-Federationists will certainly not take the defeat lying down as did the anti-ministerialists in the case of the provinces.

Speaking for myself, if such a contingency arises, it will probably be my duty to lay down the burden of office in order to be free to carry on a campaign against the Federal scheme.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI

"I want to make it clear that I am wholly against the resignation of Ministries as a means of fighting Federation," declared Mr. S. Satyamurti at Congress House, Madras. Mr. Satyamurti added:

If Federation comes, I want Congress Ministers to be in office, and in order that no Interim Ministry comes in, we must contest the elections to the Federal Legislature and capture all seats.

Whether we accept office or not is an open question which depends on future developments.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S WARNING

It was a fine speech that Sir Radhakrishnan delivered the other day in unveiling the portrait of Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Premier of Madras, which Mr. G. A. Natesan presented to the Gokhale Hall. Coming from England, he took the opportunity to express his reactions to the situation as it has developed in India since the advent of Congress Government in the Provinces. During his stay abroad, he has had occasions to discuss the Indian problem with British publicists and leaders of thought in England. He told them plainly that the problem in India is more psychological than political.

The shame of subjection is written there across the faces of young intelligent Indians and they could not get over the fact. There is no use of talking to Indians about an ungrateful India. There is no use talking to them of having built railways, telegraphs and irrigation works or having systematised law and made administration efficient. Italy will do that for Abyssinia and Japan in Manchukuo (*laughter*). Any one who wishes to run an efficient administration would have to use all the greatest modern appliances for his own purpose.

So long as the present relations continue, there will be a sense of unnaturalness and an unconscious spirit of condescension worse than contempt or hatred. What is the remedy? Sir Radhakrishnan said he never missed an opportunity of impressing on the British public the need for availing themselves of the present opportunity to satisfy Indian demand. "I put it to them," said Sir S. Radhakrishnan,

that to-day in India there is at the head of the movement a leader and a saint, the like of whom was born not every year or generation but once in the course of several centuries (*cheers*) and he demands only Dominion Status—the substance of independence. It is just; it is expedient; it is inevitable, sooner or later. An European crisis will precipitate it. If you do not deal with the

matter when he lives, when he is leading the movement on absolutely non-violent lines and bring about a just and honourable settlement, I shudder to think what the consequences of the failure would be. I explained to them in detail that if Gandhiji failed, the people of India would feel, 'here was a leader who adopted the non-violent method, but was not able to get the barest justice from the British' and then non-violence would receive a set-back. Egypt, Ireland, South Africa—these make Indians feel that the British will never grant anything unless pushed into a corner, and unless it became absolutely inevitable. If Gandhiji fails, if non-violence receives a set-back, if world consciousness backs up the claim of this country, and if a major conflict is provoked between this country and Britain, I have no doubt that the conflict will be of a most unprecedented magnitude.

The Great Indian Mutiny or the Non-Co-operation Movement would be nothing, he added, compared to the movement which would break out if the just and reasonable demands of Indians were not granted.

THE PREMIER ON THE ANDHRA QUESTION

Speaking on the Andhra Province question at Cocanada, the Premier said that if they believed that anybody was against it they were committing a grievous injustice and error.

Your Province will come to you, but you need not cast aspersions on anybody in order to get your birthright. I appeal to you on behalf of the Tamil districts with whom you associate me, not to imagine that they wish to govern you. They never governed you and will never govern you. I want you to be sure of this because I know their minds and again speak on their behalf and you may take it as the last word on the subject.

I want you to remember that Andhra and Tamilians should remain as friends. If we allow our passion to hold our minds we lose our judgment. The Congress Government, which openly supported the Andhra Province question, cannot be hypocritical. You must believe that the present Government is doing all its best for a separate Andhra Province. Let nobody believe that the present Government can give it but are withholding it. I want you not to make the people believe that Tamil brothers are not fulfilling their duty well in this question. It is dangerous. It will cut at the root of all Congress movement. If the Andhra Province is to be a happy and prosperous Province, it must be one of a happy and prosperous India.

THE PORTRAIT OF THE PREMIER

There is peculiar appropriateness in Mr. G. A. Natesan's gift of a portrait of our Prime Minister, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, to adorn the Gokhale Hall. The late Gokhale, said Sir Radhakrishnan who unveiled the portrait,

was the first to visualise the need for a set of political workers who were political sanyasins and who, with detachment and devotion, worked for the welfare and freedom of the country. Among the greatest of all these sanyasins was undoubtedly Mahatma Gandhi. Among the rank and file of the Congressmen the bulk of the workers had suffered poverty and privation and endured trials leading a life of self-sacrifice. Among such people, Mr. C. R. stood in the front rank.

Mr. Natesan, in presenting the portrait, pointed out how "C. R." and his team have attempted with success the difficult task of transmuting into administrative reality some of the lofty ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. He eulogised C. R.'s utter selflessness, his simplicity, his singular devotion to duty, his great courage, his readiness to act and, above all, his capacity to maintain the best of social relations with his friends—his political opponents. Recounting the achievements of the last 12 months of Congress Ministry, he referred in particular to the Government's efforts at the maintenance of law and order, the reconciliation of capital and labour, the initiation of measures for the relief of agriculturists and the promotion of national solidarity. Of prohibition, he said that if at the end of their term the Congress could say "we have reduced drunkenness" even by one half, their acceptance of office would have been amply justified. Mr. Natesan bore eloquent testimony to C. R.'s skill as a born parliamentarian and said how the results of a year's rule have disproved the forebodings of the Prophets of Evil. He

wound up with the hope that Congress would continue in office to complete the good work they are doing so well.

Sir Radhakrishnan, who spoke at some length on the Congress ideology, referred in eloquent terms to the way in which Congress Ministries are implementing the programme chalked out by Gandhiji. He paid a handsome tribute to "C. R." as leader and administrator, and observed:

I have heard critics say that Mr C. R. is a dictator. I may tell you that it does not at all surprise me. I think that, in the present stage of our country, what we require is real guidance and real direction. If the dictator is democratic at heart, it does not matter if he poses himself as dictator.

Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar accepted the portrait on behalf of the authorities of the Gokhale Hall and thanked Mr. G. A. Natesan for presenting the portrait.

THE FEDERAL PLAN

According to the London Correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, certain modifications with regard to the Federal Scheme, as envisaged in the Government of India Act, have been decided upon with a view to meet the objections raised to the said Scheme by responsible Congress leaders. This seems to have been done on the advice of Lord Halifax, Lord Zetland, Lord Linlithgow and Lord Lothian, who had the advantage of direct conversations with leaders like Gandhiji, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. These modifications include:

- (1) The British Government will insist that some measure of democracy should be installed in the States instead of their mere representation in the Federal Legislature;
- (2) In the matter of Defence and Reserved subjects, the Viceroy will be guided by the advice of his Ministers, and
- (3) The British Government will agree to bear a share of the cost of defence in India.

THE WARDHA SCHEME

The Wardha Scheme of Education has been subjected to critical examination by various bodies. The main value of the Wardha Scheme is the new orientation it is intended to give to education by emphasising the importance of learning through manual activity as opposed to learning exclusively through books. This is how Dr. Zakir Hussain, author of the Wardha Scheme Report, explained the scheme to the Committee, which met at Simla early in July under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay. During the discussion, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, expressed the opinion that to introduce compulsion between the ages of 5 and 14, a recurring grant of Rs. 40 crores would be required and suggested that as the Provincial Governments would not be in a position to raise this amount, the Government of India might levy a special tax to meet the expenditure on primary education.

Abolition of the Matriculation examination at a future date and also of external examinations, provision for the teaching of Hindustani, a re-orientation of educational ideals by making the system thoroughly practical both in the primary as well as the secondary stages, with a view to bringing the schools into intimate touch with the life, needs and traditions of the people, and the enunciation of the principle of educating children through purposeful and creative activities leading on to productive work, are among the recommendations made by the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to report on vocational training in primary and secondary schools.

SIR SIVASWAMI IYER'S VIEWS

Delivering the inaugural address at the Bangalore Education Association on July 14, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer said that the Wardha Scheme is absolutely unworkable and will only be generally operated if the Congress Ministers impose their will on India in the form of dictatorships.

Critically analysing the scheme, Sir Sivaswami Iyer said that it was considered with all deference due to its originator, Gandhiji; it was found wanting in several vital respects. So far as it emphasised a living knowledge as opposed to bookishness, it contained nothing new. Sir Sivaswami Iyer also doubted whether it was always possible to correlate and co-ordinate all character-forming and mental developing studies to basic craft, which Gandhiji advocated. He also felt this plan demanded greater intellectual attainments than it was right to expect of teachers. There was also the danger of training a boy for some basic craft to which he was later found unsuited, leaving him neither inclined to earn a living in that way or competent to assume another avocation. Concluding, Sir Sivaswami Iyer said:

"The whole flaw in Mr. Gandhi's gospel lies in the fact that he blissfully assumes all men will be as altruistic and austere as himself."

EDUCATION OF ADULTS

The appointment of divisional and regional adult education committees, the active co-operation of industrial employers and adult education committees, extended use of the radio and the running of small village libraries are some of the recommendations made by the Adult Education Committee, which was appointed by the Government of Bombay in January last.

JAIL REFORMS IN U. P.

That women should have separate prisons and there should be no flogging are some of the proposals of the Jails Reforms Committee appointed by the U. P. Government. The Committee has recommended compulsory primary education for all prisoners below the age of 45 and the abolition of flogging as a jail punishment.

For the separate women's Jail there should be a staff of women trained in a special school which should be started soon. None should be taken in the jails service who has not been qualified in the proposed training school. Warders should have passed the vernacular examinations and the Warders' High School examination.

Prisoners convicted of offences which have a political motive should be styled political and on no account should those convicted of offences in connection with communism be included in this category. Prisoners convicted of other offences should receive graded treatment on the basis of their respective offences and not on account of social status.

The Committee has proposed the formation of an advisory committee consisting of officials and non-officials for advising the Jail Department.

SIR B. N. SRIVASTAVA

Sir Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Chief Judge of the Oudh Chief Court, died at Bombay on July 17. Sir Bisheshwar Nath became the permanent Chief Judge in October 1937 and was knighted in January 1938. For some time he suffered from heart trouble and had a severe attack in April last. In May, he left for Europe on a health tour and returned to Bombay on July 14 when again he fell ill.

MR. V. J. PATEL'S BEQUEST

Messrs. Mitra and Mitra, Solicitors of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a Press statement issued by way of a rejoinder to the recent statement made by the Solicitors for the Executors of the late Mr. V. J. Patel's will, say: "We have all along been contending that the will of the late Mr. V. J. Patel and the bequest made therein to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose are unambiguous and are certain and definite in their terms and are capable of only one interpretation, and we are fortified in the opinion by the best legal opinion available. In terms of the said will, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is the sole trustee of the residue of the estate of the late Mr. V. J. Patel and the same should forthwith be handed over to him and he should have absolute and unfettered discretion in the matter of the scheme, which he may frame in respect of the said residue for carrying out the objects and purposes mentioned in the said will."

SALARIED LAWYERS

The closing of the Law College to future entrants, limitation of the number of advocates enrolled, a fixed salary for advocates, such are the ingredients of the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopalachariar's dream as explained to Nellore lawyers. He said:

"I am not at all certain whether I shall be surprised if one day all of you are scandalised when the gates of the Law College are closed, and it is ordered that only a limited number of advocates should be enrolled and that they should receive a fixed salary. You may be happy at this idea. This is my dream and I may, some mad morning, derive the sanction and approval of my colleagues and the support of non-lawyers also for this scheme."

MOTOR INSURANCE

Chapter VIII of the Indian Motor Vehicles Bill provides for the insurance of motor vehicles against third party risks. Writing on this subject, Mr. R. Redenti, Vice-Chairman of the Automobile Insurance Committee, says :—

"It might be possible if it followed and did not precede the thorough and impartial study of a whole series of problems, ranging from the basic question of prevention of accidents to the no less essential question of the nature and the legal basis of the liability of the motorist, and only if it followed and did not precede a series of comparative inquiries demonstrating that it is the only possible solution ; in so far as practical, economic and affording a definite and radical solution for all problems in connexion with compensation for accidents, the latter being the consequence of the increasing intensity and mechanization of road traffic. If, on the contrary, the investigation of the question from the legal and economic angle, in the light of the experience gained and of its practical and concrete application, were to show that this solution does not fulfil the above conditions, or if compulsory insurance were to be proved more expensive than optional insurance, a partial and unreliable solution and, therefore, an instrument incapable of providing in itself for the achievement of the object of compensation on a harmoniously balanced basis, the attempt to enforce it should most certainly be abandoned. When possible and even necessary to attain a desired result by other means, the application of drastic remedies is not recommended, either in the interest of business or from the point of view of law."

INDIAN FIRE INSURANCE

According to Government statistics, the Indian fire insurance premium reported in 1929 was 155 lakhs. The latest figures published for the year 1985 show the fire premium as 142 lakhs.

The drop in income is accounted for by price reductions, the holding of smaller stocks and curtailment of industrial operations. Similar conditions exist in other countries, but unlike India fire companies in many other fields have succeeded to some extent in offsetting the adverse effects of the world-wide depression by developing new income. Fire insurance is almost a necessity. The need for it is recognized everywhere by property owners, industrialists, merchants and business men in general. Experience indicates that lapses are common through carelessness and very often because the urge to renew is missing and the assured decides to take a chance for a little while. The person who has not carried fire insurance in the past is not likely to consider the subject unless he is come in contact with, and given the idea.

BURMA INSURANCE BILL

The Minister for Commerce and Industry proposes to introduce at the forthcoming Session of the House of Representatives a Bill entitled Burma Life Assurance Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1988.

The Amendment is intended to provide for the deduction of commission by the Reserve Bank of India for drawing and remitting the interest on securities of the Government of India deposited by life assurance companies with the Bank under Section 4, Sub-Section (1) of the Life Assurance Companies Act. A similar provision exists in the new India Assurance Act.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE

"It is regrettable that the break-down of negotiations regarding the textile question at Simla has been followed by persistent agitation on the part of Lancashire interests to put political pressure through deputations to the Board of Trade as well as by interpellations and speeches in Parliament," said Mr. G. L. Mehta, Vice-President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, in a statement to the Press.

Mr. Mehta stated: "The agitation is being carried on from day to day in which not only is an impression being created that the Indian textile interests were unreasonable but assurances are asked for having a privileged position for themselves in the Indo-British trade relationship. On the other hand the Government of India are maintaining a complete silence regarding the reasons for the break-down and have not considered it advisable even to publish the memorandum submitted by the non-official advisers in order to enable the public and the mercantile community to be in possession of the full facts relating to the Simla deadlock. There is no doubt that the case of the Indian textile industry is thus being allowed to go by default and the views of the non-official advisers are open to mis-interpretation.

"The Government should publish immediately the non-official advisers' memorandum and should see to it that no final decision is reached and no agreement arrived at in London without the knowledge and consent of the non-official advisers and without it being ratified by the Central Legislative Assembly."

INDIA'S SMALL EXPORTS

Exports from India caused the new fiscal year to begin badly, merchandises exports in April being valued at only Rs. 1,266 lakhs, which compares with Rs. 1,479 lakhs in the previous month and with Rs. 1,756 lakhs in April last year and is the lowest figure recorded since 1935. Imports were also a good deal smaller than in the two earlier months, but even so, April showed an adverse balance of trade in merchandises of Rs. 77 lakhs as compared with a favourable balance of Rs. 187 lakhs in April 1937. The position is illustrated in the following table:

(In lakhs of rupees : One lakh=27,500)

| | April, 1938. | March, 1938. | April, 1937. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Merchandise—</i> | | | |
| Exports .. | 1,266 | 1,479 | 1,756 |
| Imports .. | 1,343 | 1,536 | 1,569 |
| Excess of exports .. | — | — | 187 |
| Excess of imports .. | 77 | 57 | — |
| <i>Treasure—</i> | | | |
| Gold, net exports .. | 118 | 73 | 162 |
| Silver, net imports .. | 15 | 7 | 14 |
| Total net export .. | 103 | 66 | 148 |
| Total visible balance of trade .. | 35 | 19 | 336 |

It will be noted, observes the *Manchester Guardian*, that but for the larger net export of treasure, the total visible balance of trade for April would have been less favourable than that in March.

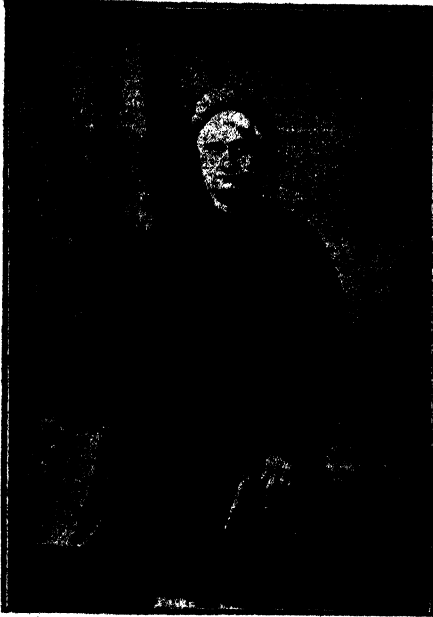
INDIAN COTTON

Reviewing the Indian cotton industry, the *Economist* in a leading article considers that the prospects of an agreement under which Indian tariffs on British imports could be lowered against increasing British purchases of Indian raw cotton can hardly be rated high. The journal adds:

"The Indian textile interests are not anxious to see a reversal of the declining trend of Indian imports of cotton piece-goods; and in the long run, the Indian Government cannot be oblivious of this attitude."

BANKIM'S CENTENARY

A hundred years have passed since the birth of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee on June 27, 1838, in an obscure village near



BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

Calcutta. But a grateful posterity has kept his memory green and the centenary celebrations in Bengal and elsewhere have provided the occasion for a review of his work and achievements. Bankim was a many-sided genius; he was novelist, critic and reformer, but he was, above all, the inspirer of a great national awakening and his memory will be cherished as the forerunner of a movement that has had a marked influence on the literature and life of Bengal and, indeed, of the whole of India. As an artist, pure and simple, he may, and does fall short of the achievements of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee or Rabindranath Tagore. But

he is one of modern India's cultural path-finders; next to Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he is the one man who with his eyes serene saw the light in an hour of confusion when the West was challenging the East, science was supplanting religion, and the new was stampeding all that was old.

THE LATE MR. KHAPARDE

Khaparde, the grand old man of Berar, is dead at the great age of 84. In him has passed away a picturesque link with the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the stalwarts of the old Home Rule movement. He was an unflinching democrat, and, like Tilak, was inspired by the culture, history and traditions of Maharashtra. He took a prominent part in the Home Rule agitation and was a member of the League's deputation to England in 1919. A spirited and humorous speaker, he always attracted crowded houses to hear him. After the death of his chief, he did not appear much on the political stage. Somehow he seemed to be out of harmony with the new ideology of Mahatma Gandhi.

THE LATE SIR M. KRISHNAN NAIR

It is with deep regret we record the death of Sir M. Krishnan Nair in Palghat at the great age of 72. When he laid down his office as Law Member of the



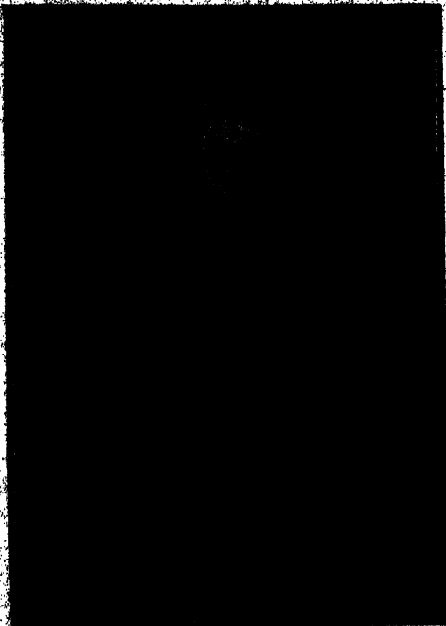
LATE SIR M. KRISHNAN NAIR

Madras Government, "he brought to a close a parliamentary career longer than that of any of his contemporaries in the Madras Legislature".

LITERARY

BANKIM'S CENTENARY

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Calcutta. But a grateful posterity has kept his memory green and the centenary celebrations in Bengal and elsewhere have provided the occasion for a review of his work and achievements. Bankim was a many-sided genius; he was novelist, critic and reformer; but he was, above all, the leader of a great national awakening and his memory will be cherished as the forerunner of a movement that has had a marked influence on the literature and life of Bengal and indeed of the whole of India.

As an orator, poet and dramatist, he may well take his place as the forerunner of the modern Indian literature.

His work was not only a reflection of the social and political conditions of his time, but also a catalyst for the national movement. His novels, such as 'Anand Math' and 'Vijaya', were not only popular but also inspired a sense of national pride and unity.

PERSONAL

THE LATE MR. KHAPARDI

Khapardi, the great old man of Bengal, is dead at the great age of 82. In him has passed away a stalwart link with the late Mr. Gangadhar Das and the stalwarts of the old Home Rule movement. He was an unflinching nationalist and, like Tilak, was inspired by the culture, history and traditions of Maharashtra. He took a prominent part in the Home Rule agitation and was a member of the League's deputation to England in 1919. A spirited and humorous speaker, he always attracted crowded houses to hear him. After the death of his chief, he did not appear much on the political stage. Somehow he seemed to be out of harmony with the new ideology of Mahatma Gandhi.

THE LATE SIR M. KRISHNAN MAIR

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His long and distinguished career in the legal profession was marked by his contributions to the development of the law in India. He was a man of high integrity and a true leader of his people.

DR. T. S. TIRUMURTI

We congratulate Rao Bahadur Dr. T. S. Tirumurti, Professor of Pathology, Medical College, Madras, on his appointment as Principal of the Stanley Medical College, Royapuram.



DR. T. S. TIRUMURTI

Dr. T. S. Tirumurti, was for a long time Professor of Pathology at the Medical College, Madras, and has visited England. He has acted as Principal of the Vizagapatam Medical College on four occasions and as Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

He is a popular member of the Medical Department and is greatly respected both by members of the department and by the non-official members of the Medical profession.

THE DRUGS BILL

Mr. B. D. Amin, Managing Director of the Alembic Chemical Works, Ltd., has addressed to the Government of India a communication urging that indigenous drugs should be brought under the operation of the Drugs Bill now being considered by a Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

TEA IN HOSPITALS

Speaking at a reception at the Royal Empire Society's Hall sponsored by the Empire Tea Market Expansion Bureau, Major Sir Thomas Cary Evans, Medical Superintendent, Hammersmith Hospital, observed: "Nowadays the best quality tea is within reach of all pockets. In 30 years' experience, I have never yet had occasion to forbid a patient the drinking of tea."

NUTRITION

In 1937, a training class in nutrition for health officers was held in Coonoor, this being attended by 6 officers from Provinces in British India and by one from Burma. In February and March 1938, a second training course was given, which was attended by 15 medical officers. The majority of these were from Indian States including the following: Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Bhopal, Jind, Mysore, Travancore, Pudukottah, Kolhapur and Hyderabad. In addition, officers from Sind, Delhi Province and Orissa attended.

The course was designed to fit the officers to carry out practical nutrition work in the various States and Provinces.

The training of health officers in nutrition work should lead to fruitful results. By this means, knowledge of nutrition is spread throughout the country and the application of the results of scientific research is furthered. It rests with the Governments concerned to encourage the development of nutrition work with consequent improvement in the health of the people.

HYGIENIC CLOTHING

You have, perhaps, noticed that if you get hot at work or at play, the perspiration seems to settle round your waist, where the leather belt is. When your chest and shoulders are dry, the belt region is clammy and damp. That shows that tight clothes are bad.

If your skin is not ventilated, the dampness settles and gives you a chill.

Let your clothes be as loose as possible. Heavy clothes cause bad temper. They prevent the air from circulating round the body, and air, and more air, is what the skin needs.

TEA AS BEVERAGE

Mr. R. P. Wilkinson, reviewing the tea industry in his 1938 "Tea and Coffee Share Manual", remarks:

Tea is a good article; it is an ideal beverage for those who are overweight; it refreshes the body and stimulates the brain, but leaves no reaction such as do strong waters. There is no reason why consumption of tea should not be increased largely if its virtues are brought prominently before a world public.

BANKS AND DEPOSITORS

"No bank, however strong financially, can stand the strain of continued and persistent rush of depositors," says the *Bombay Sentinel*, "and a time must come when it will have to close its doors." In such crises it is the business of the Reserve Bank to step in and tell the public that they need have no fear for their money and place its resources at the disposal of the victims.

With our past experience in such matters, the public will support any attempt that may be made by Government to strengthen the Indian banking system by safeguarding the interests of depositors and by the general supervision through the Reserve Bank over such institutions. We are reminded in this instance of Section 4 of the American Federal Reserve Act which makes it possible for each Federal Reserve Bank to keep itself fully informed of the general character and amount of the loan and investments of its member banks with a view to ascertaining whether undue use is being made of bank credit for the speculative carrying of, or trading in, securities, real estate or commodities, or for any other purpose inconsistent with the maintenance of sound credit conditions; and, in determining whether to grant or refuse advances, rediscounts or other credit accommodations, the Federal Reserve Bank shall give consideration to such information. In India, a provision of this nature is urgently necessary to safeguard the banking system which is in its infancy and requires to be fully supervised by the authorities concerned.

MADRAS LAND MORTGAGE BANK

The operation of the provisions of the Debt Relief Act has had a great demand on the resources of the Madras Land Mortgage Bank which, it is stated, has disbursed during the period of three months since the Act came into force a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs as loans. With a view to meeting the increasing demand, the Bank authorities have approached the Government for permission to issue debentures to the extent of one crore of rupees.

CENTRAL EXCHANGE BANK OF INDIA

Negotiations have been concluded for the transfer of the business of the Central Exchange Bank of India, which is the London subsidiary of the Central Bank of India, to the chief foreign branch of the Barclays Bank.

SIR FRANK ON RAILWAY WORKERS

In the course of the debate in the last Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, Sir Frank Noyce, Indian Government delegate, said:



SIR FRANK NOYCE

"I would point out that it was open to the Government of India under the Convention to limit the 60-hour week to a small number of categories of workers and to apply it simultaneously to all railways. If they had done that, the result would have been that the pace of progress would have been that of the slowest railway.

The charge has been made that out of the 54 railways in India, the 60-hour week had been applied to only seven. It would appear that progress has been very slow, but if you consider the number of workers on those railways, the position is exactly the reverse. There are four State railways on which the 60-hour week has been applied and three company-managed railways. I cannot give the exact figures, but I have no doubt whatever that the total number of railway workers to whom the 60-hour week has now been applied is at least 75 to 80 per cent. of the total number of workers on the railways in India.

It is the intention of the Government of India that the 60-hour week should be extended to all the other railways as quickly as possible."

TESTS FOR LONDON BUS DRIVERS

So high is the standard of eye-sight and physical fitness required of London's bus drivers that 78 out of every 100 men who apply for that job with the London Passenger Transport Board are rejected. This was disclosed by Mr. T. E. Thomas, General Manager, the Road Transport Section of the Board, to the House of Lords Select Committee on Road Accidents.

After selection, Mr. Thomas added, the men underwent intensive training to promote efficiency and to ensure maximum safety.

When a driver was shown to be prone to accidents, Mr. Thomas said, he came under special guidance and, if necessary, was sent back to the training school. Examiners travelled on buses and kept the drivers under observation.

The driver was unaware of the examiner's presence. He travelled as an ordinary passenger and noted any defects in driving. At the end of the journey he revealed his identity, told the driver that he had been watched and drew his attention to any defects.

MOTOR INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Addressing a large gathering of motor drivers in Madras on 10th July, Mr. V. V. Giri said:

"Motor industry has got great possibilities in our country. We are spending crores of rupees in getting either new cars or implements for them from outside. As a Minister for Industries, I will like to have all these crores in my own country rather than sending them outside the country. . . .

"Motor industry is a key industry," proceeded Mr. Giri, "and all the Industries Ministers of the Congress Governments are in touch with the subject at this moment. It is likely that the Congress Working Committee will have a committee of experts and these experts may discuss this and other key industries most probably with many of the Ministers for industry."

According to experts, said the Minister, a medium-sized car could be got for Rs. 1,500 if manufactured in India instead of Rs. 3,500 as at present.

EMPIRE AIR MAIL SCHEME

A plea to evolve a scheme to build up a national civil aviation industry according to the requirements of the country is made by the Secretary of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Punjab, in a communication to the Secretary to the Government of India, Communications Department, on the new arrangements made by the Government with the Imperial Airways as a part of the Empire Air Mail scheme.

Regretting that no reference was ever made to the commercial community or the public in general in that connexion, the Secretary draws the Government's attention to the fact that when the arrangements were made in 1934, the commercial community was given to understand that when the period of the present agreement with the Imperial Airways expired in 1939, the Government of the day would be at perfect liberty to reconsider the whole position and to make such arrangements as appeared to them possible and feasible.

The Secretary recalls the assurance given by the then Finance Member to the Government of India to the Standing Finance Committee at their meeting on March 14, 1929, in which he was reported to have stated that he had come to the conclusion that no less than 75 per cent. of the voting rights would give Government the control they desired over the affairs of the company. No efforts were made by the Government to reconsider the affair in the light of the comments and opinions expressed in the legislature and by public bodies.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

A series of lectures on air raid precautions will be delivered at Bombay during the monsoon months under the auspices of the St. John Ambulance Association. The lectures are primarily intended for those representatives of various establishments, works, etc., who, after qualifying and passing the prescribed examination, will themselves act as instructors in their own institutions. But the lectures will also be open to others so far as there is room. The course which includes practical demonstrations will cover a period of one month.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

Addressing the 24th Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, Lala Shri Ram of Delhi, Indian Employers'



LALA SHRI RAM

delegate, said that industrialization in the East has come to stay and that India and the East generally can no longer be treated by other countries as a closed market for goods that we can produce ourselves.

Mr. Shri Ram explained that the cardinal problem for India was how to attack its wide-spread poverty, which is being accentuated by a steadily heavy increase in the population.

"It is only by industrialization and increased production," he declared, "that this can be achieved, nor need the older industrialised countries of the West consider this tendency a menace to their own position. A richer India, with its corollary of a higher standard of living, will still continue to be a growing market for the things which the older countries produce.

"Even now it should not be forgotten that, though there has been a falling off in the demand for the classes of foreign commodities formerly imported, their place has been taken by goods of later-date invention and manufacture. It is, therefore, our hope that the older manufacturing countries will not only view with sympathy our efforts at industrialisation but will actually help us."

"LAND TAXATION IN INDIA"

This is a reprint of a series of ten articles contributed recently by the author to the leading papers of the country. After surveying the history of the problems and examining the new constitution, the author of this book (Land Taxation in India: A historical and juridical study. By Maniklal H. Vakil, M.A., LL.B., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., Advocate, Bombay) gives valuable advice to the new legislatures as to how to proceed to bring about radical reforms in the Land System. In his view "it is both important and urgent that legislation to restore the Peasant's right and to curtail the rights of the intervening landlords to not more than 10 per cent. of the State's share, be undertaken without further delay." The author has prepared a Draft Bill of Peasant's rights granting to the peasant unequivocally the entire ownership of the land. The Bill also provides against uneconomic fragmentation of holdings and provides for the standard rate of 25 per cent. of the net annual value of land as recommended by the Todhunter Committee, leaving the local authorities to levy additional taxation up to a maximum percentage of the land-tax.

The book is bound to be of great help to the members of the new Provincial Legislatures, who will have to face the problem of land revenue and agrarian reform and to devise radical solutions immediately.

INSECTS AND AGRICULTURE

At an English Experimental Station, where scientists are engaged on research with the object of saving agriculture from the havoc wrought by insect pest, it is necessary to maintain a constant supply of undamaged bodies for examination. One woman scientist obtains her specimens in a novel way.

Moths, flies, and other insects flying at night over a certain field are attracted by seductive aroma of a mixture of beer and molasses which has been placed in a spiral glass tube. They swoop to investigate but immediately they touch the liquid they are electrocuted. This method of killing does not damage the bodies.

WAGE INCREASE

The Bombay Millowners' Association has passed a resolution to the effect that it would fail in its duty to the industry, to the Government and the country, if it did not invite attention to the fact that the interim recommendations of the Textile Labour Inquiry Committee would impose a very heavy burden on the cotton textile industry of Bombay Presidency.

The Association's opinion is that the interim recommendations in connexion with wage increases are unjustified based as they have been on assumptions and theories, and hypothetical and problematical estimates.

Nevertheless, in view of the Government's resolution, the Association recommends that the wage increase specified in the interim report should be accepted for the time being by members of the Association in the Bombay Presidency, and should be given effect to from the date specified in the resolution.

SIR K. P. PUTTANNA CHETTY

It is with deep regret we record the death of Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, former member of the Maharaja's Council, at Bangalore, at the great age of 82. In him Mysore has lost an eminent administrator and philanthropist.

After retirement in 1912, Sir Puttanna Chetty took a prominent part in the public life of the State, having been connected with many organisations. He was President of several trusts and charities, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Mysore, President of the Central Co-operative Bank, Bangalore, Fellow of the Mysore University and member of the Mysore Legislative Council for 25 years.

In recognition of his services to the State, the titles of Dewan Bahadur and Rajasabhabhushana (a Mysore title) were conferred on him in 1911. He was created a C. I. E. in 1917 and Knighted in 1925.



Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan unveiled the portrait of "C. R." presented by Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on Monday July 18.

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The Army in India and Indian Defence

BY DR. BOOL CHAND, Ph.D. (Lond.), M.A.

(Hindu College, University of Delhi)

PURPOSE OF THE INDIAN ARMY

AT present, there are only two purposes for which the army in India is being maintained, and both these purposes are either directly or indirectly imperialistic in their design. Firstly, the army in India is required for the maintenance of British rule in India, which purpose, even if British opinion refuses to recognise it as wholly imperial, is at least as imperial in its interest as Indian. Secondly, the Indian army is maintained as a main factor in the defence of the Empire and the maintenance of the balance of power in Asia, which purpose is clearly wholly imperial. The imperial character of the Indian army was recognised even by the Kisher Committee.

"We cannot consider the administration of the army in India," they said, "otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire. . . . Novel political machinery created by the Peace Treaty has enhanced the importance of the army of India relatively to the military forces in other parts of the Empire, and more particularly to those of the British Isles."

Such imperial considerations underlying the administration of the Indian army would logically necessitate the cost of the upkeep of Indian army being largely borne by the Imperial exchequer, for from the point of view of Indian defence the upkeep of such a large and expensive standing army as India maintains today is wholly unnecessary and wasteful. To-day,

India spends a far larger percentage of her national income upon army than any other country in the world; indeed, her military expenditure in peace times exceeds the civil expenditure by about 3 crores; while during the last century no major war has ever taken place either within or without the borders of the country. But the Imperial Government does not bear even a part, far less a proportionate part, of the cost of the Indian army. Undoubtedly there is an agreement which stipulates that on occasions when any part of the Indian army is used for imperial purposes outside the frontiers of India, its expense shall be defrayed by that part of the Empire making such a use; but even such an agreement cannot justify India's being asked to permanently maintain an enormous standing army thus wholly unrelated to her own national requirements. The use of this army outside the borders of India might be for just a couple of months after every few years, so that India's role under such an agreement is merely to continue to make this stupendous expense, far in excess of her ability, for the maintenance of a vast army, to provide an assurance to the rest of the Empire that they have a ready instrument in India to 'supply fodder' to their enemies' guns whenever

they should have need to make use of it.

No intelligent section of the Indian people can accept such a fundamental principle, with all its economically ruinous implications. So long as the Imperial Government is not prepared to bear the 'proportionate' cost of the maintenance of Indian armies, the army in India must be exclusively organised as an army for Indian defence, irrespective of any imperial considerations, and as such it must be based upon a policy that would conduce to the fulfilment of that objective; for the present policy underlying the control and administration of Indian army is not only quite inadequate for but is actually antagonistic to its fulfilment.

PRESENT MILITARY POLICY

The present military policy in India is based upon a deep-rooted distrust of the people of the country. Such distrust was the inevitable result of government by a foreign power over a vast country inhabited by many millions of people, alien in their race, creeds and language. The Mutiny of 1857 quite naturally helped to strengthen it. But even although the Mutiny was followed by a century of almost perfect peace and harmony, the policy of distrust was not substantially changed. Now, as ever, the people of the country are compulsorily disarmed, whole populations are excluded from the army, and reliance is in the last resort placed upon British officers and British troops. All this is clear evidence of the inability of any ruling imperialist power to identify itself with the abiding interests and nationalistic sentiments of the subject people.

As a fundamental principle of Indian military policy, it is provided that British troops in India should be maintained at

a strength which should bear a definite ratio to the Indian troops. This ratio was fixed by the Peel Commission in 1858-9 at 1 to 2 in the Bengal army and 1 to 3 in Madras and Bombay armies, although subsequently it has been changed to a general ratio of 1 to 2.5 for the whole regular army. Such ratio is intended as a safeguard against the possibility of disaffection of Indian troops in the army against British Government and British rule in India.

There is provision for other safeguards also. Firstly, various expedients are employed in order to check the growth of a spirit of solidarity among Indian troops. Class companies are formed, and so far as possible regiments are confined to the provinces in which they are raised, for experience showed that military discipline and service in different parts of the country tended to obliterate religious and caste distinctions and to promote ties of fellowship. Secondly, Indian troops and officers are excluded from the artillery and all other branches of the army which require scientific and technical training. Until recently, even the fire-arms with which the Indian troops were equipped were of a much less efficient pattern than those provided to the British troops in the Indian army. Thirdly, great care is taken, by means, so far as possible, of promoting Indian officers from the ranks instead of directly recruiting them, and by a systematic propaganda about Indians' incapacity for leadership, to prevent the growth of initiative in the Indian troops and to safeguard against the emergence of leaders from the Indian officers. The Indian is assiduously made to believe that he is inferior to the European, so that the Indian soldier and the Indian

officer may be 'hypnotised into the soul-deadening conviction of his own ineradicable inferiority and the invincible superiority of the European'.

Such policy, obviously anti-nationalistic in its implications, cannot, in the very nature of things, be allowed to continue as the basis for the organisation of an Indian army meant exclusively and primarily for Indian defence. If India's military defence is to be placed really on a national basis, there can be no place in its organisation either for the insidious propaganda about Indians' incapacity for leadership or even for the exclusion from it of the whole population of the country by a process of disarmament and confinement of military profession to a limited section of the people. No plan of national defence can be really successful which does not seek to take the whole population of the country into the confidence of the Government and make them feel that ultimately the responsibility for defence lies upon themselves. A more or less mercenary type of a standing army, officered by the British, might be useful for the maintenance of British rule in India, but as a scheme for national defence it is fundamentally faulty and financially needlessly wasteful.

No pouring out of money like water on mere standing battalions can ever give India the military strength and preparedness which other civilised countries possess, while the whole population is disarmed and the process of demartialisation continues apace... The whole arrangement is an unnatural one; one may go further and say that it is an impossible one, and if ever unfortunately a day of real stress and danger comes, Government will find it so.*

We ought to point out that the policy of placing sole reliance for purposes of defence upon a standing army, far less an alien

standing army which is bound to run back to defend its own home as soon as that is in danger, has been discarded everywhere to-day, particularly in view of the modern conditions of warfare by means of aeroplanes and poisonous gas attacks. The modern system of aerial bombardment makes the civil population of the country as amenable to attack and therefore as responsible for active defence as the military forces. The only system by which the defence of a country in modern times can be effectively secured is, therefore, the system of a compulsory national military service, which incidentally combines the advantage of securing a lower unit cost of military defence along with a much larger proportion, better equal to the modern exigencies of national defence, of well-trained reserves than under a system of mercenary standing army.

FOREIGN CONTROL OF INDIAN ARMY

But a system of compulsory and national military service takes for granted that the control of military policy and military administration should be completely and effectually in the hands of a responsible national government. Such a condition is very far from realisation to-day. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the whole subject of defence has been reserved to be personally administered and controlled by the Governor-General, with the help and advice of counsellors appointed by and responsible to himself and in complete freedom of the voice or wishes of responsible Indian Ministers. And in the matter of the determination of military policy, not even the Governor-General to-day is the supreme factor; under the present constitutional arrangements, the administration of the army in India is considered primarily 'as a part of the

* G. K. Gokhale, *ref.* his speeches [Natesan, Madras] 2nd edition, p. 489.

total armed forces of the Empire', so that the determination of Indian military policy is effectively entrusted to the Imperial General Staff.

It was in 1861, after the suppression of the Mutiny and the consequent assumption of the Government of India directly by the Crown, that the military administration of India first passed under the control of the War Office in England. The Army Amalgamation Scheme was recommended by the Peel Commission, and its dominant features were (1) the amalgamation into a single force of the Queen's troops and the Company's army, which were partly recruited in England and partly raised in India, and (2) the handing over to the War Office in England of the supply and control of the recruits for British units of this amalgamated Indian army. This recommendation, we must mention, raised a flood of criticism at the time, and was actually put into operation against the wishes of the Viceroy and his Council; but once in operation, it became 'the fatal step which withdrew the management of the army from the Government of India and vested it with an extraneous body, wholly indifferent to the financial interests or economy of India'. In the course of time the plan proved so profitable to the British Government that even in 1919, when India was manifestly started on the road to responsible government, the arrangements of Indian military organisation were not brought into line with India's gradual approach to Dominion Status.

Although definitely requested to frame its recommendations so as not to be inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards a Dominion Status, the Esher Committee refused to 'consider the administration of the army in India

otherwise than as a part of the total armed forces of the Empire and testified to 'the continued reluctance of India Office to relinquish into the hands of the Government of India greater freedom in the administration of the army, even in cases where this could be done without compromising the administration of the army at home or contravening the sound principles of uniformity in military policy. What, therefore, the Esher Committee recommended was to combine 'the control by the Government of India of Indian military affairs' with the 'giving to Government of India a voice in the questions of Imperial defence' and reciprocally 'the allowing the Imperial General Staff through its Chief to exercise a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India'. To secure this exercise of 'considered' influence by the Imperial General Staff upon the military policy of the Government of India, the Esher Committee suggested that

the Commander-in-Chief in India shall be appointed with the concurrence of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and that the Commander-in-Chief shall be the sole military adviser of the Government of India. If this system can be established, the chain of military responsibility for questions of an Imperial character will be complete. On the one hand, the Commander-in-Chief will look to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff for supreme direction in all questions of Imperial military policy in which India is concerned; and on the other hand, the Governor-General will look to the Commander-in-Chief for military advice upon questions in which India only is concerned and also upon questions of a wide military character with confidence that the Commander-in-Chief will be in a position to express upon the latter the considered views of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

In effect, therefore, these recommendations of the Esher Committee were intended to secure the retention of the control of British War Office over India's defence policy, both as regards its general principles and as regards the instruments

through which those general principles were to be executed.

But the control of Indian defence policy and Indian military administration by the War Office is most objectionable. Apart from the purely theoretic grounds, which require that any self-governing country must fully control its own defence, the administration of Indian army by the War Office during the last three generations has been wholly unsympathetic, even hostile, to the true interests of India. It has not in any way cheapened the cost of Indian army or rendered it more efficient or strong: all that it has achieved is to relieve the British estimates of a considerable portion of expenditure which should have been legitimately borne by them.

INDIAN MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The evidence of this achievement, or rather mal-achievement, of the War Office is only too glaring.

Millions of money have been spent in increasing the army in India, on armaments, and on fortifications, not to provide for the security of India against domestic enemies or prevent the incursions of the warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of all these great and costly measures reaches far beyond India's limits and the policy that dictates them is an Imperial policy;* yet the burden of their cost has been mercilessly imposed upon India's slender financial resources.

We could also point out other specific ways in which India's finances have been burdened with wholly unjustifiable items of expenditure in Britain's interest.

In the United Kingdom, in peace time, units are maintained at an establishment smaller than that required for war. The deficiencies on mobilisation required to complete units to their war establishment are made good by means of reservists.†

But in India 'the peace establishments actually exceed the war establishments'.‡ The reason is that 'units of the British

army are detailed for a tour of foreign service, of which the major part is as a rule spent in India';† and while in India their expenditure is borne by the Indian exchequer. Its payment, in the beginning, used to be made on the basis of a capitation rate of £10 per soldier, but later on the system was abandoned in favour of actual expenses, which again was superseded by a new capitation rate. In fixing this rate, all changes in the organisation and equipment of the British army, *e.g.*, the short service system introduced by Lord Cardwell, are taken into consideration as if they were automatically effective in India, irrespective of their suitability or otherwise to Indian conditions, as well as all increases of pay etc. of British troops in the United Kingdom, irrespective again of India's financial inability to bear these charges. Naturally, therefore, this capitation rate gradually but constantly tended to rise, from £11 8s. in 1908 to £25 in 1928-4.

Indeed, it is not merely the system of short service tours for British troops in India that imposes an unjustifiable expenditure upon India: the whole arrangement which secures the amalgamation of British troops in India with the rest of the British army, under the control of the War Office, costs India very dear. Thanks to this arrangement, the Government of India has had to pay more for its European forces than if they had been recruited in the country itself. Every change in military finance that has been introduced in England, either in view of England's rivalries in Europe or in commensuration with England's standard of living and wealth, has had to be introduced in India also, here without

* Lord Salisbury, in his evidence before the Select Committee of Parliament on East India Finance, 1896.

† Army in India and its Evolution. (Government of India, 1924).

any basic justification at all. Even so, the emoluments of British officers in India have been fixed higher than those of British officers in England. Speaking of the increased cost of army in India in the post-War period, the *Army in India and its Evolution* (a Government of India publication, 1924) said that

the annual cost of an officer holding the King's Commission has risen from about Rs. 7,000 to Rs. 11,000 in the case of British services, and from about Rs. 9,000 to Rs. 14,000 in the case of Indian services; . . . the emoluments of the Indian service officer have to be so fixed as to give him an advantage over the British service officer, in recognition of the fact that he undertakes continuous Indian service.

Thus, the whole present policy underlying military administration in India is defective and disagreeable to Indian public opinion in the same degree as it is unsuitable for adoption as the basis of an Indian military force meant exclusively for Indian defence. It imposes, firstly, in British or Imperial interest, an unfair and highly disproportionate * financial burden upon India—a burden which India can ill-afford to bear. It involves,

* A suggestion is, sometimes, made that India derives from the existence of British navy a corresponding advantage to what Britain derives from the existence of an Indian army. Such a suggestion is quite invalid.

Although there is a small naval force, the Royal Indian Navy, maintained for the maritime defence of India; yet broadly speaking it is true that the main burden of Indian naval defence devolves upon Great Britain. In consideration of the protection which she receives from the Imperial navy, India has since 1869 paid an annual contribution to British Admiralty, which in 1896 was fixed at £100,000. Even so, it does not perhaps ostensibly cover a 'proportionate' share of the cost of Indian naval defence. But Britain is not defending India in India's own interest, and does not in fact maintain any part of her naval force specifically and primarily for the purposes of Indian defence. All the navy that she maintains is needed for her own defence and existence. She depends, for her very existence, upon foreign trade and commerce, and therefore needs the security which the maintenance of a large navy can give in this regard. It is not out of a sense of charity or philanthropy, but purely out of her interests

secondly, a war and even more than war establishment of a mercenary standing army in peace time, thus failing to take advantage of a short service and reserve system with its capacity to yield a maximum of combatant strength at the minimum of cost. It maintains, thirdly, at India's own cost an alien force of occupation, which for purposes of national defence is fundamentally unreliable, for 'it is not beyond possibility that identical circumstances which demand mobilisation in India might require instant mobilisation at home', in which case such a force is bound to run back to defend its own home and leave the country that pays for its establishment quite in the lurch.

DIRECTION OF REFORM

What, then, is the direction in which the policy must be changed in order that it may achieve the objective of an Indian army meant purely and exclusively for Indian defence. Such a direction is clearly manifest from the very analysis of defects of the present policy and organisation.

It will be clear that no mere changes in detailed administration or the administrative machinery of Indian army will be

for commercial gain, that Britain professes to be responsible for India's naval defence. There is, thus, no validity in the suggestion that British obligations to Indian army are off-set by Indian obligations to British navy. The two things are not on a level; for it is impossible to conceive that at any time that India might in the future need the help of British navy, Great Britain would be willing to render it exclusively for the benefit of a free India.

It is, indeed, true that the possibility of India ever needing such help seems very meagre, bounded as India is by vast stretches of ocean on three of her frontiers; but that does not mean that India should not try to raise a navy of her own. In fact, we suggest that the Government of India should immediately institute a real Indian navy and Indian air-force, raising the capital necessary for the building of ships as an unproductive debt and providing for a definite amount in the budget annually for recurring charges.

really effective, unless there is a complete orientation of the whole Indian military policy and reorganisation of the whole Indian army. The present system aims at the continued emasculation of the Indian people and puts sole reliance upon a mercenary standing army. The necessity of a small standing army, readily available to weather the first shocks in the event of a foreign invasion, is indeed inescapable, and no sensible nationalist will seek to deny it; but the present numbers of the army in India are perhaps a little too large, and in any case are not supported by the necessary backing of reserves. We have already pointed out that, at all events under modern conditions of warfare, it is quite idle to seek to organise the defences of a country, particularly of a large country like India, on the basis of a mere standing army. In India, therefore, there should be organised besides a small but well-equipped regular army, a double system of reserves. Firstly, there ought to be formed, after the British model, a large and distinct force of reservists out of the time-expired men of the regular army and other units recruited from the so-called martial races, which could be mobilised at short notice for military operations. Secondly, there should be created the still larger reserve of the whole population of the country, of military age, i.e., between 18 and 40, by means of a system of compulsory military service for two years in the colours. The advantages of a system of compulsory military service would be great. Besides the provision of a really formidable military force for national defence and at a very economic rate, a scheme of compulsory military service in the case of India would have another advantage of enormous

value. 'The army acts as the most finished school of hygiene,' so that a period of two years' military service would inevitably help to impart to the people the habits of discipline and regular life.

Side by side with the organisation of a scheme of compulsory military service, the whole Indian army should be steadily and completely Indianised. This means essentially that the present principle of maintaining a fixed proportionate strength of British to Indian troops in the Indian army should be immediately abandoned. The abandonment of this principle is actually necessary on other grounds: its operation absurdly limits the total strength of the Indian army. Under the present system, the total Indian army cannot be larger in its numbers than a certain multiple of the men that Britain can spare for service in India. As Professor K. T. Shah has estimated,* Britain would have at present on the basis of universal military service a total military strength of about 4 millions. But she cannot afford to be a conscriptionist, so that normally it is impossible that she should ever be able to spare at a time more than about a million men for service in India. This means that within the operation of the present principle India cannot have, even though threatened by a serious foreign invasion, an army of more than about 8 or 4 million men, while her total capacity, of military age, is at least 80 to 85 millions. Thus, a large proportion of India's capacity must, under the present system, either lie quite useless even in a national emergency, or if this proportion is abandoned in the event of such an emergency, be most

* See sixty years of Indian Finance [Bombay, 1928].

ineffectively employed in the absence of any previous military training. Again, the present British section of the Indian army imposes the heaviest burden upon the Indian budget and causes the gravest financial anxiety to the Government of India. All this argues in favour of the immediate abolition of the existing principle of proportionate strength of British and Indian troops in the Indian army. It also argues that the present British element in the Indian army should be progressively reduced, so that in about 10 years' time there should be no British troops serving in India at India's cost and there should be no burden of 'home charges' except on account of stores which are not easily producible in India.*

These changes in the organisation of Indian army must be necessarily reinforced by as clear a statement as possible of the fundamental purposes underlying the maintenance of Indian army. It must be unambiguously defined that the army in India is primarily and specifically meant for the defence of India against any possible aggressions from outside. Such a definition would exclude the participation of Indian army in any non-Indian quarrels or in countries beyond

the frontiers of India. It would prevent, therefore, the employment of Indian troops outside Indian frontiers without a specific vote of the Indian legislature, or for Imperial purposes without a sound and equitable arrangement with Great Britain, comprehending the defrayal by Great Britain of a proportionate cost of the upkeep of Indian army.

All this presupposes a truly Indian control of Indian defence. The formal reservation of the subject of Indian defence to the Governor-General would not have really mattered if the Governor-General, by reason of being the custodian of this reservation, did not and could not permit the direction and administration of Indian military policy either by or in the interests of any authority extraneous to India herself. But under the present constitutional arrangements, such conditions do not avail. The reforms in the army that we have outlined above are indeed the minimum necessary to secure a real Indian army adequate for Indian defences, but they are sufficiently thorough-going to be fundamentally distasteful to the British Government, which, blinded by its traditionally operative self-interest in the matter, cannot possibly take a broad and sympathetic view of Indian aspirations. Such a state of affairs effectively precludes the possibility of the growth of suitable conventions within the framework of the present constitutional machinery, which vests supreme authority in all matters connected with defence and military policy of India in the Governor-General and the Secretary of State and which provides adequate and even more than adequate means for making that authority effective. If, therefore, these reforms are to be really effective and are not to be still-born, it is in our view quite essential that (i) the entire army budget should be brought directly under the purview of and should be annually passed by the Indian legislature, and (ii) the whole subject of Indian defence should be specifically, by the terms of the constitution itself, placed under the control of a civilian Indian Minister responsible to the Indian legislature.

* At present all stores and ammunition are bought for Indian army from Great Britain. This costs the country a tremendous amount of money every year and goes to augment the amount of home charges, with the result that by inevitably keeping up the amounts of annual payments abroad, it keeps down the standard of social services at home. Again, it prevents the development at home of the arms-manufacture industry, which in modern times is fast becoming a 'key' industry and which would inevitably utilise the enormous Indian resources, natural as well as human, that lie at present quite idle and unutilised.

It is, therefore, highly desirable that the Government of India should immediately establish a large arsenal and workshop and start the manufacture of arms, ammunition, and military stores, so far as possible, at home.

ARE THE PRINCES AT FAULT ?

By MR. POTHAN JOSEPH

(Editor, Indian Express)

SHORT of a mandatory pronouncement by His Majesty's Government that the direct objective of Indian States should be Responsible Government, it is difficult to suggest a method by which political movements in Indian States could be regularized and amicably brought into line with progress in British India. Political consciousness happens to be most advanced in South Indian States, but it has produced a scene of uncertain tendencies curbed by the use of authority which is described by leaders in the States as repressive and reactionary. Cochin has resorted to a phantom-manœuvre of diarchy by the choice of a Minister of Development responsible to the legislature side by side with the Dewan or Chief Executive Officer who functions at the pleasure of the Ruler. The Mysore Government has recognised Responsible Government as a discussable ideal in an order dated 17th May where the work of the Reforms Enquiry Committee is outlined in the following words :

"They confirm explicitly, as they have previously made clear and as is implied in the Committee's terms of reference that it is open to the Committee to discuss and recommend any plan of Constitutional Reform, including a plan of Responsible Government under the ægis of His Highness the Maharajah."

In Travancore, Responsible Government was declared incompatible with the treaty obligations of the Maharajah, a dictum countered by a statement full of knobs and crevices, from Lord Winterton that the British Government never stood in

the way of political reforms (an apocryphal claim) and that in a full-powered State, the Political Agent was confined to the duty of tendering advice when the Ruler solicited it, a proposition, again, of mythical warrant. That it is not a straight answer is clear from the dialectical reservations in the statement and also the suggestion that the British Resident could be treated as *non est* as long as it does not occur to a Ruler to seek pregnant advice from that quarter, but the whole thesis has been made obscure by a later statement by the Travancore Government that while the question of Responsible Government is open to discussion in all civilised countries, in an Indian State the argument for it should be conditioned by the "principle of monarchy". Is it the principle of monarchy as known to the Stuarts or is it the rule of a constitutional monarch who is the titular head of a State and governs according to the advice of ministers acceptable to the people? The idea itself is not given a welcome domicile with passports from the British Government. In the Travancore Legislative Assembly, it was further asserted, in elucidation, that the Government was responsible to His Highness and His Highness himself was responsible solely to Sri Padmanabha. To the hard-boiled democrat this looks like a legal fiction. The status of King George has its accepted limitations, though he reigns in the Land of St. George. We have thus a congeries of ill-adjusted claims which if driven to the point of logic without saving common sense, must throw up to the surface many elements

of disorder and suffering in Indian States. Every student of constitutional law must ask if it really is in the hands of Indian Princes to confer responsible government when large and nebulous deductions from their own sovereignty disable them from transmitting the substance of power necessary to give reality to responsible government exercised through representative institutions. Lord Winterton's sly statement does not contain any positive injunction, and to draw upon it would be about as useful as trying to smoke a wet cigar with six holes. Responsibility rests upon the British Government for forcing that headache.

"To all my Feudatories and subjects throughout India, I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, dignities, and rights," so said King Edward in his Coronation Message, but the term "feudatory" is to-day not in order. In the new ferment of self-respect in India, there is a froth of words in which expressions once in vogue have been dignified with the use of a substituted vocabulary. Thus the word "vernacular" (slave-tongue) is banned; "Mr." has become "Sri"; Eurasian has turned "Anglo-Indian"; the native Christian is "Indian Christian"; the member of the depressed classes finds himself called "Harijan", all being changes which have not altered the stature or feature of a single legal right. In the campaign of Indian Princes to fortify their rights, the struggle for discarding irksome terminology resulted in the shedding of words like "feudatory"; eminent lawyers stressed in documents what post-prandial orators expounded at Princes' banquets—"Their Highnesses' Sovereignty". Fortunes have passed hands in the forensic prattle about "Their

Highnesses' Sovereignty". But verbiage, however sublime and flattering, did not invest them with any additional powers unknown to the Suzerain Government who because of many entanglements in sovereignty have not left to Indian Princes the full title and perquisites of self-government that would enable them, all by themselves, to pass on to their subjects the powers of real Responsible Government. The notion that the Princes are free agents is not borne out by experience. A stream cannot rise to a course higher than its origin, and all the difficulties of a Ruler cannot in this context be solved by the dope-words "under the aegis of His Highness" if only because His Highness (of any State) cannot by an individual act of renunciation, like the Prince of Kapilavastu, give away what he is suspected of owning for his house when he himself, perhaps, does not in reality hold all that he is supposed to possess. In British Indian controversy, Responsible Government, Dominion Status and Swaraj are argued to be interchangeable terms, but Responsible Government in Lathistan (an imaginary State) cannot be the equivalent of Dominion Status, let alone be the prelude Swaraj or Complete Independence.

His Majesty's Government have given each Indian Prince twenty years' time within which to decide on joining Federation through an instrument of accession. Federation or no Federation, twenty years form too long a period of stagnation in backward States; as for others, can we afford an interlude wasteful polemics rendered worse by repression, especially in the more progressive constituents of Greater India? Meanwhile, the British Government are in theory, and indeed in fact, bound to recognise the plenary rights

of Princes, and easily profess inability to intervene when untoward developments actually occur through obduracy on the part of upholders of an ancient regime sitting upon the safety-valve, since the law of it unfortunately stands summarized thus: "In a major or full-powered State, the Suzerain undertakes to protect the Prince and his successors against foreign and domestic enemies while the Princes engage to govern peaceably in his realms of which he is declared absolute ruler." The Paramount Power is in an invidious, not to say treacherous, position if it does not now predicate a summary objective in the rule of Indian States, while in British India they talk so much of Responsible Government and introduce the elements of autonomy in all spheres of administration. Does any one want that the immunity clause "under the ægis of His Highness" should slowly fade away in favour of "under the ægis of His Majesty", a safeguard that cannot incriminate an agitation? These States are not located in Kurdistan, they are part and parcel of India affected by the common spirit of progress, and their people will not bear the odium and disabilities of a lesser citizenship. Those inclined to look for the Machiavellian hand of imperialism in British devices have no difficulty in spotting the motives that might underlie a fostered system where a principle of governance utterly obsolete and disparate from the general scope of national advance, is allowed to form septic blots on the constitutional map of India. The British Government have no right to feign the part of disinterested spectators when they are not free from responsibility for the deadlock.

"Paramountcy," says the Butler Committee, "must fulfil its obligations defining

and adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." Such being the responsibility, the time has come for the Paramount Power to give a mandatory pronouncement to the effect that Responsible Government is the direct goal of the system of governance in Indian States and thus undo the mischief of uncertain practice and obscurantist doctrine now threatening the course of peace and goodwill which it would be wisdom for Indian Rulers themselves to preserve and promote by the enlightened acceptance of the ideal. Once the objective is announced, they could proceed to implement their side of the obligation and establish that it is not they who have been the villains of the peace.

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BRADLEY AND BERGSON

By DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

MR. RAM MURTI LOOMBA selects for his comparative study two of the first-rate philosophers of modern times, Bradley and Bergson.* It is ordinarily believed that these two leaders of thought hold contrasted standpoints, that Bradley is an absolute idealist emphasising upon rational coherence as the criterion of Reality and that Bergson is a mystic taking intuitive identification of the knower with the known as the only means of true knowledge. Mr. Loomba maintains that this is a false view by showing that "there is a method of approach and a vision of reality common to the metaphysics of Bradley and Bergson". In the first place, both the systems are characterised by what the writer calls 'anti-science-ism'. The writings of Bergson and of Bradley bear evidence to their distrust of science. The second common trait which the author finds in the two thinkers is 'anti-intellectualism'. Bradley regards the intellect as incapable of apprehending the Absolute. Bergson concludes that the intellect is characterised by a natural inability to comprehend life. Thirdly, immediate experience or intuition is regarded by both the philosophers as the means to absolute knowledge. And finally, Bradley and Bergson have an essentially identical *weltanschauung*. They offer monistic systems. Reality, for both the philosophers, is a one-in-many. Bradley calls it the Absolute Experience; Bergson names it Life or *Élan Vital*. On the basis of this close correspondence as between Bradley's view and Bergson's, Mr. Loomba decides that they form two stages in the idealistic movement of the

present which is characterised chiefly by anti-intellectualism.

In assessing the relative work of the two philosophies, the writer says that Bergson's system has led the march over Bradley's. The main reason for this judgment is that in Bradley the opposition between intellect and immediate experience is not absolute. While Bergson regards intellect as an absolute negation of intuition, "for Bradley intellect does not mark such a sharp contrast with immediate experience. It is rather a step to the latter, than its absolute negation". One may be inclined to ask: Is not Bradley's position more tenable and philosophically justifiable than Bergson's? There seems to be truth in Bradley's view that thought is a necessary step to the attainment of Absolute Immediate Experience. Intuition is supra-logical and not a-logical. Intellect transcended is not intellect avoided.

Mr. Loomba writes clearly and with constant reference to the works of the two philosophers. The book is suggestive and interesting throughout.

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* BRADLEY AND BERGSON: A comparative study. By Ram Murti Loomba, M.A. The Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow. Rs. 2-8.

INDIANS IN MALAYA

BY MR. T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIAR, M.L.C.

DURING my recent tour I visited Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. I visited the Indian Association in Singapore and the Central Indian Association in Kuala Lumpur and met prominent members of the Associations who represented to me the present state of the Indians in Malaya and especially the condition of the labourers. I also paid a visit to a rubber estate. From all that I have heard and saw, it seems to me a very great pity that we have not made any arrangements for keeping in continuous contact with our nationals in Malaya. In Malaya, the population is mostly made up of immigrants from China, Dutch East Indies, India and Ceylon. I understand that a fourth of the population in Singapore are Indians and that may be taken roughly as the proportion for the whole of Malaya. The Chinese preponderate and they form more than a third of the population. The Malays are partly natives of the soil and partly immigrants from the Dutch Indies. The Malays are all Mahomedans, and so every Mahomedan is treated as a Malay and a native of the soil. There is a movement to increase this population of Malays and to give them the rights of natives of the country as against the Indians. They are already given, I understand, preference in admission to schools and services. There is also a proposal to restrain the transfer of lands to any but Malays. The result of these is to make the position of the Indian worse and worse even though the Indian might have settled in Malaya for a generation or more. It seems to me that we ought to keep a watchful eye on

what is going on in Malaya, so that we may not later have all the difficulties there that we experience in East Africa and South Africa. But it ought to be said that in Malaya the regulations are made not to favour the European settler, but the Malay. I was told that the Malay is defined in some records as the Mahomedan subject of a native chief.

There are no elections to the municipal or local bodies or to the Legislatures at present. All the members of all the bodies are nominated. The Legislature of the Federated Malay States used to have an Indian on it to represent Indian interests. The last appointment made was of a Jaffna Tamil and not an Indian in spite of the protests made by the Indian communities. The Jaffna Tamils generally belong to middle-classes and are serving in Malaya as officers both in lower and upper ranks of service. They have very little in common with the Indians who are mostly labourers. In view of the expected developments, elections are bound to be introduced for all the bodies. Then the question of citizenship and right of vote will arise. Unless the rights of the Indians who have been in Malaya for three years or more are recognised, the Indians will form a very small minority and their interests will suffer. It is necessary that this aspect of the matter should be kept in mind and we should work from now onwards that the Indians in Malaya do not suffer.

The position of the labourers in Malaya has been receiving attention recently and the Government of India have, for the time being, restricted assisted emigration. As the Government itself has stated, there

is a very large body of labourers going to Malaya independently. It is said that various inducements are offered to these men in India by the agents of the planters. There is a large body of Indian labour also going and seeking employment in the municipal and other works. Indian labourers are unorganised and they are not in a position to look after themselves. They have been treated in the past very badly. On account of the representations made by the Government of India and their Agents, the conditions of living have improved to a certain extent. I found in the estate I visited some new blocks of houses which were a very great improvement over the old hovels. It is said that provision is being made for medical help and education of the children of the labourers. Unless these things are watched properly the improvement will slacken. The Malay Government has got a labour department to look after Indian labour. I met three of the Deputy Controllers of Labour. They are trying to improve the condition. But as they are the servants of the Malayan Government in which the planters seem to have a big voice, they cannot be expected to be as independent as one wants.

The question of the wages to be paid to the labourers has been a matter of active controversy for some years. After the slump began, there was a reduction in the wages paid. On complaints received, the Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar was sent to make enquiries. The planters increased the wages to a certain extent in view of that enquiry and the wages stood at 50 cents for males and 40 cents for female coolies in the estates. Recently this was reduced to 45 and 40 cents respectively. I saw a report

in the papers that with effect from the 1st of August, the planters propose to reduce the wages still further to 40 and 36 cents. There does not seem to be any real justification for reducing the wages now, except that on account of the war a large number of Chinese have come to Malaya. I was told that last year the Chinese immigration came to about a lakh and eighty thousands. Probably the planters want to take advantage of this Chinese labour and reduce the wages. I am told by the Indian Associations that the British planters cannot get on without Indian labour and that if we are firm we are bound to succeed in fixing a fairly decent minimum wage for Indian labour in Malaya. But before this can be done, we will have to organise and regulate the supply of Indian labour to Malaya. This need is pressed by all the local people, and the Agent of the Indian Government is also convinced of it. The Agents have been doing very good work in helping our nationals in Malaya both with reference to political rights and with reference to labour conditions. The present Agent who is a native of Mysore and an I. C. S. Officer of over 10 years' standing, has been doing very good work and he commands the complete confidence of the Indians there.

The Government of India have power at present to regulate assisted labour. Unassisted or voluntary emigration is not regulated by them. There is already a slump of Indian labour in the market in Malaya. The voluntary emigration of Indian labour will add to the slump. It is necessary that the Government of India should take power to regulate not only assisted emigration, but also the unassisted or voluntary emigration. It is only then

that the Indian Government will be in a position to exact and enforce any conditions with reference to the wages and living conditions of labour in Malaya. It will not be enough if there is a regulation of supply of labour to Malaya; the labour that is there already and the labour that will be going there will have to be organised properly and the Indian Government and the people here will have to be in constant touch with the labour in Malaya. It is only then that the minimum standard of living can be secured for our men in Malaya, and they will be prevented from deteriorating as mere birds of passage to do the meanest work that others won't do for the cheapest wages which other labourers in the areas consider too low to maintain their standard of living.

By far the larger number of people going to Malaya are from South India.

Tanjore, North and South Arcot and Salem supply the bulk of the labourers. The natives of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore also form a considerable number, especially in small business and State service. So I consider it is necessary that we in Madras should take steps to create a standing organisation to be in constant touch with the affairs in Malaya and help the Indians there in all possible ways to get political equality on the same terms as the natives of the soil and to look after the interests of labour both in the estates and elsewhere. I consider it will also be necessary that from time to time one or two prominent gentlemen should be sent from here to gather information, to strengthen the hands of the Indians there and to give them that moral support which they are much in need of.

OOTY'S TREASURE

By GUENDOLEN ARMSTEAD

—: o :—

The gorse is out in Ooty,
Rolling down the hills,
Vying with the bracken
In meadow-footed rills.
Golden-headed bushes
Creeping round the trees,
Pricking through the whispers
Athwart the evening breeze.

A second Sussex downland,
Another Yorkshire moor,
Where weary eyes may feast on
A further golden store.
You may not kiss in England
Unless its flowers bloom fair:
But gorse is out in Ooty
Almost all the year!

HOW TO USE THE GITA

By MR. D. BHATTACHARYYA, B.A.

THE Gita is a Yoga Sastra and as such it is of more importance to us in our daily lives than any other of our holy scriptures, in fact it will not be far from truth to say that it is **THE BOOK** to guide us in our every-day life. Below we propose to mention a few points in which this book may be used:—

1. When you become hopeless and feel yourself downcast read 2; 3.

2. When you are wanting in energy and your mind is unwilling to work at the death of your nearest and dearest ones read 2; 27-28.

3. When you are determined to do a certain thing read 2; 37-38; 8; 80.

4. When you want to keep yourself away from doing a certain thing for not being able to enjoy the fruit thereof read 2; 47.

5. When you want to know the cause of your destruction read 2; 62-68.

6. When you are at a loss as to what to do and what not to do read 3; 21.

7. When you are looking for peace read 4; 89.

8. When you want to know what will become of this earth in the long run read 9; 9.

9. When you are in doubts about your own religion read 3; 85.

10. When you want to know the slightest difference between God and man read 4; 5.

11. When you want to know how God exhibits his power read 4; 7-8.

12. When you are in doubt as to whether or not God will listen to your prayers or when you are at a loss as to how to worship Him read 4; 11; 6; 80.

13. When you have doubts about the existence of God read 7; 7-12; 9; 16-19; 24; 10; 2; 20-39.

14. When you have doubts as to whether or not God will accept your offering read 9; 26.

15. When you want to know what God asks of you read 9; 27; 34; 18; 65-66.

16. When you want to know the message of God to the creatures below on earth read 9; 29-33.

17. When you want to know who is dearer to God read 12; 14-20.

18. When you want to know the relation between you and God read 14; 4; 14; 69.

19. When you want to know the utility of studying the Gita read 18; 78.

20. When you want to pray to God read 11; 18; 38-40; 48-44.

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THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

[In the following excerpts the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council of H. E. Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, draw attention to the most vexed problem of Communalism in India. Sir Akbar, in his Convocation address to the Dacca University, deploras the existence of serious communal conflicts and differences in India and appeals to the graduates as cultured men holding the future in their hands to carry the message of inter-communal harmony to the masses. Sir Mirza, in his Convocation address to the University of Madras, pleads for a spirit of tolerance and friendliness among the communities and bids us take a warning from the history of post-War Europe.—Ed. I. R.]

i. The Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari

“THERE is one problem, which alike in its gravity and in its national importance, claims our primary attention. I mean the problem of the differences

not capable of a lasting solution, such as would, on the basis of a common nationalism and of national endeavour in the service of a common patrimony, lead to mutual respect and understanding. We are, perhaps, too religious-minded a people to follow the more radical path of secularisation which countries like Turkey have adopted. Religion enters every detail of our daily life, but it does not follow necessarily that, in so entering, it should serve to take away from us the qualities of sympathy and toleration, which the teachings of every religion inculcate.

That distinguished philosopher of our time, Mr. Bertrand Russell, has pointed out that the strongest of our collective passions are group-hatred and group-rivalry, and whatever the cause or causes which lead to such hatred and rivalry between the two Indian communities, whether political, economic or cultural, the fact that such hatred and rivalry are based upon religion makes them the least appreciable and perhaps the most tragic of all. Yet here, in this University and in Universities like it, which have all the blessings of the atmosphere which surrounds a house of learning, we can learn and show to ourselves and to others the value of toleration and sympathy, and the baneful effects of hatred and jealousy. I know that you in Dacca



THE RT. HON. SIR AKBAR HYDARI

that appear to exist between the two principal communities of India. I, for one, refuse to believe that those differences are

have done much to learn these lessons and to exemplify them. This is but natural, for you have not only fostered Muslim education; you have advanced further in that you have also provided points of understanding between Hindus and Muslims. In an age when the bitterness of rivalry has led even erstwhile protagonists of nationalism and unity—I speak of men of both communities—to profess disillusionment and all the modern weapons of publicity and propaganda are being diverted from their true end and are being employed for creating and expressing the unedifying passion of hatred, a spirit such as yours is widely needed, if we are to be true to our motherland and to ourselves.

This country, which has given us birth, has not sprung from any one race, creed or culture, and the pages of its history are writ large with the contributions, not of any one community but of all the different communities, which it has nursed and who have given collectively of their best to make of it a beautiful land. We have received from our past a heritage of magnificence and splendour, and you have only to look at the grandeur and refinement symbolised in the sculpture of Ellora and the frescoes of Ajanta, or in the beauty and grace enshrined in the Taj Mahal, to derive lasting inspiration from the very fact of their co-existence. In our life and customs, speech and thought, we in fact accommodate the different cultures that gave birth to these monuments.

Yet, is it not a tragedy that those very factors, which should inspire unity and assist the growth of a national consciousness, are to-day being used to emphasise separation? Urdu or Hindustani, for example, which by its very origin

symbolises the effort of Hindus and Muslims to understand each other through the medium of a common tongue is being to-day characterised as the language of a particular community and hair-splitting discussions are being attempted on the rival claims of different dialects. To the vocabularies of our language and of these dialects, unfamiliar words are being added from distant languages in order to emphasise the differences rather than the similarities. Our common festivals, too, which are occasions when the joys and sorrows of one community are shared by the others, are fast becoming occasions for communal clashes, while movements are on foot even to boycott these meeting-grounds of the two communities, where their two cultures mix and fuse.

You, however, in the community life which is so admirable a feature of your University, have opportunities, shared, also, by too few other Indian students, of appreciating the strength of the ties which bind us all together as one people. Just as a wider outlook and a national consciousness will rid us of the trammels of obstructive parochialism or sectional claims, one way in which we can all assist, in creating a wide national front by way of outlook and effort, is to dissociate ourselves from sectional or 'communal' activities; let us undertake, for example, never to belong to any institution that represents such purely sectional or communal endeavour. Another way lies—if I may use the term—in 'decommunalising' our histories. Descartes had said of the needs of France during the Restoration: 'Royalise the nation and nationalise Royalty'. Similarly, let us 'decommunalise' our histories which urgently require such treatment.

ii. Sir Mirza Ismail

In communities which are large and whose composition has been influenced by many historical factors, particularly in communities which have been subject to invasion, there are bound to be small



SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

groups which retain their own individual characteristics. The relationship between the larger group and the smaller one is bound to be difficult. The larger unit cannot afford to ignore the smaller because that would destroy all real unity. Nor can the larger unit seek to mould the smaller into a common pattern of culture and deny it political rights; for that would merely lead to disintegration.

To deny to the minorities their right to a full share in the commonwealth and full scope to follow their own religious faith and develop their own culture would be distinctly indefensible. What is most disquieting in the present situation is the sense of separateness of the minorities and the impatient attitude of the large groups towards the smaller.

The problem of minorities has had to be faced in other parts of the world

and has not proved altogether incapable of solution. In Central Europe, Teuton and Slav have fought with each other in the past and now live side by side although, it must be admitted, not always in amity. To-day in Czechoslovakia we see what tremendous issues may hang on this difficult matter of minority rights.

We in India should take a warning from the history of post-War States such as Czechoslovakia which, like India, is a state of nationalities, not a national state. In some respects our own position here is better. Only in recent years has the Hindu-Muslim problem, perhaps the most difficult of minority problems, been forced into unpleasant prominence. For years the two communities have lived together in friendship and peace. Why should they not do so now?

What we, perhaps, most need both as individuals and as a people, is tolerance, tolerance for the views and acts of others. The roots of communalism lie deep in human nature. Therefore it is that we in India should be specially careful. If only we could discipline ourselves to adopt, not in words only but also in deeds, a sympathetic and friendly attitude, especially towards the religious beliefs and practices of others, how happy our country would be and how happy we should be ourselves!

Believe me it needs no great effort to do that. It is only a question of making up one's mind. I appeal to you to try to do it. You will be giving, I assure you, great pleasure to yourselves, and what is more, to others, and the greatest of all pleasures is to give pleasure to others.

FRANCISCO FRANCO

By PROF. P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

ONE of the most dynamic personalities in the Europe of to-day is Captain-General Francisco Franco. There are those who would consider him merely a rebel pushed on by Mussolini and Hitler. Others, on the other hand, consider him the saviour of Spain, and a champion against Communism and irreligion. But all will have to admit his great military genius, singleness of purpose, and his wonderful gifts for gaining the affections of those he comes in contact with. His life has all along been devoted to the successful service of his country, according to his lights, and to-day he is the beloved idol of insurgent Spain.

Born forty-five years ago in a family of adventurous mariners at El Ferrol, Francisco Franco chose to serve his country through the army. After his early studies he joined the Military Academy at Toledo, and graduated from there in 1910 with the rank of second lieutenant. During all the years he was at the Academy, he was distinguished by an eagerness to discharge the duties, no matter how rigorous which the discipline of the place required. But the spirit of adventure was also surging within him, so that he was never behind others in the youthful pranks of a cadet's life.

The young lieutenant was eager for service and glory; and he naturally turned to Morocco where Spanish arms were then faring none too well. The native tribes were carrying on a vigorous uprising. There had been a skirmish near the River Kurt and some Spanish soldiers were killed. This was followed by a punitive expedition which ended in disaster and war became general. Men and officers were in great demand. It was then that

Damaso Berenguer conceived the idea of forming the Native Regulars of Melilla—a body of men consisting of Moors commanded by Spanish officers. Franco was one of the first who volunteered to serve under Berenguer; and thus his long association with Moors and Africa began.

Fighting in Africa was arduous, and full of surprises and dangers. Franco, with youthful enthusiasm, was always in the thick of the fight. At the battles of Yadumen and Izarduy, his feats of courage and skill astonished the officers. He seemed to have a charmed life. Men and officers standing by his side fell shot dead. His biographer, Joaquin Arraras, says: "He had bullet-riddled caps and cloaks, various horses he was riding had been wounded, and at Alhucemas the explosion of a shell buried him. But all these warnings neither terrified him nor separated him from the danger zone to which he was again to return with his unshakable calmness."

Franco's great triumphs were obtained as a Commander of the famous Foreign Legion. This Legion consisted of adventurers who refused to recognise fear, and who asked for the most dangerous posts. They were the shock troops in every engagement, always in the vanguard and at the most dangerous places. When this Legion was formed by Lt.-Colonel Astray in 1920, Franco was the first Commander chosen by Astray. The Legion was responsible for the success of many engagements, as the battles of Beni Aros and of Sebte, and the re-conquest of Melilla and Segangen. In every one of these difficult enterprises, Franco not only displayed his undaunted courage but also showed himself a great strategist, who knew immediately

the weak spots of the enemy. It was, therefore, he was unanimously chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Legion when he was only thirty years of age.

Soon after this appointment, he left for the Peninsula to celebrate his marriage. This was the fulfilment of a long deferred desire, often postponed on account of the exigencies of military service. He had met Carmen Polo when she was only fifteen, and he twenty. But the promise then made in life's morning tide was "preserved through distance, through long absence, through the vicissitudes of the life of a soldier and through the opposition of some of the relatives of the bride". Even now their hearts had to bear the tug between the jealous claims of love and duty; and a month after the wedding Franco was again in Africa to serve his country.

By 1925, Franco effected a few operations that brought the rebellion to an end. The great engagement at Kobe Darsa has been called the "manœuvre of an artist" so skillfully and so surprisingly he overcame the enemies. The Government then decided that some of the Spanish outposts should be given up. The withdrawal was attended with the greatest danger as the encircling tribes were bent on annihilating the garrisons when they were once out of the strongholds. But Franco's shrewdness and courage enabled him to effect these withdrawals without loss. His genius, however, was displayed in all its strength and versatility at Alhucemas. This was the focus point of the rebellion, and the rebels could not be controlled until that place was occupied. No attempt had yet been successful, and it was considered impossible to land there. But Franco, with his usual thoroughness studied the

terrain and the whole situation, and then drew up a plan. This he executed with such rapidity and intrepid daring that the impossible was realized. With that the strength of the rebellion was broken. The landing at Alhucemas was such a distinguished feat that the French Government decorated him with the badge of Military and Naval Merit, and his own Government raised him to the rank of General at the unusual age of thirty-two.

With the breaking up of the rebellion in Africa, Franco was free to go back to Spain. Primo de Rivera, the Dictator, appreciated Franco's character and ability, and so appointed him Director of the General Military Academy of Spain. In his new office, Franco revealed the fact that he was no mere soldier. He was able to raise the Academy to some of the glory which it once enjoyed throughout Europe. But after the death of Rivera, Governments changed and the fortunes of Franco also underwent constant changes. The Socialist Ministry had no trust in him, and he was sent away as Commander of the Balearic Islands. The next Ministry, however, had him back at Madrid as Division General of the army, and it was then he helped to scotch the Communist revolution of October 1934. Again in 1936 February the elections brought the Communists to power, and this time Franco was got away to the Canaries as Military Commander there. But his active mind was vigorously at work. There were many in the army and elsewhere who were dead against the Communist Government. A vigorous propaganda was carried on, and all those who opposed Communism joined up. The result was the uprising which began on the 18th of July 1936, and still continues without any sign of

abating until one side or the other wins outright.

The life of General Franco reveals many characteristics that are associated with greatness. He has always had excellent luck in battle, a beneficent fate seeming to safeguard his life. But his gifts are even more notable. He has followed the military life with a singleness of purpose that assures success. His intuition in military engagements is surprising, and when engaged, he can do without food and sleep

for long stretches of time. His recreation is the study of maps and charts and despatches. He never spares himself, and has always been most hardworking. According to his biographer, he enters the office at eight o'clock. He eats at three or four according to the urgency of the work. At five, he resumes the work, which sometimes lasts till three or four in the morning, with a short interruption for dinner.

THE C. P. MINISTERIAL CRISIS

THE dramatic beginning of the Ministerial crisis in C. P. has had an equally dramatic end. The fall of the Khare Ministry and the installation of his three colleagues who refused to resign with the Prime Minister have been followed by a series of statements and counter-statements from the principal parties concerned. Apart from the personal factors in the controversy, much has been said on the constitutional issues involved. The Patel-Khare correspondence throws some light on the episode, while Mahatma Gandhi himself put forth a vigorous defence of the action of the Working Committee. A section of the Press has condemned the Working Committee resolution as vindictive, while others endorse its verdict in penalising Dr. Khare for indiscipline.

It will be remembered that Dr. Khare submitted his resignation to the Governor on the 20th July, a couple of days before the meeting of the Working Committee. He admitted the right of the Congress Executive to advise him and, in fact, sought its advice on more

than one occasion. But he declined to sign the draft prepared by the Committee. In his letter to the President, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, he pointed out:

I am sorry I cannot see my way to accept the draft which I am asked to fair out and submit.

I am not prepared to admit that I was guilty of any indiscipline. I am not prepared to admit that the Congress has lost its prestige through my action. The draft contains some baseless insinuations about fitness to hold positions of trust and responsibility in Congress.

I am sorry I cannot endorse them.

I must state in addition that I am fundamentally opposed to the view that Ministers should not be primarily responsible to the Prime Minister and further that they should be severally responsible to the High Command. I hold the view that these ideas are a complete negation of democratic Government.

Similarly I am opposed to the further view that the Working Committee or Parliamentary Subcommittee should dictate to the Congress Parliamentary Party the choice of its leader.

I hold the opinion that a Parliamentary Party must be free to choose its own leader and this choice should be free and unhampered. It must also be open to the leader to exercise his independent judgment in selecting his colleagues.

He went on to say that he was acting according to "the notions and conventions of democratic parliamentary institutions accepted all over the world".

Mahatma Gandhi in a rejoinder said there was nothing "humiliating" in the draft Dr. Khare was asked to sign and he challenged the Doctor to publish it. Dr. Khare said he would do it at the proper time; and the time was not yet.

Meanwhile the Working Committee in its lengthy resolution censured the action of Dr. Khare in resigning without informing the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, forcing the Governor to dismiss three Ministers, who refused to resign with him, and forming a new Cabinet without the sanction of the Congress Executive. The Committee also criticised the action of the Governor, Sir Francis Wylie, in accepting the resignation of Dr. Khare and asking him to form a fresh Ministry, and accused him of "indecent haste".

In a subsequent statement, dated 27th July, soon after this verdict of the Congress, Dr. Khare said:

Judged by the voting on a resolution brought for adjourning the party meeting held in the presence of the Members of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, I feel sure that I would have been elected as Leader once again of the Party but for the ban stated to be implied in the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. I shall continue to be a disciplined soldier of the Congress and if there is any such thing as God, and I believe there is, a time will soon come when I shall be restored to a much brighter position. I congratulate Mr. Shukla on his election as Leader and trust his Cabinet will enhance the honour and prestige of the Congress and ensure efficiency of the administration in the real interests of the people of this Province as a whole.

Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, replying to Dr. Khare's letter, gave an account of the proceedings of the meeting when Mahatma Gandhi asked Dr. Khare to sign a draft statement.

I regret very much the tone and contents of the letter which Dr. Khare addressed me the next day. If one compares that with the statement which he himself drafted at Shegaon the night before, one can see that he was swayed by the advice of his friends. In spite of that I still feel that all is not lost. Dr. Khare has served the

Congress and public devotedly for a long period of time. And members of the Working Committee who had to perform the unpleasant task of condemning him, still wish him well. Nothing would please them more than see him acting like a disciplinarian and continuing to serve the Congress and public as a member of that great national organisation.

In a speech delivered subsequently in Bombay, Dr. Khare admitted his "error of judgment" in tendering his resignation and those of his two colleagues. Dr. Khare stated that he admitted the error of judgment because of "firm sentiments, long association with the Congress and feelings of loyalty".

He did not admit that it was a gross crime on his part to have tendered his resignation. He felt that the recent C. P. affairs had stifled the principles of democracy for which the late Lokmanya Tilak stood and fought.

Early in the first week of August, the Parliamentary Sub-Committee issued a lengthy statement giving the history of the C. P. episode leading to the drastic action taken against Dr. Khare.

The Working Committee would have failed in its duty if it had refused to take notice of such a conduct and done anything less than it did.

The Committee charged Dr. Khare with having tried and succeeded in securing the removal of his inconvenient colleagues with the help of the Governor, keeping the Congress authorities all the time in the dark.

Dr. Khare in his reply said that the Congress discipline had not been maintained by the Congress High Command

inasmuch as the Parliamentary Sub-Committee got in touch with one of the dismissed Ministers over his head, and thus encouraged some of the Ministers to disregard the elected Party Leader, who had been given the power to select his own colleagues on the Cabinet.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel in his rejoinder pointed out

that the assertions of Dr. Khare that the C. P. Premiership was thrust on him, that he selected his colleagues in the Cabinet without reference to the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, and that the Peshwarhi compromise was forced on him were all untrue.

Mahatma Gandhi's contribution to the controversy was in the form of a signed article in the *Harijan*. "The Working Committee resolution," he said

is a friendly warning to the British Government and if they wish to avoid an open rupture with the Congress, the powers that be should not allow a repetition of what happened at Nagpur on the night of 20th July.

Gandhiji further pointed out that the indecent haste displayed by the Governor of C. P. over the recent Ministerial crisis in a violation of the unwritten compact between the British Government and the Congress over the acceptance of office by the latter.

The Mahatma further said that the right course for Dr. Khare would have been to appeal to A. I. C. C. instead of rushing to Governor for the redress of his grievances. Gandhiji justified the resolution of the Working Committee in enforcing discipline thus:

The Congress, conceived as a fighting machine, has to centralise control and guide every department and every Congressman, however highly placed, and expects unquestioned obedience. The fight cannot be fought on any other terms.

Dr. Khare was not only guilty of gross indiscipline in flouting the warnings of the Parliamentary Board, but he betrayed incompetence as a leader by allowing himself to be fooled by the Governor, or by not knowing that by his precipitate action he was compromising the Congress.

To those critics who have characterised the Congress as Fascist, Gandhiji's reply is:

They forget that Fascism is the naked sword. Under it, Dr. Khare should lose his head. The Congress is the very antithesis of Fascism . . . Its sanctions are all moral.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, has issued a statement in answer to the critics of the Working Committee, who charge it with having acted in an undemocratic manner:

The functions of democracy have always been recognised to be briefly, to legislate, to appoint the highest executive periodically to review the broad and important act of the Executive and when necessary to remove the Executive by a vote of no-confidence or censure.

The Working Committee, therefore, according to him has not done anything out of the way. Indeed, it has always

acted in the same manner and its authority has always been recognised by all concerned. On previous occasions of such interference the cry of "democracy in danger" was never raised:

So we hold that whatever interference was exercised in C. P. was neither extra-constitutional nor against any known principles of democracy. The Working Committee has full constitutional right to interfere on occasions and this right has ever been recognised in practice. The A. I. C. C., the President and the General Secretary have been exercising this right day in and day out without their authority being ever questioned. The Parliamentary wing of the Congress organisation has always recognised the right of guidance and if need be of interference by the Central Executive as the representative of All India democracy. All the candidates to the legislatures on behalf of the Congress have in the last resort to be selected by the Working Committee through its Committee—the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, whose choice may be interfered with at any time by the Working Committee.

All throughout, Dr. Khare rightly accepted the guidance and control of the Working Committee. None of these many acts, done through him, though he could not have been a happy agent, constituted in his eyes any breach of democratic principles and procedure. No voice was raised. The rest of what the Working Committee did, that is, their resolution about Dr. Khare's conduct was the natural corollary of the position he had accepted and worked up to.

Meanwhile there have been some pro-Khare demonstrations in Nagpur and elsewhere. One such party waited on Mahatma Gandhi on Monday the 22nd August—the day of Mahatmaji's silence. Replying to the demonstrators, Gandhiji pointed out (in writing):

No ban was imposed on Dr. Khare for contesting the election of the Leader of the Central Provinces Legislative Assembly Congress Party, nor did Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose (Congress President) threaten any member while exercising his right to vote, nor did I deprive Dr. Khare of his right to contest the election. The Working Committee's resolution against Dr. Khare was recommendatory and not mandatory.

Answering questions, he wrote:

After introspection, I found that no wrong or injustice had been done to Dr. Khare. You have no material for comparison. The All-India Congress Committee is the final appellate authority which everybody can approach. The Working Committee or leaders found guilty deserve punishment. I advise you to prepare your case in favour of Dr. Khare to be placed before the A. I. C. C.

Animal Preservation among the Indo-Aryans

BY MR. ATINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.

THE Aryan settlers who advanced in India by clearance of forests and found a fauna rich for purposes of dairy produce, meat, articles of use and sacrificial rites were keenly alive to the need of its preservation against destruction and annihilation. This principle received a dynamic strength from the theological doctrine of ahimsa or inviolability of all forms of life which was popularised but certainly not invented by Buddha and Jina. Its nucleus is traced in the Vedic teachings and the earliest Smritis. Manu wants the ascetic to walk always carefully scanning the ground "even with pain to his body" and prescribes atonement for animals killed without intention (VI. 68-69). The "three long fasts" which were observed by Buddhists with great eclat in the days of Yuan Chwang's visit and during which no slaughter of animals was allowed because Indra was believed to be carrying on a searching inspection of popular conduct, show that these were originally popular rather than a Buddhist institution.* Indian folk-lore abounds with such idealised stories of animal-love as those of the prince who flung his body from a mountain peak to relieve a starving tigress with her cubs, of King Sibi who gave his pound of flesh to a hawk to save a fugitive pigeon and of Prince Jimuta-Vahana who offered himself to be devoured by Garuda for a naga's sake,—all of which formed a common heritage for canonical books of orthodox and heretical schools. The same moral is deftly inserted in the prelude of the Ramayana, where the sight of a stricken bird and a wailing mate moved the heart of an illiterate

sage and vented in a spontaneous metrical effusion which heralded the great epic.

Ancient Sanskrit literature—the early epics with their naive simplicity and later Kavyas in their ornate style—portray the working of this doctrine in the asramas or sylvan retreats and academies of venerable saints where birds and beasts were protected from injury and remained in perfect harmony with men. In the Adiparva of Mahabharata (sambhavadparva) occurs the legend of Dushyanta who steps into Kanwa's hermitage in an orgy of animal slaughter and is at once transported from an atmosphere of fury and panic to one of calm and concord where monkeys, bears, elephants, tigers and snakes live unharmed with holy ascetics and kinnaras. Such descriptions in the epic 'akhyanas' approximate to actual life and are remarkably free from poetical fancy and artistry, which is displayed in later sophisticated literature * written under court influence or for the edification of a refined and hyper-sensitive public. Two scenes may be quoted from these classics.

Act I of Kalidasa's Sakuntala opens with a hunting affray. "Slay not, O mighty prince," says a hermit with upraised hands against the arrow mounted on Dushyanta's sling :

Slay not a poor fawn which has found a place of refuge—an arrow in its frail frame would be like fire in a bale of cotton.

The redoubtable prince bows to the laws of the asrama. Says he to his charioteer :

See under yon trees with hallowed grains which have been sprinkled on the ground, while the

* Cf. Some tigers waited in attendance (upon the recluse Diva-karamitra) who had given up eating flesh under the calming influence of Buddhist teaching.—Bana's Harshacharitam.

* See Watters' Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 304-305.

tender female parrots were feeding their fledglings in their pendent nests. . . . Look at the young fawns which, having acquired confidence in man, and accustomed themselves to the sound of his voice, frisk at pleasure without varying their course.

Act IV, the parting scene of Sakuntala, delineates to perfection the idyllic life of the asrama and the silken cords that bound the hermit girl with her animal-kindred into an intimate family.

An excerpt from the description of Divakaramitra's forest Sanctuary in Bana's Harshacharitam runs as follows :—

Young hares basked in smooth rocks; lizards rolled about securely in the roots of the shophalika water-plants; the antelopes were free from fear, the ichneumons played in peace, the soft-throated kokilas devoured the opening buds, the deer lay ruminating in the mango-groves, troops of nilandajas rested at their ease, and the female gayals as they suckled their kids were watched by the motionless wolves, the drum-like flapping of the elephants' ears grew languid in the pleasant sleep . . . the ruru deer listened gleefully to the music of the neighbouring kinnaras, the hyenas were delighted, the snouts of the young boars were stained with the juice of the Pitadru trees.

That the poets revelled in such depictions however artificial, indicates that the idea of peace and amity among all living beings had, apart from any speculative tenet, an æsthetic and sentimental appeal among the people for whom they catered. This and the effect of animal food on human constitution led to a general aversion for meat diet among those Brahmanas who led a religious life. Instances are rare in ancient literature of pious Brahmanas taking flesh except on ceremonial functions or after worship of the manes.* Mann emphatically proscribes it unless taken in conformity with the law, i.e., after Vedic rites and sacrifices. Taking of meat unhalloed by the mantras was, according

* This is illustrated in the tale of Ilval and Vetapi in the Ramayana who could not bait the Brahmanas with ordinary flesh.

Bhṛataram saṁskṛtam kṛtvā tātastam meṣa-rā-pīnāṇīm dvījan bhojāyamāṣa śraddhadrūṣṭena karmāna. —Aranyakanda, 11.57.

to tradition, worthy of the Rakshasas. "As many hairs as the slain beast has, so often indeed will he who killed it without a lawful reason suffer a violent death in future births" (V. 38). Under no circumstances should a virtuous twice-born cause an injury to any creature which is not sanctioned by the Vedas (48). Eternal unhappiness dogs those who injure innoxious beings for pleasure (45). "Any injury to sentient beings is detrimental to heavenly bliss" (48). "Having considered the disgusting origin of flesh and the cruelty of fettering and slaying corporal beings, let him entirely abstain from eating flesh" (49). Nothing is more sinful than to fatten one's bulk with the flesh of other beings (52).† But the slaying of animals, according to Vedic prescription, is "no injury at all" (44) and leads both the slayer and victim to higher existence on rebirth (42).‡

But the doctrine or sentiment of ahimsa could not control animal carnage,—among the Brahmanas for sacrifice, among the ruling classes for sport, and among the lay public of all grades for food and articles of luxury and use—such as skin, feather, bone, horn, hoof, etc.‡ The law-givers legislated for the guidance of the Brahmanas alone. Manu even permits a Brahmana to adopt the calling of a butcher (mamsa-vikrayin) in exceptional circumstances (III, 151 sq.). In the Vinaya, Buddha himself

* Cf. Mbh. XIII, 115, 14, 36, 116, 114.

† See also Vishnu LI, 59-78. Yajñavalkya I, 80-181. Vasiṣṭha, IV, 7.

‡ There are meagre evidences of certain checks against the destruction of animals for such purposes. The social stigma attached to the *meṣa* or professional hunter and purveyor in flesh in the Jataka stories may have been a partial solvent of an animal problem. Megasthenes' observation of hunters "who alone are allowed to hunt" (Strabo xv, 1.41) reflects a conscious interference of State in game preservation unless of course it refers only to laws in reserve forests.

allows fish and flesh to his disciples on the three conditions of not having seen, not having heard and not having had suspicion. Restrictive measures were taken by strong monarchs under Buddhist influence such as Asoka and Harsha. But these were directed only against unnecessary cruelty and wanton slaughter, and they did not dare to interfere in consumption of animal food nor did they attach in their injunction any special sanctity on animal life.

The Greek quotation of Megasthenes* that the Brahmanas "eat flesh but not that of animals employed in labour"—whatever truth it may contain—reflects at any rate a sound economic sense which in some quarters regulated animal diet. The ordinances of Asoka himself were not purely altruistic. He is solicitous for the food, comfort and medical treatment of cattle as of men (R.E. II. P.E. VII) and he boasts of having conferred various benefits on bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic creatures even "to the boon of life" (a panadakhinaya P.E. II). But in his famous abstinence ordinance where the following animals are declared inviolable:—Suka (parrot), Salika (maina), aluna (?), Chakravaka (ruddy geese), hamsa (wild geese), Namdimukha (?), gelata (?), Jatuka (bat), ambakapillika (queen ants), dali (terrapin), anathika-machha (boneless fish), vedaveyaka (?), gangapuputaka (?), Samkuja machha (skate-fish), Kaphata-sayaka (porcupine), pamna-sasa (squirrel?), Simala (?), Samdaka (wild bull), akapinda (iguana ?), palasata (rhinoceros), seta-kapota (white dove), gama-kapota (domestic dove),—he adds the significant clause "which are neither useful nor edible" (P. E. V). That the spirit of the

edict is no less economic than altruistic is further proved by the forest law—"forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy living animals". Other prohibitions are against pregnant or milch goats, ewes and sows with their young ones below six months and against the preserves in fishing ponds and elephant-parks on the three chatur-mashis, on the Tishya full-moon during three days, viz., the fourteenth, the fifteenth and the first tithi and invariably on every fast day. Feeding of live animals with live animals, caponing of cocks, castration of bulls, goats, rams, boars and other livestock on certain days, and branding of horses and bullocks on the same days are forbidden. The key-note of these regulations is the checking of cruel practices and preservation of the different species, and if the emperor's heart ever yearned for total abstinence, all he could do was to set his own example by stopping meat diet in his kitchen.

Kautilya, the alleged author of the Arthashastra, is fully conscious of the risk of unscrupulous drainage of animal resources of the country and he lays down practical rules for their protection. Animal produce engages his attention as much as other forest produce (II, xvii). "In view of procuring all kinds of forest produce, one or several forests shall be specially reserved." His list of inviolable birds echoes Asoka's edict and betrays equal care for the protection of the wild fauna against extinction (II, xxvi). With this view again he gives directions for the comfort, health and safety of livestock. Elaborate rules of dietary are framed for guidance of superintendents of cattle, horses and elephants with reference to their age, maternity, nature of work or

* Straboe XV, 1, 59.

use derived from them. The details of stable construction are worked out with vigilant eye to the comfort and sanitation of the beasts. A host of attendants and paraphernalia are assigned to the horse and elephant stables—trainers, feeders, cooks, watchers, grooms, vets, drivers, binders, sweepers and so on (II xxix-xxxii).

In the rules on wild life and livestock, the chief concern of the author of the *Arthashastra* is the preservation of the four-footed, finny and feathered races. The *abhayaranya* or reserved forests are set apart for that purpose and none are allowed to "entrap, kill or molest" deer, bison, birds and beasts protected thereunder.

"One-sixth of live animals such as birds and beasts shall be let off in forests under "State protection." Discrimination is made moreover in fines against the killing of innocuous creatures that do not prey upon others. Animals are to be slaughtered for flesh only in the abattoir (*parisunam*) on pain of fine (II, xxvi). The superintendents of cows and of pasture-lands are to look to the safety of cattle; herdsmen are strictly warned to guard them against diseases, thieves and wild beasts, and hunters aided by hounds are appointed to keep off tigers, etc. and reconnoitre grazing forests (II, xxix, xxiv). Young elephants (*bikka*), elephants that would breed (*mugdha*), tuskless elephants, diseased elephants and elephants' suckling cubs (*dhenuka*) comprise the immunity list formed no doubt to ensure perpetuation of the prized stock (II, xxxi).*

Avoidance of needless cruelty and victimisation is sought with assiduous care.

* Greek writers testify to the practice prevailing among Indians of letting off young and old elephants and those of weak constitution in the forest from their haul.—Strabbo I, 41, 43; Arrian xiv.

Cruel pastimes among herdsmen such as bull-fighting stand out-lawed. Fines are enjoined for neglecting nasal perforation in proper time for stringing draught beasts to the yoke. Milking of cattle is allowed twice a day during the rains and the autumns, but in the dry winter and summer seasons only once on pain of the cowherd losing his thumb (II, xxix). Breeding bulls, bulls let out in the name of the village deity (*grama-devavrshah*) and cows within ten days of calving are exempt from penalisation for trespass. Trespassing beasts from reserve forests "shall be brought to the notice of the forest officers and . . . driven out without being hurt or killed". Ropes and whips only are to be used in case of stray cattle and any injury to them incurs the penalty for assault (III, x). Livestock is protected along with other properties of a householder against damage done in quarrel.

For causing pain with sticks, etc., to minor quadrupeds, 1 or 2 panas shall be levied; and for causing blood to the same, the fine shall be doubled. In the case of large quadrupeds not only double the above fines, but also an adequate compensation necessary to cure the beasts shall be levied (III, xix).

The importance of protection of the trade in animals is fully realised. In assessing the toll dues on merchandise, bipeds and quadrupeds are placed in the scale of maximum preference along with other commodities the duties on which are charged between 1/5th and 1/25th of value (II, xxii). The *Gopa* or village accountant is entrusted not only to keep a register of citizens but also of bipeds and quadrupeds in each village. The spies are likewise deputed to ascertain the total number of men and beasts (*janghagra* II, xxxv).

It is interesting to note that nowhere in the *Arthashastra*, nor in any ancient Indian writing is any attempt made

at proscription on the score of sacredness or impurity attached to particular beasts. The inviolability of cow as a divine animal is not an ancient institution and probably originated in later days when Hindu society was being reconstructed on hide-bound dogmas and practices. In its rules on cow-slaughter, the Arthasastra wants the immunity of only calves, milch cows and crossing bulls (II. xxvi). The use of cattle flesh was known to it and in classifying cattle it enumerates those "fit only for supply of flesh" (II. xxix). Among Asoka's list of inviolables "which are neither useful nor edible" occur the *samdaka*—the phrase is a pointer to the rendering 'bulls set at liberty and run wild'.* In Vedic, Buddhist and classical literature there is no dearth of allusions to cow-killing or the taking of cow's flesh. In the *Satapatha Brahmana*, *Yajñavalkya* is fond of tender beef (III, 1, 2, 21). According to *Panini* *goghna* means a guest because a cow is killed for him III, 4, 78). *Apastamba* permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes and at nuptial celebrations (I, 8, 9).† *Manu* affirms that cattle, birds and animals destroyed for sacrifice receive higher existences on rebirth (v. 40). The Buddhist *Suttas* refer to beef-butcher;‡ and in the *Dasabrahmana*

Jataka the profession of a *goghataka* is found widely followed by straying Brahmanas (iv, 861 ff). In the *Meghaduta* of *Kalidasa* reference is made to the legend of King *Rantideva* who, according to the *Mahabharata*, sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river *Charmanvati*. In the beginning of Act IV of *Bhavabhuti's Uttaramacharita* a heifer is slain by *Valmiki* in honour of *Vasistha's* visit to his *asrama*.*

Were it at all necessary to deify animals to ensure their protection, the warrior class and the *Arthasastrakar*s would have chosen the horse and the elephant whose service and utility were more appreciated than those of cattle. Elephants are to be reserved in special forests and special superintendents entrusted with their charge. One must pay with life for the killing of an elephant but bringing in the pair of tusks of an elephant dead from natural causes entails reward (II, ii). Grooms and drivers are threatened with fine at the slightest breach of rules inculcated for the comfort of elephants.

Leaving as much as is equal to twice the circumference of the tusk near its root, the tusks shall be cut off once in 2½ years in the case of elephants born in countries irrigated by rivers (*nadija*) and once in five years in the case of mountain elephants (II, xxxii).

* See also *Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 145, *Jataka* II, 50. The epithet *aghrya* occurs in *Rigveda* with reference to cattle, but practice is all to the contrary.

Similarly no stricture on grounds of impurity seems to have existed. Swine and fowl often figure in animal husbandry and in pastoral life of the lay and clerical folk even in sacred books. Asoka's exemption of pregnant and mother sows (see above) indicates that the use of bacon and ham was general. In *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* Buddha is offered a dish of pork by *Chunda*, the artificer's son. See *Rhys Davids' Buddhist Suttas*, p. 72; *Questions of Milinda*, Vol. I, p. 243 and note.

In the *Ramayana* also reference is available to pig and fowl as appetising food (*Ajodyakanda*, Canto 91, Vs. 67, 70). Only as late as in *Yuan Chwang*, pigs and oxen are classed among non-edibles. See also *Jataka* I, 197; *Kaut. Arth.* v, ii,

* Cf. the following lines in *Aelian's Hist. Anim.* xvi. 20.

"... even sheep, they say, run wild theret as well as dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at their own pleasure being independent and free from the dominion of the herdsmen. That their number is beyond calculation is stated not only by writers on India but also by the learned men of the country.

† Cf. *Manu* V, 41; *Vasistha* IV, 6; *Samkhayana* II, 16, 1.

‡ *Dighanikaya*—*Newmann's trans.*, Vol. II, p. 448, in, 5.

The reason for this jealous attention is given as :

It is on elephants that the destruction of an enemy's army depends (VII, xi).

Horses shall be washed, bedaubed with sandal powder and garlanded twice a day. On new moon days sacrifice to Bhutas, and on full moon days the chanting of auspicious hymns shall be performed. Not only on the 9th day of the month *avayuja* but also both at the commencement and close of journeys (*yatra*) as well as in the time of disease shall a priest wave lights invoking blessings on the horses (II, xxx).

During the period of *Chaturmashya* (July to October) and at the time when the two seasons meet, waving of light shall be performed thrice. Also on new moon and full moon days, commanders shall perform sacrifices to Bhutas for the safety of elephants (II, xxxii).

These silly rites performed to ward off evil spirits were nevertheless meant to safeguard the interests of State, to protect the sinews of war against all sorts of danger and not to appease animal divinities held in superstitious fear or veneration. They were indispensable in war and sport

and among the people they were chief means of conveyance. The cow's milk, the sheep's wool, the elephant's tusk are all subject to protection laws against the cupidity of improvident owners. This sense of utility of animals, of animal labour and animal produce predominated among the *Arthasastrakaras*. This alone may account for the culture of zoology and the improvement of veterinary science to which *Asoka* and *Kautilya* are not the only witnesses. *Aelian* deals in detail. Indian modes of treating elephant diseases (XXII, 7) and indigenous folk-lore and literature serve examples of materia medica and practical cure achieved by their ministrations. The theoretical background of animal preservation in ancient India was the theological doctrine of *ahimsa* and the economic doctrine of protection.

THE STORY OF KING RUDRA SINGH

By Mr. NAGENDRANATH GOGOI

IN anxious and uncertain times like ours, when it is difficult to find pleasure in humanity and the course of human affairs, it is particularly consoling to think of the serene greatness of a Rudra Singh. He ascended the throne of the Ahom kingdom in the year 1696 and combined in his character all the noble qualities of his parents. His father was the noble king *Gadadhor Singh* and his mother was queen *Joymati*, who died a martyr to faith and devotion to her husband.

During the reign of king *Rudra Singh*, the country flourished in all directions and, truly speaking, the Ahom kingdom was in the summit of its glory and greatness. He followed in the path set up by his father and brought peace and happiness amongst his subjects. Many

roads and bridges were constructed, tanks excavated, temples erected and palatial buildings raised. The country bloomed and shone in all its grandeur. King *Gadadhor*, bereft of his beloved wife *Joymoti*, could do nothing to commemorate her greatness and it was left to his son *Rudra Singh* who, out of immense love and devotion to his mother, excavated the great lake *Joysagar* and erected a temple in her name on its bank. Two other temples were also erected and offered to the priests.

Amongst other fortified buildings, the Palace of *Rangpur*, a fourteen-storied brick building, was raised during his rule and its remains at present at a distance of two miles south to the *Sibsagar Town* show all the magnificence of the past glory of

the nation. A broad-minded king as he was, he brought famous artists and artisans from Bengal and Behar in addition to his own expert engineers and in contact with these foreign people, his own artists learnt a good deal of things; drawing, printing and tailoring works were fostered among the mass people.

A man of international spirit, of independent and honest opinion, unburdened by class or national prejudices, desirous of nothing but the good of humanity, he wanted to build up the nation in a masterly fashion to compete with all other monarchs of India. He sent out messengers to all parts of India as far as Sindh and Oudh to gather information both political and social. He took strong steps to promote Primary Education among the people, built many schools, and besides his own teachers he invited scholars from outside Assam for the development of culture in his country. Within his heart he fostered the idea of establishing a modern Pragjyotishpur—a centre of ancient culture and learning. Besides, he established an extensive trade with Tibet.

No account, however, of the reign of Rudra Singh would be complete without some notice, firstly, of his enterprise and, secondly, of his religious zeal. For the latter half of the last century the Ahom kingdom was in constant fight with the Mughal Empire and this great power being defeated, the succeeding rulers of Assam thought of no new foe and all of them were busy in establishing the kingdom on a sound basis. During the rule of Rudra Singh, however, the Mughal power itself was diminishing and Rudra Singh was busy only with constructive problems. Even in such times of peace, there arose an occasion of bloodshed; the

Kachari king, Tamradhwaj, seeing Rudra Singh busy with no military expedition, began silently to master forces to recover his former independence and suddenly revolted. Seeing this, Rudra Singh sent the Borbaruah at the head of an army towards Maibong, the capital of the Kachari kingdom and Tamradhwaj anticipating his defeat, fled to the Jaintia Hills, and asked help of Ram Singh, the king of Jaintia Hills, who agreed to his proposed request. The Ahom army marched forth through the forests under great difficulties and captured Tamradhwaj who was brought a captive to the Ahom court at Rangpur. He was made to pay homage to the Ahom king and released as an ally. He, however, caught strong fever and in spite of Rudra Singh's sending physicians to serve him, he died within a year and thus the Kachari kingdom was annexed to the Ahom dominions. Rudra Singh ordered the Jaintia Hills also to be annexed to the Ahom kingdom since it was also conquered in the same expedition, but the Jaintia king Ram Singh having denied this order, another expedition had to be sent and likewise Ram Singh was also made to pay homage to the Ahom king, the Jaintia Hills being similarly annexed within the boundary of the Ahom kingdom, which was growing bigger and bigger during the rule of this magnanimous king.

Let us now turn to the religious side of his administration. As has already been mentioned, he invited learned pandits from outside Assam to his court and every day an open meeting of the scholars was held and various topics were discussed. He preached Vaishnavism in Assam and gave out lands for the same purpose and the Satras of the cult were

put on a very sound basis. He wanted to be an orthodox Hindu and, truly speaking, it was during his reign that the Hindu cult in Assam had its strong footing. A man of true religious zeal, he sent out messengers to pick up learned scholars from outside and would receive the good from every source possible. He invited a pandit Krishnaram Nayabagish of Santipur, a priest of the Sakta cult and wanted to be his disciple. The pandit attracted by the glory of the Kamakhya temple soon agreed to come, but after his arrival the king was reluctant to receive him as the pandit was of a black, awkward and stalwart figure. The pandit being deeply aggrieved, returned. Soon after, great disorder, accompanied by earthquake, famine, and diseases made its appearance in the Ahom kingdom. Through an unhappy coincidence, the pandits and other great people attributed this disorder to the insult of the pandit and pressed the king to bring him back. The king after much consideration agreed and the pandit was once more introduced into the religious background of the nation. The king at first ordered his own pandits to accept his priesthood and afterwards he himself wanted to become his disciple by conquering Bengal and making the banks of the Ganges a part of his dominions and then he thought the real zeal for religion would be fulfilled.

In right earnest, he began to master forces for his great military expedition. He sent his Admirals to different parts of the country to pick up soldiers and he himself proceeded towards Gauhati and halted at North Gauhati camp until the soldiers were collected, the boats arranged, ammunitions heaped up and the rations stored up. As has already been mentioned,

the Mughal power was diminishing at that time and the other dependant monarchs of India could bear the tyranny of the Mughal Badshah no longer and all of them wanted to re-establish their former independence. The Ahom kingdom had already won for it the reputation of a strong power by defeating the Mughals at Sarai-ghat and when the Hindu monarchs knew that Rudra Singh was proceeding to conquer Bengal, they were very glad and sent out private messengers to Rudra Singh stating that they were tired of the Mughal rule and would help him in his great expedition and in a body they would all try to establish Hindu Rule once more in India. Having received such supports from unexpected corners, Rudra Singh began to make swift arrangements for the expedition.

While he was at Gauhati, he had to undergo lots of troubles and hardships in gathering forces and suddenly fell ill. In his sick-bed, nobody was allowed to serve him and the pandit Krishnaram Nayabagish undertook the responsibility of treating and serving the king. Under his care, the king instead of being cured, began to show signs of stronger fever day by day. While at sick-bed, he accepted the priesthood of the pandit Krishnaram, gave him the administration of the Kamakhya temple and ordered his son Siva Singh also to accept the priesthood of this pandit. There was great anxiety in the kingdom and in spite of the prayers of his subjects for his recovery, the king closed his eyes for the last time in the year 1714, leaving his strong desire of the conquest of Bengal unfulfilled and his mourning subjects behind. Some chroniclers say that the pandit poisoned the king to take revenge of his former insult and others say that the king had strong faith in him and liked to die under his care; but opinions differ.

THE NEW PHYSICS

BY SIR C. V. RAMAN

AN Irishman, if there be one amongst my listeners* might feel inclined to ask me the question: How old is this New Physics about which you are talking to us? My answer would be: Exactly forty-three years old and still going strong. The world heard the new baby crying when it was born—I am referring to the enormous excitement created by the announcement of a German Physicist, Rontgen, that he had discovered a new kind of radiation with amazing properties, which we now call by his name, or alternatively as X-rays.

This experimental discovery by Rontgen had far-reaching effects. It opened the eyes of men of science to the fact that the courageous and patient investigator could hope to discover new phenomena in Nature undreamt of in the natural philosophy of the nineteenth century. Rontgen's discovery, in fact, was the beginning of the New Physics. The stimulus to novel types of experimentation which it gave resulted in a whole new crop of discoveries, many of which in their intrinsic interest and importance are not surpassed even by Rontgen's own magnificent finding. During the past four decades, the spate of new phenomena has flowed into physics with undiminished vigour, so much so that it is becoming increasingly difficult even for a man of science, excepting of course, the discoverer himself, to feel thrilled by a new physical phenomenon.

I will not fatigue you by a recital of the names of even the most outstanding investigators who have built up the physics of to-day. Their names and their discoveries are known to every student of physics. They are claimed as nationals by one or another of many different countries. Yet in the truest sense, they belong to the whole world and to the International Brotherhood of Science. I will permit myself to mention only two of the greatest pioneers. Amongst the priceless memories that a man of science like myself treasures lifelong is that of personal contact with such leaders of science as the late Lord Rutherford and the late Madame Curie.

their contributions to the building of the New Physics have been most impressive, and their influence on their generation and on the progress of science almost incredibly great.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHERS

I would not be fair either to my listeners or to my subject if I conveyed the impression that the New Physics has been built up entirely by the work of experimenters. This is far from being the case. Indeed, the amazing progress of the New Physics has been due to no small extent to the courageous leadership and constant guidance given to experimenters by the theoretical physicists or natural philosophers who in their turn build on the foundations firmly laid by experimental discovery. I do not believe there is a single listener to my talk who has not heard of Einstein and his relativistic philosophy which forms an integral part of the framework of thought in the New Physics. Not all my listeners, however, might have heard of Professor Niels Bohr of Copenhagen. . . . But, in the view of many, including myself, he is the greatest natural philosopher of the day.

The work of Niels Bohr in building up a theory of atomic structure which has inspired a host of experimenters in their work is one of the greatest triumphs of the human mind. . . .

A NEW BASIS

You may well ask: What has the new Physics achieved? One has only to look back to the physics of my college days at Madras thirty years ago and to look at the physics of to-day to appreciate the difference. The old physics was successful chiefly in giving what might be called a macroscopic or large-scale description of natural phenomena, that is to say, a statement of observed facts regarding the properties of matter, heat, light, sound, electricity and magnetism. On the other hand, its attempts to interpret the observed facts in terms of atomic and molecular concepts was definitely a failure except in a severely restricted field. The reason for this failure was that the old physics had practically no foundation on which to build. This foundation has been supplied by the discovery of the ultimate sub-atomic

* A talk broadcast from the Madras Station.

units constituting matter and the laws of their interaction. The detailed explanation of all physical phenomena and of the physical properties of matter has in consequence become a practical proposition. A very great measure of success has been achieved in this respect in every one of the recognised divisions of the older physics. Whole new territories of phenomena, not contemplated by the older physics, have also been opened up and brought under the rule of the New Physics.

CHEMICAL PHYSICS

Not content with these triumphs, the New Physics has entered the field of Chemistry and has sought to find an explanation in terms of sub-atomic processes for the well-ascertained facts of Chemistry regarding the reactions of atoms with each other to form molecules. Such a task could scarcely be considered superfluous. For, one of the essential facts of chemistry is that the strength of chemical combination and the energy required for or released by such combination is very different in different cases, and it is only in physical theories that it is possible to find any real understanding of these facts and, indeed, also of the real nature of chemical combination. The success of the new science known as Chemical Physics has transcended all expectations. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to hope that before many years pass, theoretical chemistry will come to be regarded as a branch of mathematics.

What has been the secret of all these amazing successes? Simply stated, it is the elimination of the Newtonian mechanical laws from the field of atomic and molecular physics and their substitution by other and new laws governing sub-atomic processes. It would take me too long to go deeply into the theoretical aspects of the New Physics. It must suffice here to say that they involve revolutionary change in our outlook regarding natural phenomena and their explanation. The present generation has not yet had time to fully understand and absorb the new theoretical outlook; but the latter has abundantly justified itself by its success in handling problems of the most varied nature. To the next generation, the new modes of thinking now required in our science will doubtless become quite habitual.

THE NEWER ALCHEMY

I must not neglect to make at least a brief mention of the most recent spectacular triumphs of the new physics, namely, the creation of new chemical elements by artificial transmutation of known elements. Lord Rutherford's last little book on the Newer Alchemy gives a very clear and fascinating account of this newest physics. The remarkable advances described therein were not due to any accidental discovery but were the natural result of the intensive study of the atom and of its structure which is characteristic of the New Physics. The chemical identity of an element is determined by the nucleus of the atom, that is by the very small and dense core of the atom. By bombarding the atom by other swift atomic projectiles, transformations may be induced. In many cases the new elements produced are radio-active, in other words, they give off electric particles and spontaneously transform into other elements in the manner of the naturally radio-active elements.

For the production of the swift atomic projectiles, used in these new syntheses of the chemical elements, amazing new types of apparatus have been developed in which figure gigantic electro-magnets or electro-static generators or electric transformers. By means of special ingenious devices these are used to speed up the atomic projectiles to very high velocities corresponding to several millions of volts. On the occasion of my visit to the Paris International Conference of Science last year and in my subsequent tour I was privileged to see several of these installations in operation. In their boldness and novelty of conception, and in the purposes to which these are used, these contrivances fittingly represent the spirit of the New Physics.

The vast body of new knowledge which the New Physics has created naturally represents a greatly increased power to use the forces of Nature for good and for evil. In a hundred different ways, Physics has during this period of advance influenced human life and activity. But I would not have you forget that the greatest leaders of our science have always been those whose aim has been the promotion of knowledge for its own sake.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Problem of Federation

SPEECHES and discussions on India's future have been abundant in recent weeks and though official pronouncements have been non-committal, there can be no doubt that Federation is engaging the attention of responsible statesmen in England. At such a time the *Manchester Guardian*, true to its traditions of Liberalism, has come out with a helpful contribution in the shape of an appeal to the British Government urging a change of attitude on the question of Indian Federation. In substance the Indian problem, says the *Guardian*,

consists in assessing the strength of Indian nationalism, deciding what steps are necessary to appease the nationalist demands and calculating the results of failure to meet these demands.

And then it goes on to make an illuminating comment:

If it has been possible for the Members of Parliament to foresee the skill with which the Provincial Ministries have functioned, they might have drafted Federation differently. It need not necessarily involve at present asking Parliament to redraft the Act; much can be done by way of establishing customs and precedents, but Indian leaders, above all the Congress leaders, must be seriously consulted. Lord Zetland held out hopes of nothing more than that their comments could be listened to. That is not enough. The British authorities should realize that strategically Indian nationalism is already on terms at least of equality with Britain and that it would be folly not to plan India's future on the basis of that equality.

The Army Agreement

Seldom has the Central Assembly witnessed a more significant debate than the one that Mr. Satyamurti initiated as a protest against the Government of India's acquiescence in the new decision to increase the pay and allowances of British troops in India. Mr. Satyamurti's powerful indictment of White Hall's arbitrary action was strongly supported by the House. The Muslim Leaguers were one with the Congress in this matter and the Europeans

were neutral. The result was the defeat of the Government by a margin of 88 votes.

The details of the new agreement between White Hall and Simla have not been made public. But India stands to lose about a crore and a half, or roughly the amount that five years ago she obtained as England's contribution to defence expenditure. But in fairness it must be added that the censure was really directed against the Secretary of State, for every one recognised that both the Hon. Sir James Grigg and H. E. Sir Robert Cassels had put up a strenuous fight on behalf of India but had lost all along the line.

The Temple-Entry Bill

It will be remembered that in the last Session of the Legislative Assembly, the Premier stated that a Bill was being prepared and would be introduced in the Assembly in November to provide for Temple-Entry in Malabar district. The text of the Bill is now published. We welcome its early publication as it gives ample time for all interests concerned to study its provisions and express their considered opinion on it.

It is a permissive legislation designed "to remove the disabilities of certain classes of Hindus in regard to entry into temples in the district of Malabar".

It cannot be said that the Bill has been suddenly sprung upon the people. For ever since the Travancore Proclamation the position of the temples in the adjoining British area has been engaging public attention. In their Statement of Objects and Reasons Government observe that in view of the growing volume of demand for the right of temple-entry for all Hindus, there is no justification in resisting this demand, and in view of the close affinity between the peoples of Travancore where the temples have been thrown open to all Hindus and the people of Malabar, such a reform can be first brought in that district more easily.

The Bose-Jinnah Correspondence

The correspondence between Mr. Subash Chandra Bose and Mr. Jinnah takes us no farther than the Gandhi-Jinnah-Nehru correspondence. Once again Mr. Jinnah is more concerned to stress the "representative" character of the League than to come to grips with the vexed question of Hindu-Muslim Settlement.

The Congress had refused to agree to the League's claim as the representative organisation of Muslims on the grounds that there are Muslim organisations functioning independently of the Muslim League, some of them staunch supporters of the League, and individual Congressmen with no inconsiderable influence in the country; and the Frontier Province was overwhelmingly Muslim and solidly with the Congress.

While repudiating the League's formula that the Congress is a Hindu organisation, the Congress is prepared to negotiate without insisting on the League's recognition of its claims to represent all India. Mr. Bose has made this clear in his letter to Mr. Jinnah in which he lucidly expounds the Congress policy. He points out that, while the Congress cannot give up the claim that it is a non-communal organisation, "the Working Committee asks for no recognition (of this claim) from the League Council"; all that it asks is that the League should come to an understanding with the Congress "in order that we might achieve national solidarity and whole-heartedly work for our realising our common destiny". One would think that this is a fair basis for negotiation but Mr. Jinnah's obsession that the prestige of the League is at stake has cut the ground from underneath the feet and revealed the futility of any negotiations at this stage.

Ceylon Reforms

The Donoughmore Constitution which has been on trial for seven years in Ceylon has broken down. Obviously the London County Council system so useful in Municipal Government cannot be applied to the working of a political constitution of the size of the Ceylon Legislature. Cabinet Government in any Constitution demands that all the Ministers together should be able to look to a clear majority in the House. Under the present Constitution each Minister is apparently responsible to a separate group of legislators and no Minister is responsible to the whole House. That has led to more confusion than most other features of a scheme which has no parallel in the Empire's constitutions.

It is, therefore, satisfactory to learn that Sir Andrew Caldecott, Ceylon's Governor, has sent a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, embodying material alterations in the Island's Constitution.

Indications are that the committee system of Government, a novel feature of the constitution introduced by the Donoughmore Commissioners, will lose its present character.

Ministers may not in future be elected by the Executive Committee but the selection and nomination of Ministers may be left to the Governor acting on the advice of a leader or Chief Minister whom he will first invite to head the Government.

We learn that several members of the State Council and responsible leaders of the Ceylon National Congress and other Labour leaders will be in London about the time the Governor's Despatch is examined by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Colonial Secretary. Perhaps, Mr. MacDonald will have the benefit of consultation with them so as to devise such changes in the Constitution as to make it acceptable to the people.

Dr. Ambedkar on Federation

While the Congress Party are divided in their view as to how they should combat the coming Federation—either by accepting it and later trying to remove its imperfections or by totally rejecting the scheme itself—Dr. Ambedkar is firmly convinced that its inherent defects cannot be got rid of until the scheme itself is scrapped. Then he goes on to define the attitude of uncompromising opposition of his own Party—the Independent Labour Party—of which he is leader.

The Independent Labour Party will never be a party to bartering away the country's freedom to grow to full nationhood for the sake of a mess of pottage, by however a big name it may be called. In the process of evolution, federation may be inevitable, but certainly it is not the federation which is envisaged in the new constitution.

The federal constitution is wrong in its conception and wrong in its basis. The introduction of the federal scheme in the Government of India Act deserves, in the opinion of the Independent Labour Party, to be resisted by every possible means. The federal part of the new constitution must be shunned as a deadly poison. Should the Congress decide by a majority to fight the new constitution, it shall have the full support of the Independent Labour Party.

In case, however, the majority in the Congress be swayed by the reactionary element and Mr. Subash Chandra Bose decides to stick to his guns, the Independent Labour Party will join hands with his party. Our party will co-operate with the party or the combination of parties undertaking to fight the federal part of the new constitution in every possible way.

The Bengal Ministry

Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Cabinet have survived the onslaught of the Opposition. The no confidence motion against the Bengal Ministry failed by a narrow majority. But the result is one on which the Ministry may not congratulate itself. For it is apparent that but for the Europeans who voted *en bloc* for the present Ministry, Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Cabinet would have been turned out.

As a writer in the *Statesman* points out:

For a Ministry to be dependent on the European bloc for its very existence is a sad commentary on the working of Provincial autonomy in Bengal.

Sir Mirza's Convocation Address

It was no mere academic address that Sir Mirza Ismail delivered at the Convocation of the Madras University. Sir Mirza took the opportunity to express himself unequivocally on some of the pressing problems of the day in India. He pleaded for closer contact between the University and life around and suggested the establishment of University Settlements on the model of those found in the poorer districts of London. The object is to bring undergraduates into intimate touch with the people and incidentally give a sense of reality to the teaching of important branches of study such as economics, sociology, politics and statistics. While he stressed on the part that Universities should play in solving the problem of unemployment, he added that that does not mean that the entire responsibility is theirs

In a country like ours, which is as one-sided in its occupational pattern as in its educational system, there is a great need for the Government to plan the development of trade and industry and to find fresh avenues of employment for the rising generation.

Dealing with suggestions, which he regarded as unwise, to restrict admission to the Universities and even high schools, Sir Mirza said:

The country is by no means oversupplied with educated persons and education in any stage has not reached saturation point, if indeed such a point can ever be reached in a community. But there is urgent need of a planned distribution of numbers in successive stages between different courses, some of which will lead to a degree in arts and science and the rest directly to one specific occupation or another.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Russo-Japanese Agreement

FRONTIER incidents have been a perennial source of danger, and the Soviet-Japanese fighting on the Manchukuo and Korea frontiers threatened to develop into a war of some magnitude. Nay more. A local affair, if allowed to grow unchecked, might lead to a mighty war of nations. For Russo-Japanese feelings have not been altogether amiable, particularly after the Anti-Comintern Pact. The facts of the recent incident may be briefly told in the words of the *Statesman* :

On July 11, a detachment of 40 Soviet frontier guards occupied the hill of Changkufeng and began to fortify it; the Japanese declared that the hill was Manchukuo territory and dominated the important Korean port of Rashin. As one commentator said if the hill had much strategic importance it was difficult to see why its ownership had not been settled before. In any case the Soviet declared that Changkufeng was their territory quoting the Treaty of Hunchun (1869) between Russia and China and the map signed by the plenipotentiaries. Tokyo retorted that no one had seen this map, which was in the Soviet archives, a retort whose effect was rather spoilt by statements of English experts that the hill was well known to be the Russian territory.

Whoever may be responsible for starting the incident it is clear, says the same writer, that the Japanese instituted the first attack on a large scale. They had reinforced their frontier garrison and withdrawn a considerable number of men even from the fighting line in China to be ready at hand for any emergency on the Frontier. This was not unobserved by the Soviet Command.

By August 3, the Soviet frontier guard, a special force, had been relieved by regular troops of the Red Army of the Far East, and an energetic attempt was made to regain Changkufeng and Shansuoping, from which the guards had been easily ejected by the Japanese troops.

Almost at once the Japs proposed a truce and the establishment of a neutral zone pending the appointment of a boundary commission. But Japanese troops continued to flow in uninterruptedly and

there was every evidence of preparations for large scale operations. So the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs regarded the plea for truce as mere playing for time and M. Litvinov was somewhat short with the Japanese Command and demanded "complete withdrawal from Soviet territory before he could consent to negotiate".

A dead-lock followed. But Japanese statesmen realised the strength behind the tone of the Soviet refusal. They have enough trouble in China to court for further trouble in the Frontier. They wisely acquiesced and thus averted a war the consequences of which no man can foresee.

According to the terms of the armistice, the fighting on the Manchukuo frontier was to cease at noon on Thursday the 11th August, the troops remaining in the positions occupied by them on the midnight of August 10. A commission consisting of two representatives of the Soviet and two representatives of Japan and Manchukuo will carry out the demarcation of the frontier.

Lord Runciman's Mission

Lord Runciman has undertaken a very delicate and difficult task in attempting to mediate between the Sudeten Germans and the Czech Government. He has gone to Prague at a time when the tension between Germany and Czechoslovakia is greatest. His mission, namely, the promotion of a settlement of the Sudeten German question and with that a *rapprochement* between Prague and Berlin, is recognised as being at once delicate and difficult. It is, of course, not obligatory on the part either of the Germans or the Czechs to accept his report. But Lord Runciman goes out with the best credentials, and the best wishes of all lovers of peace go with him. His tact and judgment in this difficult task will go a great way in settling a question of outstanding importance in present-day Europe—a question, too, that is not without its lessons for India where the problem of the Minorities is no less acute.

The Spanish War

Two big battles have been progressing with some vehemence in Spain. On the Estremadura front the insurgents are pressing forward after the capture of Cabeza del Buey, the centre of a huge area producing olive oil, cattle and cereals and containing rich mercury deposits, and are now battling on the borders of Ciudad Real, one of the eight Provinces of Spain in which they have not set foot.

South of the Ebro River the operations, after three weeks' bitter warfare, resemble a continuous pitched battle with the insurgents exercising steady pressure against waves of Republican counter-attacks.

The toughest engagement on this front is being waged in the hills south-east of Gandesa which, with sand-bagged streets and shell-pitted houses, has defied the Republicans' most desperate attempts at capture.

The Totalitarian State

"A totalitarian state," writes Dr. Gilbert Murray in his latest publication, 'Liberty and Civilisation', "is a permanent dictatorship, a state in which the war neurosis is permanently established. The Government of such a state is afraid of all thought, of all knowledge, of all that distracts the mind from the main pre-occupation—War. The whole range of knowledge must be censored, garbled and suppressed. . . . It is probably this permanent all-embracing denial of freedom more than the accompanying acts of brutality, which constitutes the deepest and most enduring wrong inflicted by these dictatorships on human spirit."

England and Egypt

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, writing in a recent number of *World Review*, observes that if the British Empire is saved and survives the impending struggle, she "will be saved only with the help of those very elements which have appeared most anxious to disrupt it in the past". Proceeding, he observes:

"Its salvation will depend upon the extent to which it has passed on its ideas of personal freedom and democracy to its subject people or to those other peoples such as the Chinese and the Egyptians which it has sought by war or diplomacy to bring into virtual subjection. Not so many years ago the British Government exiled the veteran leader of Egyptian nationalism, Zaglul Pasha, although Egypt was nominally an independent State. Now this acute nationalism is becoming rather a safeguard than a threat to the British Empire, for the Wafd Party is less likely than any other in Egypt to make an agreement with Italian Fascism."

How has this transformation been brought out? By the concession of real power of self-Government to Egyptians.

Dr. Atul on Non-Intervention

Dr. Atul, who is leading the Congress Ambulance Unit to China, on his return from Europe, gave his impressions of the Spanish War to a Press interviewer in Bombay. He declared:

If the Republican Government ultimately loses the war in Spain, the Non-Intervention Committee will be responsible for it. If there had been no Non-Intervention Committee, the Republicans would have won the war long ago.

He spoke highly of the morale of the Republican Army and their determination to see this thing through.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

July 30. Mr. R. S. Shukla and his colleagues are sworn in as Ministers, in C.P.

July 31. Soviet-Jap fighting in the Soviet-Manchukuo border is reported.

Aug. 1. Mr. J. H. Carrett, I.C.S., assumes charge as Sind's Acting Governor.

Aug. 2. Dr. Atal, leader of the Congress Ambulance Unit, arrives in Bombay.

Aug. 3. France and Greater Germany enter into an Economic Agreement.

Aug. 4. Prague apologises to Germany for Czech planes crossing the Frontier.

Aug. 5. Japan makes proposals for truce with the Soviet.

Aug. 6. Rebels in Spain succeed in occupying the right bank of the Ebro River.

Aug. 7. The Select Committee Report on the Motor Vehicle Bill is published.

Aug. 8. The Summer Session of the Legislative Assembly meets in Simla.

Aug. 9. Japanese bomb Canton.

Aug. 10. Assembly discusses the adjournment motion on the new defence charges.



H. E. G. T. BOAG

Aug. 11. Mr. G. T. Boag takes charge of the Government of Orissa at Cuttack.

Aug. 12. Two no-confidence motions against the Bengal Ministry are defeated.

Aug. 18. Soviet-Japanese hostilities cease.

Aug. 14. The Liner "Queen Mary" establishes a new Atlantic record.

Aug. 15. Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie moves the Criminal Law Bill in the Central Assembly.

Aug. 16. Lord Lothian, arriving at Karachi, advises India to accept Federation.

Aug. 17. The Bose-Jinnah correspondence is released.

Aug. 18. Lord Runciman meets Herr Henlein, Leader of the Sudeten Party.

Aug. 19. The Japanese capture Puchow, an important military base.

Aug. 20. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit leaves for England by air.

Aug. 21. Train tragedy near Ayyalur S. I. R. results in heavy casualties.

Aug. 22. The Japanese military headquarters are shifted to Nanking.

Aug. 23. Hungary and the Little Entente sign a non-aggression pact.

Aug. 24. Central Assembly passes the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Aug. 25. Gen. Smuts declares in S. A. Assembly that S. Africa would stand by Great Britain in the event of a war.

Aug. 26. Sind Congress Committee attempts an agreement with the Ministry.

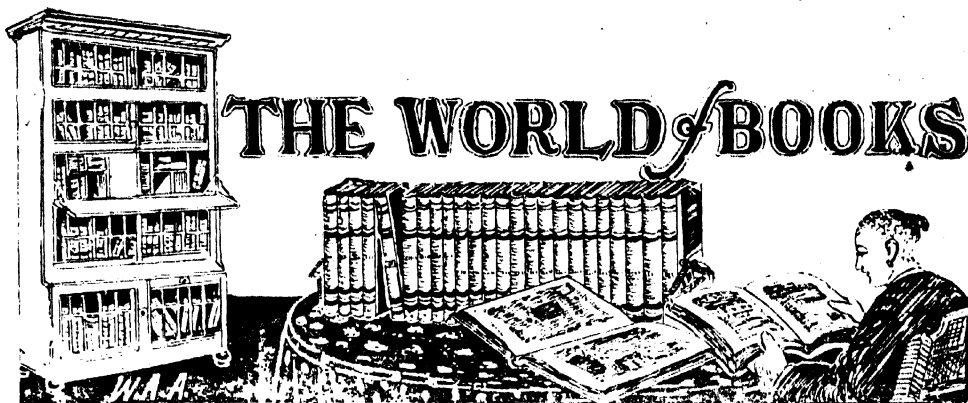
Aug. 27. Bombay Students' Conference ends in a fiasco.

Aug. 28. Mr. G. T. Boag, Governor of Orissa, arrives at Cuttack for opening the Session of the Legislative Assembly.

Aug. 29. Dr. Satyapal resigns the presidency of the Punjab Congress Committee.

Aug. 30. Rai Bahadur H. B. Barua is elected President of the Assam Council.

Aug. 31. Madras Government publishes the text of the Malabar Temple Entry Bill.



THOSE WERE THE DAYS. By Osbert Sitwell. Macmillan. 8sh. 6d.

This rich and warm, vital and mature work of Mr. Sitwell is a relief from much that is thrown at the public today. Written with unusual restraint in simple and precise prose, it is an intensely exciting and readable book full of interesting facts; and places, more definitely than ever before, Mr. Sitwell among those who have used the novel to re-construct their vision of a society in transition—the society in which they themselves lived and observed.

The background of the novel is the post-War middle class of England and the story begins in that watering place on the Yorkshire coast which the author has already celebrated. The main trend is held by a married couple Joanna and Jocelyn Mompesson. Their progress is, at intervals, very closely and interestingly studied from Joanna Free-Martin's girlhood, school days, and marriage entered simply to escape bondage to a tyrannous aunt, and right through all their transformations, adaptations, subterfuges, humiliations and triumphs till the present day. Besides these two principal actors, marvellous old ladies (like Miss Gertrude and Miss Vera Marmaduke) abound, parrot like in their splendour and their malice. They bark,

shriek, and cackle at the degeneracy of the younger generation—that generation which Mr. Sitwell proceeds to show us—caught in the fantasies of the war and the subsequent fantasies of the post-war, with all their mad harlequinade of literacy and artistic London.

One finds in different places, approximations to the good humoured satire of Trollope, particularly where the interfering and ubiquitous Free-Martins are concerned, to the lyrical evocations of Mrs. Woolf, and Marcel Proust, to the intellectual acidity of Mr. Huxley, to the angry, rather farcical caricature of Mr. W. Lewis, but the strongest impression left after reading through this work conceived in all artistic seriousness, is that the novelist in Mr. Sitwell is at his best when not approximating.

HINDU SCRIPTURES. Edited by Dr. Nicol Macnicol. Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent & Sons, London.

A collection of representative writings from the main Hindu scriptures. They include English translations of 80 hymns from the Rig Vedas, 5 of the significant Upanishads and Dr. Barnett's well known rendering of the Gita. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his Foreword justly observes that a publication likely to provide an insight into the inspiration and development of one of the oldest of the living religions should be welcomed by all intelligent and impartial readers,

KANTHAPURA. By Raja Row. Allen and Unwin. Rs. 5-10. G. A. Natesan & Co.

This is an old woman's tale of the Civil Disobedience movement in India led by Gandhiji, in its reactions on the history of little Kanthapura and its devoted and patriotic servant Moorthy. There is a great deal of vitality in the story and vivacity in the telling. But it leaves behind an acute sense of discomfort and dissatisfaction. There are many irritating imperfections afflicting the book, some of them resulting from the author's deficient constructive power and some from the author's clumsy handling of the English language. The occasional leisureliness of the movement of the story is wearisome. But it is an excellent first novel which shows that the author does not lack a lively imagination or the capacity to give a convincing impression of real life. The present reviewer looks forward very keenly to the author's next novel.

ELEMENTS OF CIVICS. By Prof. H. S. Chatterji. H. Chatterji & Co., Calcutta.

This is a useful manual for college students dealing with general political and civic concepts and institutions and at the same time giving a fairly full account of the Indian administration : Central, Provincial and Local, and giving as appendices accounts of the growth of the Indian Press, of the freedom movement in the country, the principal constitutional documents and the J. P. C. report. The second part of the book deals with the elements of Economics and with the chief economic problems with which we are faced. The style and analytical treatment are commendable.

NIGGER LOVER. By Doris Garland Anderson. Published by L. N. Fowler & Co. Ltd., London. 7s. 6d. net.

This is an illuminating story of a personal experiment told in vital and vigorous language. The authoress, an English lady with a considerable social standing, met Garland Anderson, the son of a negro slave who had risen from being a bell-boy on a train to a renowned playwright and felt attracted to him in a powerful way. Their association began at the Mayfair tea-talks, developed through publication of books and a lecturing tour as Lecturer and Secretary in America, and culminated in a most happy and perfect marriage. The authoress has immense faith in her husband and believes in his message to Humanity—the greatest thing one can do for World Peace is to refuse to entertain any prejudice or hatred of any person, group or race. She holds that the colour problem all over the world is to be solved not by legislation but by a greater spiritual awakening on all sides.

SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM. 2 Vols. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Son, Madras. Rs. 8.

Lovers of Sanskrit literature should really feel very grateful to this firm for the great service they have been rendering by the publication of many of the Hindu scriptures. Following their handsome editions of their Ramayana and the Mahabharata, they have now brought out in two volumes the Srimad Bhagavata. The present publication in Devanagari Sanskrit is based on a number of manuscripts and is replete with different readings. We trust this venture will meet with financial success.

THE SIKH STUDIES. By Sardul Singh Caveeshar. Published by the National Publications, 1, Mission Road, Lahore.

The author here presents a kaleidoscopic view of the Sikh religion and thought; their life and activities, their aspirations and achievements. Born amidst a clash of ideas and cultures and civilisations, this virile and eclectic religion has a message of universal love and peace and self-sacrificial service to the modern world. Guru Nanak was pre-eminently a prophet of peace and unity. He was succeeded by Gurus of outstanding ability who have exercised a profound influence on people, specially in Northern India. The story of Guru Nanak's death, the conflicting claims of Hindus and Moslems to his body, the miraculous transformation of the body into flowers sweet and acceptable to all is symbolic of Sikhism. Love of God is living in God and service of mankind. The first section of the book deals with the religious precepts; the second, with social and political institutions; the third section contains short stories and poems illustrative of Sikh ideas.

SPIRITUAL TALKS. By the first Disciples of Sri Ramakrishna. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Re. 1-12.

An inspiring volume of discourses addressed to a select group of disciples and admirers. Couched in simple and direct language "they touch upon and illuminate many aspects of practical religion". The rare spiritual counsels collected in this book are of those given by Sri Ramakrishna's first disciples, the Holy Mother, and the Swamis Brahmananda Premananda, Turyananda, Shivananda and Saradananda. The book will be greatly appreciated by spiritual aspirants.

THE DIVINE LIFE: Its practice and realisation. By Swami Yatiswarananda.

Sri Ramkrishna Matt, Mylapore, Madras.

The author has well succeeded in his laudable attempt "to give a clear conception of the theory as well as the practice of spiritual life to seekers both in the East and the West". The great need for ethical culture has been stressed by means of choice selections from the different Sanskrit scriptures.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. Vol. 5, Nagpur Affairs 1781-1820., Edited by V. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B. Government Central Press, Bombay.

THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES. Vol. I. By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Second Edition. N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Co., 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

IN ENGLAND. By S. G. Dunn. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

WHEN THEY CAME BACK. By Roy Devereux. Cassell and Company Ltd., London.

MEHRU-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE. A. I. C. C., Allahabad.

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY. By Rammanhar Lohia. Published by A. I. C. C., Allahabad.

HINDUISM AND THE MODERN WORLD. By K. M. Panikkar. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

VICTORIA AND THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA. By Honoria Munoz. O. P. University of Santo Tomas Press, P. O. Box 147, Manila, P. I. (Philippine Islands.)

THE JOYFUL DELANEYS. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan & Co., London.

TWILIGHT IN INDIA. By M. V. V. K. Rangachari. (Pamphlet, 34 pages) Ranga & Co., Coonoor.

SPECIMENS OF SANSKRIT DRAMATIC POEMS. By V. Sriramulu, M.A., L.T., Narasaraopet.

SONGS FROM THE HEIGHTS. By Sanjiv Chaudhuri, M.A. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London.

INDIAN PROBLEMS IN MALAYA. By K. A. Neelakandha Aiyer. "The Indian" Office, Kuala Lumpur, F. M. S.

CO-ORDINATE SOLID GEOMETRY. By Robert J. T. Bell, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. Macmillan & Co., London.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

STATE BANK FOR HYDERABAD

An attempt is being made by influential business people in Hyderabad to establish a State Bank as early as possible, especially in view of the failure of certain banks recently on account of which Hyderabad too had suffered serious loss.

The idea of starting a Hyderabad State Bank has been under consideration for a long time and the Government last year invited Mr. Fitzpatrick of the Imperial Bank, London, to inquire into the local conditions and make recommendations. Mr. Fitzpatrick submitted his report which is under the consideration of Government.

A number of businessmen in Hyderabad, who feel the need for a well-organised State Bank in the city, have prepared a memorandum which will be presented to the President of the Executive Council.

PUBLIC WORKS REORGANISATION

H. E. H. the Nizam has in a *firman* issued last month extended the term of office of the Hon. Raja Rajayen Shamraj Rajwant Bahadur as Member for Public Works in the Executive Council by two years. During his membership, the Raja Sahab has reorganised the Public Works Department by decentralising the administration.

A scheme for a further reorganisation of the Government is now pending before the Government and the Raja's extension is an indication that Government are likely to proceed with the scheme.

NEW RESIDENT FOR HYDERABAD

Mr. C. H. Gidney of the Indian Political Service at present on leave has been selected for appointment as Resident at Hyderabad vice Sir Duncan Mackenzie granted leave from October next.

Mysore

A GREAT RULER

Unveiling the portrait of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore at the Municipal Choultry in Salem, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, said :

His Highness is well known and acknowledged as a most progressive and successful ruler. Many and great have been the improvements introduced into the State since His Highness ascended the Mysore Throne, 36 years ago. Chief among the visible improvements may be mentioned the beautification of the Cities of Mysore and Bangalore by measures of city planning and fine buildings, broad streets, picturesque avenues, and attractive parks, all of which are brilliantly lit at night. Another great development is the rapid establishment of manufacturing industries which are so necessary for the economic prosperity of the State. In these two respects particularly, the present Dewan of Mysore has given His Highness great assistance by his driving power and personal supervision and control. It was in His Highness's reign that the Cauvery river was dammed and a huge reservoir formed for purposes of irrigation and for establishing and increasing the electric lighting and power supplied to the great mining industry at the Kolar Gold Fields as well as to a considerable number of towns and villages in many parts of the State. Foundation has been laid for a grid system of electric power supply, which will eventually carry power over the entire State even to the remotest village for industries, lighting and pumping for irrigation. The new canal along the left bank of the Cauvery known as the Irwin Canal will, when extended to its full capacity, serve a very large tract of the country with irrigation facilities. It has already enabled Government to start the second largest sugar industry in India. The Krishnarajasagara Reservoir and Canal promise to give birth to many other similar agricultural and manufacturing industries.

Mysore University is doing invaluable work in higher education for the people, both of the State and of South India. The development of rural areas has not escaped the reforming hand of His Highness's Government.

These, you will agree, gentlemen, are great achievements. In many respects His Highness the Maharaja has been a model ruler. He holds lofty ideals of public duty and maintains a high standard of discipline in his entourage. His Highness is a fine sportsman and in social intercourse shows great geniality and charm. In the practice of private virtues, His Highness is without question an ideal ruler.

Baroda

WIRELESS IN BARODA

The rapidly increasing popularity of wireless broadcasting in Baroda is evident from the fact that 419 licenses for radio receiving sets were granted during 1986-87 as against 247 during the previous year. Of the new licenses 206 were for Baroda City and 218 for district towns. The fees realised totalled Rs. 4,500 as against Rs. 2,462 during the previous year. Broadcasting will be still more popular when an up-to-date broadcasting station is constructed for the State itself, for which a sum of Rs. 1½ lakhs has been sanctioned by His Highness' Government.

THE BANK OF BARODA

The net profit of the Bank of Baroda Ltd. for the half year ended 30th June 1988, subject to audit, including the sum of Rs. 68,505-9-2 brought forward amounts to Rs. 8,00,558-4-10. The Directors have resolved to declare an ad interim dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum free of income tax on the paid up capital which will absorb Rs. 1,50,000 and to carry forward the balance of Rs. 1,50,558-4-10 to the next account.

Jhalawar

UNTOUCHABILITY IN JHALAWAR

The ruler of Jhalawar is among those rulers who are out to eradicate untouchability. On the last Janmashtami day, His Highness took untouchables with him for Darshan in the State temples and declared that those temples were open to all Hindus. His Highness also expressed on another occasion his determination not to visit or to have any religious functions of his performed in temples from which a section of the Hindu society was kept out.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE FINANCES

Speaking at the conclusion of the general discussion of the budget, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, the Dewan, emphasised that the policy of the Government was not to hoard money for mere hoarding but to invest their funds in good interest-bearing reserves and reproductive schemes.

The experience of Mysore electric schemes and the Pykara hydro-electric scheme had shown it was wise policy to invest on such reproductive schemes of development. He was confident Travancore's experience of the Pallivasal hydro-electric scheme would be even more satisfactory and from the first year of its operation, they hoped to make a fairly good revenue from it. The Government similarly expected a good revenue from the ceramic factory, while the State transport scheme had proved itself one from which a return as high as 15 per cent. could be expected. In matters which were natural monopolies such as timber, electric power, etc., the policy of the Government was to run them as nationalised schemes.

TRAVANCORE BUDGET

Provision of Rs. 12,000 in the Travancore budget for the forthcoming Malabar year for starting prospecting work in respect of mica, graphite and limestone was agreed to by the Standing Finance Committee of the Travancore Legislature, which met on July 7.

The Committee also approved of the provision of Rs. 7,000 for a fish-curing yard at Varkala.

FINE ART AND IVORY WORKS

To promote the interests of the ivory-carving industry in Travancore, an association called the Travancore Fine Art and Ivory Works Association was inaugurated recently at the Mohini Fine Arts House, Trivandrum. Mr. T. Chidambara Ayyar presided over the function.

Mr. N. Velu Achari was elected President of the Association, Mr. M. K. Kuttan, Secretary and Mr. N. Paramaswaran, Treasurer.

Cochin

THE COCHIN BUDGET

Opening the Budget Session of the Reformed Cochin Legislative Council, Sir R. K. Shanmugham, the Dewan, explained the principal features of the budget. The revenue for the year is estimated at Rs. 104'87 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 101'47 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 8'40 lakhs. For 1118 (1987-88), a revenue of Rs. 100'58 lakhs and an expenditure of Rs. 98'77 lakhs were anticipated, but the revised estimates show a deficit of Rs. 2'71 lakhs. There was a shortage of Rs. 6'58 lakhs under Customs on account of the almost total disappearance of the import of foreign sugar into the port of Cochin. A super-tax on incomes is proposed in the budget for 1988-89. Provision is made for increased expenditure on rural development, medical relief and education, while economies have been effected in various other departments. Referring to industrial development in the State, the Dewan said: "I am not a believer in the State's subsidising any industry. . . . While Government would be prepared to help in the initial stages with advice, grant of facilities and grant of credits at cheap rates, an industrial concern must depend mainly in all its stages on itself."

Gondal

WELLS FOR HARIJANS

His Highness the Maharaja of Gondal has decided that the gold against which he was weighed during his Golden Jubilee Celebrations, of the value of nearly 2 lakhs should be utilised for the construction of new wells. Definite sums have been allocated to various districts and provision has been made for wells for Harijans.

Indore

INDORE: A CUSTOMS MARKET

The Holkar Government has tightened the Customs regulations in respect of sugar. A locality in Indore town named Siyaganj is the biggest Customs free market in Central India. No duty of any kind is charged on goods imported to this market, so that the dealers develop All-India business by exporting goods on a wholesale basis to other parts of India, making Indore as the main distributing centre of Central India. About 70,000 maunds of sugar are exported from Indore to other parts of the country.

Lately, organised hands of smugglers have grown up who smuggle sugar from this market to non-free areas of Indore town. Special police are appointed to prevent this smuggling but without success.

A new arrangement has now been made by which only licensed dealers will be allowed to import sugar into Siyaganj Customs free. This sugar will be deposited in a licensed warehouse and from there it will be sold either to those who show a duty-paid pass for the quantity demanded, or it will be re-exported to other parts of the country.

Kolhapur

PANCHAYATS IN KOLHAPUR

As a result of the representation made on behalf of the Ilakha Panchayats, the Prime Minister is understood to have stated that in the course of the next four or five years, the Panchayat will be freed from its payments to the Kolhapur Durbar. The Prime Minister has also agreed to cancel the payment by the Panchayat of Rs. 1,50,000 being the amount of the salaries of the sanadi sepoys serving in village schools.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

INDIAN FRANCHISE

A Round Table Conference in South Africa on the question of franchise for Indians is one of the important proposals which the new Agent-General, Mr. Rama Rau, is taking up. Support to the proposal has also come from Senator E. H. Brooks who at a public meeting declared: "Time was now ripe, with Bantu representation in Parliament, to begin discussion with the Government for the Indian franchise."

In this connection a statement has also been made by the President of the Natal Indian Congress repudiating the rumour that the Natal Indian Congress was in favour of a non-European front. The object was not a united front of non-Europeans against Europeans, but a united front of all sections of South African nation including Europeans based on goodwill. The supporters of the movement have, however, stated that at present the trend of the Union Government legislation discriminating between Europeans and non-Europeans contained the danger of non-European sections combining to protect their common interests.

INDIAN LABOUR IN SUGAR ESTATES

A strong criticism of housing conditions of Indians on certain sugar estates in South Africa is contained in the report of the Sub-Committee of the National Executive of the South African Trade and Labour Congress, which is a purely European body. The Report says

that it has been proved that housing conditions on certain sugar estates are deplorable. The rooms occupied are shockingly overcrowded with no windows, but large holes in roofs and walls. Most of the structures are made of corrugate iron sheets, which are mostly corroded. Sanitary conditions are appalling. In one estate, no water tubes are laid and people had to obtain their water supply from wells for cooking, cleaning, etc. The whole position is too filthy and deplorable to be described in writing.

Referring to the conditions of work, the

Report says,

juveniles commence work from the ages of 12, starting with five shillings a month. Attendance at schools, which are housed in shacks, is irregular, because no compulsion is used. On the estate, out of 300 children of school-going age only 100 attended the school intermittently. The average wage of an adult is two pounds a month.

The Sub-Committee which considered the Report, says:

Acting on the Report, your Sub-Committee deplores the fact that such tragic conditions should exist in one of the Union's largest industry and recommends that the Government should be requested to appoint a Commission to enquire into the general health conditions prevailing on sugar estates. Secondly, the Wages Board should be asked to investigate the wages and working conditions of employees in sugar estates with a view to wage determination being made. Thirdly, child labour should be abolished and, lastly, sugar-cane employees should be allowed to organise themselves into trade unions.

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, in an interview at Bangalore, dwelt upon the Indian overseas problems. Speaking of the condition of Indian labourers in Fiji, Rev. Andrews said that

the main problem is the land-lease system now in vogue. When the Fijians became, as it were, the wards of Queen Victoria, they were made perpetual owners of the soil, not as individuals but under a collective tribal system. But when Indians were indentured to the European-owned sugar estates, one of the conditions of indenture was that at the conclusion of their term of service they would have rights in Fiji no whit inferior to those of any other race.

That was definitely a condition of their going out. When, therefore, Indians who were drafted to Fiji began to be free of their indentures, they obtained land on short leases from the Fijians, paying rent to tribal chiefs. Indenture was also abolished in 1920 and already a great number of leases are nearing expiry. The consequence is that the Indian farmer who had originally taken scrub land and has since developed it into prosperous sugar-cane land, is rightly asking why he should now lose the value of work done in the best twenty years of his life.

The solution, I think, lies in renewing the leases to those who have proved themselves to be good and reliable farmers. It is certainly inequitable that they should be dispossessed in favour of Fijians, who have never done a hand's turn to improve the land and have been content to collect their rents in good season or bad.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Refugees from Burma are coming down to Madras in batches of hundred. Most of them are in a state of destitution. Many of them, we are told, saw their kith and kin butchered in cold blood by the rowdy elements in Rangoon and escaped with what little of their belongings they could save from pillage and arson. Most of the victims are Indian Muslims. In the interior of Burma, Indians seem to have fared no better. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, voiced the feeling of millions in this country when he said:

We cherish feelings of friendship, cordiality and esteem for Burma and her culture and civilisation, with which we have so much in common. We also feel that Burma must have her freedom just as India must. But we expect our Burman friends to do justice to the Indian minority.

In this connection, the Madras Legislative Assembly has unanimously passed a resolution, sponsored by Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, recommending to the Government to represent to the Burma Government to take adequate steps to restore peace and tranquillity and safeguard the lives of Indians in Burma.

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

It is learnt that for the second year six candidates have been selected by the Malayan Committee for the two scholarships tenable in India at the Annamalai University for Indians in Malaya. The scholarships were sponsored by the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar during his visit to Malaya to inquire into labour conditions there. Two candidates will be chosen and sent here from the six selected by the Malayan Government.

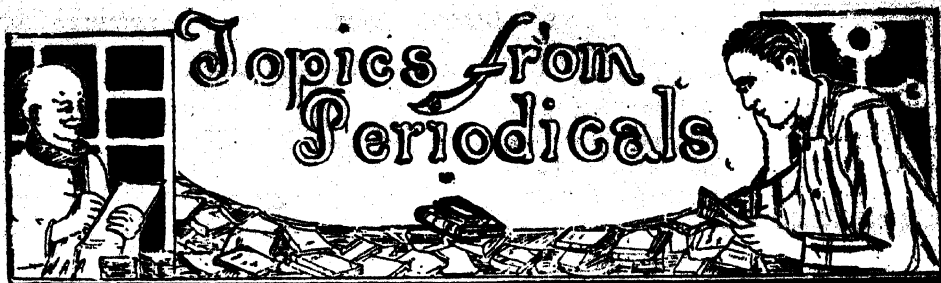
East and Central Africa

RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

"The South African Indian Congress," says Mr. C. F. Andrews in a statement issued to the Press, "has very rightly called the attention of the Indian public to the Royal Commission which is now engaged in an investigation of all problems connected with Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Among the questions which will be decided, two will vitally affect Indian interests. These are: (1) whether these three colonial areas shall be united together in future and form one dominion similar to that of South Africa; and (2) whether the Indians will be entirely excluded from them as immigrants.

At the present time there is already in existence a very severe restriction on Indian immigration. Only a very few are allowed to enter. The total number of Indians in these large areas of Africa hardly comes to over 3,500 persons in all. But while this restriction has been accepted in the past and Indians in larger numbers have never wished hitherto to enter these areas, we cannot be certain about the future. We must not on any account let our case go by default in the same way that it has already been abandoned in the colder region of South Africa. The Europeans in these colonies are very few in number as contrasted with the African population, and for Africa's sake as well as for India's sake we must protest against this vast portion of tropical and semi-tropical Africa being put under the sole dominion of the Europeans. For if it once becomes a dominion, a small number of Europeans will then have the power given to them of prohibiting immigration and also of taking away all franchise rights from any who are not Europeans.

While the Royal Commission is making its enquiries, it is vitally important that the Indian case for an open door should be put before it. This should be done by the Government of India and also by the most prominent public bodies, especially those in Bombay. The area from which Indians may be entirely excluded, if no steps are taken to the contrary, is over one million square miles.



PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRIALISATION

The *Modern Review* for August contains a striking article from the pen of Dr. Megnath Saha. The main contention of his article is that, if a human community fails to take advantage of the newest technique for industrial production, it has no chance of maintaining its independence or individuality in the struggle with communities armed with superior technique. If we analyse the wide-spread public sentiment for better living, what do we find?

Everybody of course wants his food supply to be insured, but this is the least part of his demands. He wants to be better clothed and better housed; wants to get a better education for himself and his family more rest from work, freedom from drudgery and greater enjoyment of life. Analysing this sentiment, we find that if these needs are to be satisfied, the quantity of industrial products has to be increased ten to twenty times its present level; all these works have to be organised, and a large proportion of the village population is to be diverted from the task of food-raising to industrial work. In fact, the only way to improve the villages is by drafting more villagers into cities, and by creating a larger number of cities based on industrial work.

The above gives the argument for large scale industrialisation in a nutshell. But, asks the writer, what is exactly meant by large scale industrialisation and how to achieve it?

The technique used by the most advanced countries of the world at the present time is so complex that it is very wrong to classify it as the continuation of the primitive Iron Age culture. It constitutes entirely a new phase in culture, distinguished not only by a new system of industrial production, but also by a new philosophy of human life. This new age has been variously called the neo-technique age in contradistinction to the paleo-technique age which has passed off and the change is sometimes termed as the Third Revolution (Gordon Childe) of which the Industrial Revolution of the last century was only the precursor. But it is better to call the present one as the age of science, because human activity in the present

age springs from the conviction, that by the application of science we can attain a much better standard of living and in general to a much better world. The idea of progress which is the driving force in the modern age was absent even a century ago, when religious pedantry in every country was painting a dismal future, e.g., a collapse of the world or some catastrophe which would engulf human society. To have a comprehensive idea of the New Age, we should look at the kind of life pursued in a country like U. S. A., England or Germany and the present system of industrial production in these countries.

Dr. Megnath Saha personally believes that neither measures of rural uplift, nor introduction and encouragement of cottage industries, nor abolition of zamindars or money lenders will make any substantial improvement in the lot of the rural population of India.

Everybody knows that India is an agricultural country. According to the Census Report of 1931, 66 per cent. of the Indian population is engaged in agriculture, i.e., are peasants, i.e., they have to spend their life in raising food. Of the remaining 34 per cent., only 11 per cent. are city dwellers, i.e., engaged in industries and other professions. The remaining 23 per cent. are either village artisans, merchants, landlords, or belong to other professions mainly dependent on a rural economy.

Every one will admit that the distribution of the population according to professions reveals a very unhealthy state of affairs.

In conclusion, the learned writer observes that the task before India is to organise her industrial life according to the neo-technical method of production.

Unlike certain other countries, India taken as a whole (not in parts) is one of the three countries (others being Russia and the U. S. A.) which possess all the resources in power, minerals and agricultural land which can enable her to pass to the neo-technical method of industrial production. Unless this is done, India can never solve her problems of poverty and unemployment and can never be assured of a bright future. But all human actions spring from conviction, and if we continue to look back with wistful eyes to the supposed charms of older methods of living, we can never decide upon the line of action which alone can lead to the fulfilment of our national desire.

FEDERATION

Prof. M. Rathnaswamy, writing in the *New Review* for August, says that there is no norm or type or standard of federation. Federations in the past as in the present have differed from one another in many respects. Freeman, the historian of ancient federalism, recognises only two distinct features in all federations: "Each of the members of the union must be independent in those matters which concern each member only, and all must be subject to a common power in those matters which concern them all and as a whole." That is to say

a federation is a permanent political union, the constituent members of which retain all the powers of government except those that they surrender to a common central authority for the achievement of certain common purposes. A federation is thus differentiated from an empire, a confederation, and an alliance.

Armed with this touchstone if we examine the federations known to history, what do we find?

Only the U. S. A. and the Swiss Confederation (so called, but really a federation) have had a long and respectable history. The Achaean League lasted about 150 years from 280 B.C. as an independent State. The Holy Roman Empire as a federation did not last beyond the Middle Ages. While the Swiss cantonal confederation has had a hoary history from 1291 A.D., as a federation its history is hardly a hundred years old. The United Provinces of the Netherlands lasted only about 200 years, from 1579 to 1795. The U. S. A. is happily still with us. The newer federations within the British Empire and in South America are, the oldest of them (Canada), less than a century old.

Nor is their constitutional experience much more helpful towards the formulation of a type or norm of federation. The character and relationships of the institutions of government have varied from federation to federation. And these same federations have had unicameral legislatures while most modern federations have bicameral legislatures.

In Switzerland and the late lamented federal State of Austria, the popular referendum played

a larger part than in the federal systems of Canada, or Australia, or even the U. S. A. The Senate, or Upper Chamber, of federations is composed in different ways: in some, like the U. S. A., the representation of the Constituent States is equal; in others, like Canada, it is according to population.

In some federations, like the U. S. A., Brazil, Argentina, the executive power is granted to a single person; in Switzerland it is collegial; in Canada and Australia it is ministerial and responsible to the legislature.

The allocation of subjects of administration between the federal State and the constituent or provincial governments exhibits a bewildering variety—apart from the distinction between the irreducible minimum of federal subjects which is common to all.

Thus there are as many federations as there are federations.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE

"To all those who care to speculate on the future of Anglo-French *entente*, the fact must be hammered home that France and Britain cannot drift apart under any circumstances. Their security is one and indivisible," says Mr. Sachin Sil in the July number of the *Hindusthan Review*. The writer adds:

What I want to impress on everybody including the Fascist dictators is that to count upon Anglo-French breach is to miss the truth about Anglo-French relations.

Some great figures in British public life issued a statement recently in which they demanded *inter alia*: "The British Government should give the French Government an assurance of their support if the French are called to go to the aid of Czechoslovakia against any act of unprovoked aggression."

Mr. Sil supports this view and quoting from the "Living Age" avers that Anglo-French breach is impossible.

Britain's security is so intimately bound up with that of France that she must support her old ally in any emergency, even if the latter should go to war to aid Czechoslovakia or Russia.

It is no use staging historic talks to cement Anglo-French alliance when the alliance is already there in full glory. Estonia can be reduced to the position of being in the bow of France, if only France would like it. And of course the situation will be much the better for all that.

FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION

In the course of an interesting article on higher education in India in the annual issue of *Triveni*, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri asks why there is so much disappointment in the country with higher education and its results and how much of it is due merely to sentiment or misunderstanding?

There are defects in the present position of higher education, and some of them are serious. A tacit rule of politeness, or whatever it is, seems to forbid their being mentioned aloud or discussed seriously. Many students are admitted to University courses who are or have been obviously unable to profit by them. This is due partly to the needs of colleges depending on fee income and partly to the competition among the increasing number of Universities lowering the standards of admission and examinations of all grades. The newer Universities are mere replicas of the older ones and have so far done little to vary or enrich the methods and opportunities of higher study open to their alumni. Sometimes even objects statutorily declared have been laid aside; for instance, the Andhra University Act expressly provided for the promotion of the study of Telugu and its use as medium of instruction and examination, and this provision has remained a dead letter for a dozen years now.

Proceeding, the writer says that it is a wrong surmise that higher education is the cause of unemployment as if it is only the educated that are unemployed in India. There will be avenues of useful employment for their talents only if we organise the existing resources better. It is no good blaming higher education for sins not its own.

On the financing of higher education, the Professor says:

Time was when all education in the country depended on voluntary endowments and these endowments were kept up in a continuous flow in days when the people had faith in the merits of *Vidya-dana*. Even now schools of the old type are seen flourishing here and there entirely on such donations. And it cannot be said that private charity has altogether ignored the claims of modern education, for we can cite several examples of notable munificence. But if higher education and culture is an essential mark of

civilised existence and the condition of progress in the arts and amenities of life, it should be the duty of the State to continue to finance it, as it has been doing so far. It is indeed a surprising paradox that the place of higher education in national life should be called in question at a time when the country is striving to build up an independent and self-contained national life. Higher education might have been a luxury during the time when we were content to let everything be done for us, doing nothing ourselves but being the passive recipients of the benefits of modern civilisation. There is Java where still the people exist for their rulers and there are no institutions or problems of higher education. India and Java had a common history till about the fifteenth century A.D.; and to-day India differs from Java in her preservation of ancient culture and in her readiness to con-quer new worlds of thought and action. This is in no small measure due to the higher cultural contacts that India has been able, in the midst of many difficulties and discouragements, to maintain and develop in the hundred odd years of British rule. Should India, in her march towards the goal of political independence, let down her ideals of higher education below what they have been so far? For, let there be no mistake about it, any sudden withdrawal of the State from the sphere of higher education would spell instantaneous ruin to the University system of the country. And when it disappears, it may not be the only victim of the change.

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MUST IT BE WAR WITH JAPAN?

The European political situation prevents effective intervention in Far-Eastern affairs by the European Powers and will certainly cause an effective undermining of European rights in China. The U. S. A., according to a writer in the *Political Science Quarterly*, being the only country in a position to put effective pressure on Japan, is faced with a momentous decision whether its policy should be oriented towards an eventual war with Japan or towards a gradual retreat from the basic tenets of her past policy. The U. S. A. has accepted the position of spearhead in the resistance to Japan's aggressive policy in Manchuria and North China. In 1932, Secretary Stimson declared that the U. S. A. could not recognise the legality of any situation violating the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty of 1921. But the international system envisaged by the treaties is now defunct; and the U. S. A. cannot set itself up as the enforcing agency for multi-lateral treaties which contain no penal clauses. The primary right for which the U. S. A. has always contended in China is equal access to Chinese markets; and the material stake is an economic one; while the concomitant elements of prestige are of uncertain valuation. No conceivable damage which Japan could do to the Far-Eastern commerce of the U. S. A. in the calculable future could equal the economic cost of a war with Japan. The reward of a war will be only a minor share in the exploitation of a slowly expanding market, made very uncertain by wide civil disorders in China. The economic aspect of the conflict is much confused with other elements and especially with the element of prestige. There is always

the question whether the fruits of prestige are worth fighting for. For the U. S. A. the answer is in the negative in rather strictly economic terms. For Great Britain the problem is more complex—her economic stake being much larger and the loss of prestige in any point having an unsettling political effect in all her Asiatic Provinces. Now no Western nation but the United States can fight in the Far East. The various forms of anti-Japanism in the U. S. A. are not strong enough to produce a pronounced drift towards war, though diplomatic pressure might be exercised and Chinese efforts might be assisted as against Japan.

GANDHIJI ON HIGHER EDUCATION

"University training becomes self-supporting when it is utilised by the State. It is criminal to pay for a training which benefits neither the nation nor the individual. In my opinion, there is no such thing as individual benefit which cannot be proved to be also national benefit," writes Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan*, clarifying his view on the subject in response to numerous criticisms. He adds:

I have not pictured a poverty-stricken India containing ignorant millions. I have pictured to myself an India continually progressing along the lines best suited to her genius. I do not, however, picture it as a third class or even a first class copy of the dying civilisation of the West.

If my dream is fulfilled, and every one of the 700,000 villages becomes a well-living republic in which there are no illiterates, in which no one is idle for want of work, in which every one is usefully occupied and has nourishing food, well-ventilated dwellings, and sufficient cloth for covering the body, and in which all the villagers know and observe the laws of hygiene and sanitation, such a State must have varied and increasing needs, which it must supply unless it would stagnate.

I can, therefore, well imagine the State financing all the education and much more that I could add. And if the State has such requirements, surely it will have corresponding liabilities.

What, however, according to my view, the State will not have, is an army of B.A.'s and M.A.'s with their brains sapped with too much cramming and minds almost paralysed by the impossible attempt to speak and write English like Englishmen. The majority of these have no work, no employment, and when they have the latter, it is usually clerkships at which most of the knowledge gained during their twelve years of high school and college life is of no use whatsoever to them.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi says that since most of his critics are agreed that the existing higher education is not connected with realities, it cannot be of benefit to the State. When it is directly based on realities and is wholly given through the mother tongue, I shall, perhaps, have nothing to say against it.

To be based on realities is to be based on National, that is, State, requirements, and the State will pay for it. Even when that happy time comes, we shall find that many institutions will be conducted by voluntary contributions. They may or may not benefit the State. Much of what passes for education to-day in India belongs to that category and would, therefore, not be paid for from the general revenue if I had my way.

But the argument of his critics on the two main points, the medium and the realities, cannot lull him to rest. The existing system has been criticised and tolerated all these many years. Now, that the opportunity for reform has come, Congressmen, he says, ought to become impatient.

If the medium is changed at once, and not gradually, in an incredibly short time we shall find text-books and teachers coming into being to supply the want.

And, if we mean business, in a year's time we shall find that we need never have been a party to the tragic waste of the nation's time and energy in trying to learn the essentials of culture through a foreign medium. The condition of success is undoubtedly that provincial languages are introduced at once in Government offices and Courts, if the Provincial Governments have power or influence over the Courts. If we believe in the necessity of the reform, we can achieve it in no time.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Principal P. Seshadri, in an article to the *Indian Journal of Education*, says that it is necessary in the best interests of mankind to instil the sense of international understanding in the young people all over the world.

One of the great tenets of my own religion is that God is one, though He may be called by many different names. Our scriptures have proclaimed repeatedly that just as many roads lead to a great city, many faiths lead to the same God. As the same sun is reflected in many waters, the same God can be discovered in many religions. Like the string running through the many pearls of a necklace, the same God is in all the religions of the world. This is a lesson which must never be forgotten in the class-room.

Travelling in America, I happened to be in a Parlour Car, talking to a Negro attendant on a Sunday morning. He had just said his prayers, and was reading the Bible with a devotion which many of his betters could emulate. I was apparently so nice to him, that he asked me if I was a Christian. I told him that I was not a Christian, but a Hindu, but the boy said with a happy smile, "but you look like a Christian". I should be similarly able to say when I look at a good "Christian, you look like a Hindu", for so long as the qualities prized by mankind are there, it matters very little what religion they profess.

A common mistake which people often make is to imagine that there is some kind of necessary conflict between nationalism and internationalism.

Rightly understood, however, it is not so, as true patriotism is only a step in the direction of universal brotherhood. As Rudyard Kipling has said, God gave all men all earth to love though "he ordained for each one spot should prove beloved over all". It may be that you and I are very fond of the places and the sights of the places to which we belong, but that does not necessarily mean that we should be incapable of appreciating beauty in other parts of the world. If I am proud of the Taj Mahal at Agra, I can also be fond of the Parthenon at Athens. If I admire the Himalayas of my own land, I need not be lacking in appreciation of the grandeur of the Rockies on the American continent. If I appreciate the grace and charm of the women of my own country, I can also be an admirer of beauty even elsewhere in the world.

In fine, he points out that

it is a mistake not to love one another, because we happen to be different in colour or feature, to live on either side of a boundary which is sometimes not even a river or a mountain, but an entirely imaginary line.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

Dr. Sudhindra Bose contributes an article on the "American Constitution" to the August number of the *Prabudāha Bharata*. "The marvel of the American Constitution," he says, "is that it can change so little, yet so much." A limited republican form of Government, founded 150 years ago, has been transformed in successive peaceful stages into a great representative democracy.

In consideration of the relative rigidity of the American Constitution, its survival for a century and a half of national expansion and industrial revolution is phenomenal. Not only has it served the political needs of a rapidly changing nation, with less than a score of amendments, but it has also been copied closely in most of the South American countries. Certainly the authors of this immortal document deserve to be honoured for their good judgment and their foresight. They had the wisdom of broad horizon and of profound statesmanship.

Explaining how the same constitution has persisted for a century and half with slight changes according to the needs of the times, Dr. Sudhindra Bose says:

The framers of the Constitution created what has since come to be known as the "system of checks and balances". They distributed the power conferred on the federal government among three distinct departments: executive, legislative and judicial. They gave the executive department to the keeping of the President elected indirectly by the people every four years; the legislative to a House of Representatives elected by the people every two years; and to a Senate, the members of which were elected by State (Provincial) legislatures for six years; the judiciary to judges appointed by the President for life and removable only by the difficult process of impeachment. The President checked the legislature by the veto which was given to him over its laws; the legislature checked the President by its control over budget appropriations and by the share given to the Senate in making treaties and appointments. The courts checked both the other departments by their ability to treat as null and void any action contrary to law or the Constitution.

The result of this arrangement of checks and balances was the desired one of stability. The people under it could have their own way, but only after a lapse of time sufficiently long to affect all these numerous interlocking authorities. It undoubtedly violated the principle of popular rule. Yet, says Professor John M. Matthews of the University of Illinois, "It is clear that it was absolutely necessary at that time to have a stable central government. If it had not been established, there would probably be no United States to-day."

HINDU WOMEN AND DIVORCE

The August number of the *Bombay Law Journal* has a timely article on "Hindu women and divorce" by Mr. N. N. Pandya. It is a criticism of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill which provides that notwithstanding any custom or law to the contrary, a married Hindu woman shall be entitled to claim a divorce from her husband under any one of four sets of circumstance, viz., (1) if the husband acquires impotency any time after the marriage, which is incurable, or (2) if her husband changes his religion, or (3) if her husband marries a woman whilst the first marriage is in force; or (4) if her husband has deserted her for a continuous period of three years.

Mr. Pandya says that several important grounds of divorce are omitted in the proposed Bill, e.g.,

(1) The husband renouncing the world and becoming a Sanyasi or Yogi or taking Diksha, etc.

(2) Continuous ill-treatment of the wife.

(3) Continuous neglect of the wife (now-a-days cases do occur where a husband not liking his wife, allows her to live with him, but fails to co-habit with her).

(4) The husband being a confirmed drunkard.

(5) The husband being guilty of adultery.

(6) The husband having at the time of marriage another wife living, and keeping that fact from the knowledge of the wife seeking a divorce.

These grounds should be added in the Bill, and as regards the ground of impotency, it should be limited upto to a certain age of the husband.

Mr. Pandya adds that women who have obtained divorces should be given maintenance by their husbands.

Under the circumstances, in order to afford complete relief the Bill should include a clause authorising the Court to grant to a married woman, along with divorce, a fixed amount by way of maintenance to be adequately secured and paid by the husband periodically with liberty to both the parties to apply to have the amount altered due to change in circumstances; such payment should continue till the death or remarriage of the wife.

GIFTS OF THE EAST

"The West often forgets how many heritages of the East it has accepted during many ages in the time of Marco Polo, Piano Carpini and others. The West in the past has acquired many gifts from the East. Most religions, philosophies and other most precious treasures of Spirit and Culture originated in the East in Asia," observes Prof. Nicholas Roerich in the *Inner Culture* for July.

Even in agriculture the East gave useful advice to the West. Maize is from Asia. The sugar-cane, rice, indigo, saffron, tea and a whole series of fruit trees and vegetables have their home in the East. Many pilgrims carried in their travelling bags various Eastern seeds and spread them throughout their home countries. The apricot was called the pear of Damascus. The eschalot (shallot) is from Ascalon. Artichokes, spinach, estragon are all from the Arabs. The wines of Cyprus, Ghaza, Ascalon, the raisins of Greece and Palestine are all the gifts of the East. Arabian horses, *karabaghe*, *karashakhe*, donkeys, mules, and finally the hunting guespard so beautifully depicted on the canvasses of Gozzoli—all these are from the vastness of Asia. Even windmills originated in Asia.

The industry of the East has since long tempted Europe. The sugar of Antiochia and Tripoli, the cotton from Beyrut, Aleppo, Akra; the silk from Tyre, Tortosa, Teveriada; the muslin cloth from Mosul; moire, taffeta, chiffon from the Arabs; the carpets from Iran; the Eastern compositions of color; leather from Cordova; the celebrated Spanish-Moorish *faience*.

In the terminology of sea-faring, bussol, admiral, arsenal, moonoon, felucca, corvette, challanda, tartana, all come from the East.

On battle-fields Eastern armies were mighty enemies. More than once the West during encounter with the East learned new military strategies, discipline, watchfulness and alertness. Powerful orders of knights were inaugurated after coming in contact with the East. Western warriors imitated excellent Eastern armor. Swords of Damascus have the reputation up to now of being of highest quality.

Often the Eastern nations were pictured by prejudiced chroniclers as intolerant, cruel, and treacherous. Yet at the same time we have irrefutable historical data about their tolerance, humaneness, honour, and charity. We admire the valour and daringness of Genghis Khan and of many warriors of the East. The Saracens

were called by some historians ignorant barbarians; yet in their culture in science and art, one can see how they sometimes excelled the West. Contact with Eastern nations was one of the main impulses of the Middle Ages. It called forth in several domains a kind of awakening which was a precursor of the Renaissance.

In fine, the writer points out:

Gratitude is the quality of great ones of *Arhats*. Following the great ordainment, let us be grateful for all great gifts in all their multifariousness and significance.

ISLAM AND COW-KILLING

"No Muslim can prove by the Quranic text or by traditional Hadis that cow-slaughter and beef-eating are compulsory in Islam, nor can he show that doing away with them is sinful," writes Mr. S. Nazir Ahmad in the latest issue of *National Wealth*. Mr. Ahmad says "that the cow is a God-sent gift to human beings". The cow

commanded greatness in the eyes of our final prophet Mohammad who in unequivocal language directed mankind to respect cow, as she is the queen of all beasts. "In the flesh of the cow is sickness, in her milk is medicine, and her ghee is cure." This saying clearly means that beef is an unwholesome food. To the same effect is the information by Ali the Caliph, the son-in-law of the Prophet. Ghaus Azam who is much respected by the Sunni sect never touched beef. The Sophists never use it.

The writer quotes instances of Muslim rulers who forbade the slaughter of cows.

The earliest Muslim king who stopped cow-killing in Iraq was Abdul Malik of Syria. In India, Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jehangir, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb, Mohammad Shah, and Shah Alam, the sovereigns of the Moghul dynasty, checked slaughter of the cow species for the sake of sympathy with their Hindu subjects as well as for the improvement of agriculture. Later the ex-Amir Amanullah Khan of Kabul, the ruler of Hyderabad, the Nawabs of Radhanpur, Dujana, and Banganpalli checked cow-killing. From what I have written above, it is more than sufficient to say that the theological position of the cow is great in the eyes of Islam, and that the slaughter of cows is detrimental to the interest of India from economic and other points of view.

RENUNCIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

Sister Devamata, writing in the *Message of the East*, observes that renunciation lies at the root of all achievement. It concentrates our forces and charges us with moral energy. Without the co-operation of every power and faculty, says the writer, nothing great can be achieved.

The practice of renunciation is universal. It is not possible to acquire without giving up. To receive we must have empty hands. The mere act of renouncing, however, does not possess any unique merit; it is the end for which we renounce that measures its value. If the end is sordid and selfish, the renunciation will be degrading rather than uplifting and will deserve condemnation, not admiration. If, on the contrary, the end is noble and free of self-seeking, the renunciation cannot fail to elevate and prove rich in fruition. The man who renounces for worldly ends will achieve only small and fleeting results, however mighty they may seem to be. He who renounces for the sake of a lofty ideal attains permanent spiritual riches which cannot be counted.

True renunciation is always productive. It gives strength to overcome the dread enemies of all constructive effort, self-pity, self-importance, and self-love. Sister Devamata points out:

If we have not the courage to renounce we shall not have the power to achieve. We need not alter our condition or environment, we need not wear a habit, tansure our head or cover it with a veil, but we can practise self-discipline which is the basis of all renunciation. We can curb our desires and appetites, cultivate simplicity, be more discerning in our reading and amusement, less trivial in our conversation, more steadfast in our aims. We can revive the discarded virtues, temperance, justice, tranquillity, gentleness, dignity, generosity, and fortitude. Above all, we can consecrate ourselves and to nobler living, to loftier aspiration and to the renunciation that means complete self-abandonment.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIAN WRITERS OF ENGLISH POEM. By Prof. D. C. Sharma. [Calcutta Review, July 1938.]

RAVIVARMAN KULAKHARA. By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. [New Indian Antiquary, June 1938.]

INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY. By D. P. Khaitan. [The Modern Review, August 1938.]

THE CASE FOR KARNATAKA. By V. B. Kulkarni. [The Triton, August 1938.]

THE HINDU VIEW OF CHURCH. By Swami Nikhilananda. [The Message of the East, Vol. XXVII, No. 2.]

TOLERANCE IN ISLAM

"The notion that Islam is intolerant has grown partly out of interested motive, partly out of ignorance. The word Islam means Peace, and the Koran abounds with passages breathing a beautiful spirit of peace, goodwill and love," says Principal T. L. Vaswani, writing in July-August number of the *Punjab Review*. He says:

Islamic civilisation has subordinated money to the immaterial values of life. It has not, like modern Europe, worshipped mammon as its God; it has not shared Europe's commercial faith; it has not, like several Christian nations, clamoured for coal and oil and the economic exploitation of Eastern countries. "The love of the world," said the Prophet, "is the root of all evil." What a sad commentary are these words on the civilisation of modern Europe! Capitalism, imperialism, commercialism, grabbing, exploitation—the root of it all is 'love of the world'. Modern Europe has yet to place love of man above love of the world, and there can be no democracy without love of man as man. This democracy is the very essence of the message of Islam Alla-ho-Akbar! God alone is great! What a faith, what an inspiration has this ringing cry! How often did not Mohamed declare that he, too, was a man, a man like others, a mortal, a servant of Allah the Merciful! All are equal in the sight of Allah; all read His mercy; such is the Muslim's conviction; and Islamic architecture and poetry and philosophy and civilisation express this truth in a variety of ways. This faith makes Islam a Brotherhood, a Fellowship of many races and tribes.

Principal Vaswani quotes from the Muslim scriptures and says that a non-Muslim "who loves Muslims and respects their faith must be counted as a Muslim by all true believers everywhere. He is on the way with us, bound on the same journey; and to hold aloof from him or flout him would be a sin".

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF MUHAMMAD. 12s by Ahmed Abd. Translated by Hon. Mr. Yakub Hassan. Price As. 12. To Sub. of "I.R." An. 10. G. A. Rahmat & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

LORD LOTHIAN ON FEDERATION

Interviewed on the subject of Federation, Lord Lothian said to a Press correspondent at Karachi:

I am well aware both of the defects of the present constitution which, like all constitutions, is a compromise between differing opinions and interests, and of the natural desire of India to develop institutions which express her own genius and suit her own needs.

But I have seen no reason to change my opinion that the right time to amend it is after the Indian Federal leaders have had some actual responsibility for All-India Government, when they can formulate their proposals from the standpoint of experience and not from theory alone.

What would be the prospect of freedom of economic progress of India if it were to lose its unity, or of China if it were to be broken up into separate fragments by Japan? The issue which, above all others, concerns peace and progress in India, is that in a difficult transition to full self-Government, it should not lose its organic unity under a single Government.

I believe that the present constitution can be steadily amended and developed to meet the consensus of Indian opinion as to what are its cultural and constitutional needs. But the evils which, some fear, will follow from taking the existing Government of India Act as the basis for evolutionary changes, are as nothing to those which would follow a break-down of Indian unity itself.

That is why I am still convinced that it is in the interests of India to bring the Federal part of the constitution, despite its defects, into operation, and then set to work to revise it in the light of experience rather than imperil the unity of India by reopening the whole constitutional issue—especially as, so far, there seems to be no general agreement as to the alternative—before any advance beyond provincial autonomy is made.

BABU RAJENDRA'S WARNING

Babu Rajendra Prasad, in a letter addressed to the Members of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee, says:

So many of us have sacrificed our all, suffered so much and cheerfully submitted to so many privations, but our internal differences, on account of which we are losing sight of truth and non-violence, are taking away the ground from under our feet. We cannot have Swaraj by these means. Even if we win it, it would not be any good.

THE MAHATMA ON PICKETING

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in *Harijan*, condemns the following as clear instances of violence and indiscipline:—

Preventing workers from going to their work by standing in front of them;

Congressmen taking possession of the offices of a Congress Committee recognised by the Provincial Congress Committee;

Breaking up meetings by shouting and otherwise creating disturbances; and

Reviling capitalists as a class and inciting people to loot them.

There can be no doubt that the British system favours capitalism. The Congress, which aims at securing full justice for the famishing millions, cannot favour capitalism. But the Congress, so long as it retains non-violence as its basic policy, cannot resort to usurpation, much less allow any class of persons to be insulted or humiliated in any way whatsoever or allow any Congressman or body of Congressmen to take the law into their own hands.

Let it not be said of the great organisation that it used truth and non-violence as a cloak to cover untruth and violence.

THE ARMY BILL

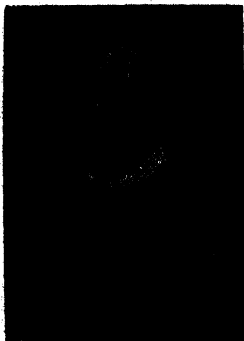
After heated debate, the Central Legislative Assembly adopted the Defence Secretary's motion that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which penalises speeches and propaganda against recruitment to the Army, be taken into consideration, by 65 votes to 55. Attacking the Government on the Bill, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, charged them with depriving the citizen of the elementary right of persuasion. Mr. Jinnah and his party voted for the Government and the result was a foregone conclusion.

At the third reading, Mr. Satyamurthi pointed out that several important Muslim bodies supported the Congress Party's attitude to the Bill. He also said: "I find the leader of the Muslim League Party has given all his arguments in my favour and all his votes in favour of Government." The Bill, as amended, was passed by 65 to 55 votes.

Utterances of the Day

SIR MANMATHA NATH ON INDIA'S MESSAGE

The Hon. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Law Member to the Government of India, in the course of an illuminating address



SIR MANMATHA NATH MUKHERJEE

on 'India's Contribution to World Culture' delivered last month at Simla, observed :

India will once again give the world a new message which will serve as a guiding light amidst the darkness that is at the present moment pervading the world—a darkness which is leading the world to a dismal abyss to which the world is drifting, blindly following egotistic and arrogant policies and depending on the quick-sands of brute force and forgetting the elementary lessons of humanity and culture.

Referring to the triumphant career which new India has embarked upon in the sphere of national and international culture, Sir Manmatha Nath asserted :

Under the impact of the powerful culture and civilisation of the West, moribund India has risen, risen once again to contribute her mite to the mighty river of world culture. Thanks to her immortal spirit, to her creative soul, India has just begun a new age of renaissance and entered upon a new epoch in her history—an epoch which is destined to inaugurate a new chapter in her cultural life. This new epoch has had its beginning in Ram Mohan Roy, the first prophet and pioneer and the first universal man of modern India. The age thus begun produced in time Keshab Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekananda. Reinforced in strength by the teachings of these great men, India has again risen to her glorious position as the exponent of the doctrine of universal love and brotherhood of man, of which Mahatma Gandhi is holding the torch at the present moment. Upon spheres which were regarded as

the monopoly of the West, India has boldly encroached and encroached with remarkable success. The brilliant galaxy of philosophers, poets, litterateurs, scientists, mathematicians, jurists, politicians, research workers and orators has brought a new life to Indian culture and has heralded a new era with a new outlook.

Proceeding, Sir Manmatha said :

In spite of her political subjection for the last few centuries and her abject helplessness and awful devastation in times of invasion from outside, India's contribution to world's culture has been unique, unprecedented and without comparison. For more than three thousand years her contribution has unceasingly flown to enrich other nations of the world. For the last few hundred years, it is true there has been a lull ; but it is expected that India's culture will one day improve and revolutionize the culture of the dominating nations and help to bring it on a higher, nobler and more rational and humane basis, so that the untold miseries, the meaningless sufferings, the monstrous iniquities that the world is groaning under might be a thing of the past. The vantage-ground of political sway and sovereignty of a people gives its culture an immense artificial advantage over the culture of the subject nations. And the subject nation is often more or less demoralised to the extent of feeling a readiness to adopt the culture of the nations that dominate over it and to adapt itself to that culture. So far, however, as India is concerned, she has all along clung to her old moorings and has not allowed herself to be absorbed entirely into the nations that have from time to time ruled over her. Forces have almost unceasingly been at work to deny, belittle or ignore her cultural attainments in order that she may forget her own culture, but to her credit it must be said that she has resisted those forces with remarkable strength.

Touching the attempts made to deny India her cultural attainments, the Speaker said :

One is tempted to ask,—is there anywhere in the world's recorded literature such a sublime, such an illuminating portraiture of the Soul, of its deathless character and its transcendent qualities as we find in the second canto of the Bhagavad Gita ? It is one of the inevitable tragedies of the domination of the West over the East that the popular histories and standard literatures brought out by enterprising publishers contain very little of the glorious contribution of India to world culture. But things are changing fast and better minds of all countries are now appreciating India. The Anglicisation of the East has stopped and the process of Indianization of the West has begun. The former process was obvious and apparent, the latter is subtle, silent. It has been said that the West took up a self-imposed mission not only to conquer and dominate India, but also to civilise India. She has succeeded in awakening and uniting India. But as for civilising India, India is awakening to its own civilisation. There is already abundant evidence of that permeation of Western thought by Indian philosophy which Schopenhauer so clearly forew.

MADRAS PREMIER'S DEFENCE

"Both the Houses of the Madras Legislature, after full consideration, decided in favour of introducing Hindustani, and if we shirk our duty to translate that verdict, we do not deserve our place in the Government," declared the Hon. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari, the Madras Premier, addressing a gathering at Tilak Ghat, Madras, organised in support of the Madras Government's decision to introduce Hindi in Secondary Schools.

The Premier said that the agitation would have stopped 15 days ago had not some people begun discussing the feasibility or otherwise of using the Criminal Law Amendment Act to put down this anti-Hindi agitation.

Having accepted provincial autonomy and governance of the province with all its limitations, the Premier affirmed that they had every liberty to make use of all the weapons in their power. The anti-Hindi agitation was the work of an interested party who wanted to make political capital out of it. It was not an objection to Hindi, nor was it in support of Tamil. It was an effort to overthrow the Congress, and the *satyagraha* that was practised by the anti-Hindi agitators was a mock or an imitation *satyagraha* which would never bear fruit because there was neither life nor truth in it.

Sjt. Rajagopalachari, justifying the use of certain Sections of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, said that

his Government was second to none in their condemnation of the Act, but in the absence of a ready-made alternative *swadeshi* Act to check unlawful activities of a handful of disgruntled agitators, the Government, if it was to rule and function properly, were bound to use such Sections of the Act, which they would ordinarily use even when the present Criminal Law Amendment Act ceased to exist.

The Premier pointed out how Government had given early latitude to the anti-Hindi agitators to carry on their agitation in a peaceful and lawful manner and how Government had not used the "highly objectionable" Sections of the Act for detention of persons without bringing

them to trial. The Government had stepped in only when an offence had been committed and had brought the offenders before a court of law and sought their conviction after a proper trial.

Subsequently on the 17th August when Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, M.L.A., asked for leave for the introduction of the Bill to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Premier observed:

We propose to repeal all laws that have been passed without the sanction of the people and substitute them by such laws as the people would have in order that the government could be carried on their behalf. Till then it is not open to a member, who is not concerned with our continuance or existence as Government, to ask us to throw away the laws that are there and look about for the means of carrying on the Government somehow. We cannot be a party to committing suicide.

The motion was lost.

SPEAKER'S FUNCTION

In an article entitled "Twisting or Interpreting"? Mahatma Gandhi writes in the *Harijan*:

A Speaker who knowingly gives an interpretation contrary to the plain meaning of a text, renders himself unfit for the high office and discredits the Congress cause. He must, at all cost, preserve the Congress credit for honesty and integrity. What, however, I have meant is that where a Section is manifestly capable of two meanings or more, he is bound to give that which favours the national cause. And when a Section bears only one meaning which is manifestly restrictive of the people's liberty, he must unhesitatingly give the meaning. I have no doubt that such impartiality on the part of a Speaker will enhance his reputation and to that extent increase the moral prestige of the Congress. Having discarded violence, the strength of the Congress depends wholly upon the moral fibre and fearlessness of individual Congressmen.

CHRISTIANS AND PROHIBITION

A resolution welcoming the introduction of prohibition by the Madras Government and appreciating its attempt to eradicate the drink evil in the Madras Province and appealing to all Indian Christians to help in making the effort a success was passed at a meeting of the Madras Representative Christian Council, which concluded its three-day session at Madura on August 14,

Mr. SYAM PRASAD MOOKERJEE

Mr. Syam Prasad Mookerjee, whose term of office as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University expired last month, was the



Mr. SYAM PRASAD MOOKERJEE

recipient of handsome tributes at a meeting of the University Senate. Every one of the speakers bore testimony to his remarkable capacity and tireless devotion to University work. Sir Nilratan Sircar spoke of his achievements in the departments of science and arts, education of women and the general welfare of schools. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan referred to the change in the spirit of administration of the University for which the Vice-Chancellor was responsible. While Mr. Justice Bhowas said that the record Mr. Mookerjee was leaving behind would remain one of the greatest and most cherished possessions of the University. Indeed, one could say that in his four years' work for the University "every department of the University has felt his inspiration and driving power"; and Mr. Syam Prasad has upheld the great tradition bequeathed by his illustrious father Sir Anantosh Mookerjee.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

Addressing the students of the College of Engineering, Madras, Mr. G. A. Natesan observed that of late students appeared to be influenced by a spirit of indiscipline and defiance of authority. He admitted that the spirit originated during the partition of Bengal and spread to other provinces. The root-cause was that the student while at College forgot that he was a student. He tried to usurp the functions of a citizen and was anxious to meddle with active politics.

The students of the Engineering College, he went on to add, had a special mission in the future. Reconstruction of homes, hospitals, schools, roads and sanitation and the basic industries would have to be undertaken. In this Engineering students had a special task. He added: "With Mahatma Gandhi as the guiding spirit, with the Ministers in Congress Provinces on a pittance of Rs. 500 a month and with efforts to reduce expenditure being made everywhere, it looks as if work itself will be its own reward."

ON LEARNING HINDI

With reference to the Hindi-Tamil controversy in Madras, the following observations of the entertaining paragraphist who writes "Over a cup of Tea" in the *Indian Express*, Madras, may be read with interest: Is it wasteful to know or study Hindi, he asks.

A fair smattering of Hindi is not beyond the capacity of the young, and a language is best picked up when the pupil is young. Reduce it to a basic vocabulary of 1,500 working words, learn enough by the process of simplified grammar; for every young man who knows some Hindi is going to be at an advantage in the struggle for life in India, and we are in Madras well on the edge with overcrowding. Catch them young, teach them quick, and wait for the thanks that are bound to be heard a few years hence; for it does not portend waste, it is an investment.

SIR M. VENKATASUBBA RAO

Eloquent tributes were paid to the services rendered by Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao, both



SIR M. VENKATASUBBA RAO

to the Bench and to the Society when his portrait was unveiled by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on August 8.

Mr. K. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Secretary of the Advocates' Association, said that it was noteworthy that Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao not only maintained an independent outlook but gave a lead in social affairs. Especially his attitude towards the strict adherence to the Sarda Act was most praiseworthy. He was also a stout defender and a good champion of the legal profession.

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, in unveiling the portrait, said that from the august Chamber of the High Court where the glare of publicity could never penetrate, it

had been the unique feature of Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao's career to focus public attention and evoke admiration by his silent and unostentatious work. It was not so much to his really eminent judgments or to his work as a judge that Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao was able to command so much of popular esteem. It was because of the dedication of his life to social work that he rose to the highest position in life. His qualities far transcended those of a judge or a lawyer. His sterling character and correct vision of things marked him out as a man of distinction.

Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao's life is an example of the triumph of character. It has amply proved that even in a country so dominated by politics as India is, a man of sterling character performing silent and good work will, nevertheless, force himself on the attention of the public and force admiration and eulogy from them.

MARRIAGE LAW REFORM

The suggestion that all Provincial Governments should take up the question of enacting a comprehensive Bill for reforming Hindu marriage law was made by some members of the All-India Women's Association.

Dr. Deshmukh said that such a proposal could only be brought forward by the Government. A private member had to be satisfied with piecemeal legislation. In an interview, he observed that it was possible for the seven Congress Governments to introduce such legislation with success. He added that he had already written to Mahatma Gandhi in this connection and that he had put forward the suggestion that the Congress Working Committee should undertake to suggest the necessary legislation in the Provinces.

WEALTHY PEOPLE AND INSURANCE

It is an approved fact that life assurance is beneficial to all poor people who cannot save any money. But it has also much to offer to a rich man as well. The Insurance Correspondent of a contemporary makes the following observations:—

In the first place, the important feature for a wealthy man to consider is that in the event of his suddenly being taken from his family, his life policy would be of the greatest assistance to his family by being available to pay outstanding debts and to meet any temporary shortage of ready money, thus obviating the necessity for a hurried sale of securities perhaps on an unfavourable market. If he has no life assurance his dependants may have to sell bonds, shares or stocks, irrespective of the prices obtainable and be unable to wait until market conditions improve. No wealthy man would like the thought of his estate depreciating immediately after he is called away. A life assurance policy will enable him to avoid such an event happening. If viewed only from the point of investment, an endowment assurance should interest the wealthy man who is called upon to pay a high rate of income-tax. The effect of receiving a rebate following the payment of assurance premium coupled with the fact that the proceeds of the policy on maturity are entirely free of tax, makes an endowment assurance a most attractive proposition. The man of wealth will appreciate that, while in ordinary investment even when money is paid into a savings bank and allowed to accumulate as a means of providing for some future need, income-tax must be paid on the interest accumulations. No income-tax whatever is paid by the life policyholder on the accumulation of interest under his policy or on any portion of the sum assured at maturity.

INSTITUTE FOR INSURANCE AGENTS

The proposed Institute for insurance agents and salesmen is to be opened shortly at Allahabad. The promoters believe that with the increase of business firms and mills in various parts of India, and so many insurance companies coming into existence, there is a great demand of good insurance agents and salesmen. The organisers of the Institute are trying to have the same recognised by the Government.

CHOOSING AN INSURANCE CO.

With life insurance, says the *Statesman*, the following points, which were recently emphasized in a report submitted by an outstanding life insurance executive, are of the utmost importance and should receive very careful consideration, viz., (a) the stability of the company; (b) the premium and bonus rates; and (c) the policy conditions generally. When insurance cover other than life is required, a person cannot do better than to accept the following good advice: "A business man should satisfy himself as to the character of the management and the quality of the assets (including a consideration of their convertibility into cash quickly and without undue sacrifice) of each company whose policy is submitted; he should make sure that it is transacting a volume of business neither too large nor too small in proportion to its net resources, i.e., first its surplus and, second, its paid-in-capital, and he should make sure that its loss and expense ratios are normal; for a prosperous company is likely to be more just in its settlements than one which maintains only a struggling hold upon existence."

LIFE INSURANCE PER HEAD

The following statement of *per capita* life insurance effected in several countries may be read with interest:—

| NAME OF COUNTRY | LIFE INSURANCE PER HEAD |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| | Rs. |
| America | 2,000 |
| Canada | 1,300 |
| New Zealand | 300 |
| Great Britain | 600 |
| Austria | 600 |
| Norway | 450 |
| Sweden | 430 |
| Netherlands | 395 |
| Denmark | 335 |
| India | 114 |

INDO-BRITISH TRADE TALKS

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Mafoomed Zafrullah Khan, the Commerce Member, laid on the table of the House a statement detailing the expenditure incurred in connection with the Indo-British trade negotiations including the salaries of officials placed on special duty for these negotiations which totalled Rs. 2,57,187. Of this an amount of Rs. 2,08,494 has been spent in England and Rs. 48,698 in India.

* * *

The talks of the unofficial advisers for the Indo-British trade negotiations who assembled at Simla have again broken down. According to the Simla correspondent of *Indian Finance*, there appears to be little prospect of bridging the gap between Lancashire's demands and the offer made in June last by the Indian representatives headed by Sir Purushottamdas. He goes on to say: "I do not think that even Lancashire has finally accepted the compromise proposals made by Sir M. Zafrulla; for, it appears that the Government of India is still awaiting a definite reply from the Board of Trade. The meeting of the unofficial advisers was evidently called by the Commerce Member to canvass their support for what he has been able to do. According to Simla reports, only Sir Edward Benthall and Sardar Datar Singh are in favour of an agreement on the lines suggested by the Commerce Member. At one time it was feared that the Raja of Parlakimedi and Nawab Liakat Ali, the two other Indian members, may not see eye to eye with Sir Purushottamdas and others, but I have heard that they are more inclined to side the latter. If the talks of the unofficial advisers continue on the present lines, there is no likelihood of an unanimous report from them."

WORLD FIGHT FOR INDIAN MARKETS

Leading export countries of the world are fighting for India's markets, according to a survey of the import trade of India for the year ending March 1937.

The survey shows that America and Germany are gaining on the United Kingdom with increased car and motorcycle sales in India, but Britain is holding her own and meeting foreign competition with a prosperous cycle trade.

During the year under review, the total value of imports for India increased by Rs. 48 crores to Rs. 178'45 crores, while the total exports were reduced by Rs. 18'16 lakhs to Rs. 198'20 crores. The combined exports and re-exports decreased by Rs. 18'16 crores.

The Trade Commissioner states that the reduction in India's export trade was mainly accounted for by a fall of Rs. 15'40 crores (\$11,550,000) in the shipment of raw cotton due to reduced takings by Japan on account of the Far-Eastern crisis, and of other foreign countries on account of unfavourable price parity with American growths. It is explained that the separation of Burma had material effects.

The heavy advance in imports was partly due to short-lived activity early in the year through fear of increased prices and of war in Europe coupled with a rise in the prices of imports. The activity in the import trade in the first six months resulted in the market becoming heavily stocked in most manufactured goods with the result that there has recently been a marked decline attributable partly to lack of orders and partly to fall in prices. The movement is expected to continue during the current year and the outlook in the import trade is gloomy.

WOMAN'S ROLE IN FUTURE

Mr. K. M. Munshi, Bombay Home Minister, in the course of his Convocation address to the Women graduates of the Indian Women's University, Poona, said:

"A free India is a matter of a generation or two. It will be yours then to play the part of free women in a free country, inspiring and guiding the rising generation, aiding and strengthening the efforts of men, hand in hand with men in creating the glorious India of the future. You will be the pioneers of a new movement and a new age. Indian womanhood is fast growing its old conditions; illiteracy is going; the inequalities of social and domestic life are fast disappearing. It has acquired in all the fields of life a place of dignity and equality. Some careers are open and many more will be open to you in the future. And if you carry the message of your University to whatever sphere of life in which your lot may be cast, you will become centres of culture and inspiration. Modern womanhood craves freedom, economic independence and individual careers, and, I think, rightly. But in the gladness of new found strength, it may lay stress upon self-restraint on which alone successful marriage and domestic life and lifelong comradeship with man is based. I am now disposed to believe in the equality of women with men, but I know the fundamentals of life too well not to forget that careers are but empty shells without that harmony of life which arises from a surrender of selfish instincts of man and woman to each other."

LADY VENKATASUBBA RAO

The Madras City Council has elected Lady Venkatasubba Rao as Alderwoman in the place of Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi resigned.

MRS. VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Minister for Local Self-Government and Public Health, on medical advice has left for Europe for treatment. She is expected back in a couple of months. She has decided to draw no salary for the period of her absence. During her absence, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister for Revenue and Jails, will be in additional charge of the Local Self-Government and Municipal Departments, and Hafiz Mahomed Ibrahim, Minister for Communications, will be in charge of the Medical and Public Health Departments.

C. R. ON INDIAN WOMEN

Addressing the women of Cuddalore, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister of Madras, said it was not true that Indian women were backward. He reiterated his view expressed to a women's deputation at Guntur that women in this country were better placed than their sisters in the West. It might be, he said, that most of them might not have had a scholastic education, but on that score they could not say their status and position in society was bad. They had a great tradition of honour and heroism behind them.

EDUCATION OF INDIAN GIRLS

"If I could, I would close the schools for boys and admit girls therein," declared Mr. Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister of Bombay, addressing the members of the Jyoti Sangha Institution, for training women at Ahmedabad last month. He added that unless women became powerful, men would not become powerful. Rajputs were brave because Rajput women were braver.

THE MYSORE PANDITS' CONFERENCE

Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, first Member of the Mysore Executive Council, opened the Mysore Pandits' Conference at Mysore



DR. R. SHAMA SASTRI

last month. Dr. R. Shama Sastri presided. In a message to the Conference, Sir Mirza Ismail said:

"It promises well for the future of the learned body of Pandits in our State that they have come to realise the utility of annual conferences of this kind."

KIPLING SCHOLARSHIP

A Press Note issued by the Government of India states that the scholarship for 1938, offered by the Council of the Rudyard Kipling Memorial Fund for a boy from India and Burma for study at the Imperial Service College, Windsor, has been awarded to Krishna Kumar Khanna, son of Dr. K. C. Khanna, Inspector of Schools, Multan, Punjab.

KALI KRISHNA SEN

We regret to record the death in Calcutta of Kali Krishna Sen, Editor of *Advance*. He was one of the seniormost of Bengal journalists and he was a powerful writer. He began his career of journalism under Surendranath Banerjee and in the *Bengalee* and did a great service at the time of the anti-partition agitation and Swadeshi upheaval.

RAJA P. N. TAGORE

Sorrow is felt all over Bengal at the passing of Raja P. N. Tagore. In a quiet way this scion of an illustrious family, says a contemporary, filled a conspicuous place, not only in bodies representing landlords' interests but also in Bengal's public life. Under his guidance the British Indian Association of Calcutta often took the lead in organizing opinion.

SRI AUROBINDO GHOSE

On the occasion of the 66th birthday of Sri Aurobindo Ghose, quite a large number of devotees and admirers paid their respects to and received blessings from Sri Aurobindo at the Ashram at Pondicherry, where his birthday was celebrated on August 15.

This year about 1,200 people had *darsan* of Sri Aurobindo, including the Ashram



SRI AUROBINDO GHOSE

inmates, local devotees and visitors from the Continent. A large number of Englishmen and Frenchmen, a few Germans, prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress and high officials from the different States of India received the silent blessings of Sri Aurobindo.

VIZAG MEDICAL COLLEGE

"The Indian Medical Council, an outside and technical body, is imposing certain standards of building and equipment and, instead of helping us to fight the demand, you ask us to fulfil it *in toto*," observed Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Premier, addressing the students of the Vizag Medical College recently.

The Premier felt strongly about a placard hung on the stairs of the college stating that the Vizag Medical College question was a test of his sincerity and assured that the Government would see that the students of the Vizag College were not relegated to an inferior position for no fault of theirs. "If you are going to suffer, it is because of the general poverty of the nation," he added.

The Premier drew the students' attention to a note from the Health Minister pointing out that all the reasonable conditions imposed by the Indian Medical Council for recognising the Andhra Medical degrees had been fulfilled, and emphasised: "I am not going to be intimidated by the I. M. C. I am a fighter and you leave the fight with the Council to the Government."

CURE FOR INFLUENZA

The discovery of a serum which cures influenza and common cold within 24 hours is now announced by Professor Vladimir Baskin, head of the Moscow Institute of Bacteriology and Microbiology.

The discovery follows a year of experiments and tests and is regarded as the year's most startling contribution to modern science. The serum has been experimentally tested and every case recovered within 24 hours without an exception.

DR. KRISHNA MENON

Dr. Krishna Menon, Assistant Surgeon, King's Institute, Guindy, has been awarded a Fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation for higher studies in Bacteriology in the United States of America and in England. Dr. Krishna Menon has been attached to the serum and vaccine preparation department of the King's Institute for the past three years.

SLEEP IN COMFORT

You should try to bear in mind the fact that a great many modern doctors are of opinion that the fear of insomnia and its attendant nightly horrors is far more harmful than the insomnia itself.

If you sleep badly, the first thing to do is to make your sleeping arrangements conducive to sleep as far as possible.

The mattress of your bed should be designed scientifically to give your body the maximum amount of rest. The undersheet should be perfectly smooth and well tucked in. The weight of your pillow should be guided solely by your own ideas of what is comfortable, though a very high pillow is less restful to the body than one of medium height.

There are certain pillows filled with herbs which are said to have a soporific effect and in some instances they have certainly been of benefit.

PROHIBITION AND TEA

Commending the activities of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board to popularize tea in the prohibition areas, the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta writes in the course of an editorial paragraph: "The habit of drinking tea has come to stay in the country and the enthusiasm with which the Tea Market Expansion Board are renewing their campaign of advertisements suggests a robust hope that the habit is going to extend. Let the future slogan of the Marketing Board in India be: 'Drink less toddy but more tea.'

MUSIC AND HEALTH

Learn to play a musical instrument; it is good for your health. Just when you are going to worry yourself into an attack of influenza, take up your violin or your concertina and forget all else. Learn to play an instrument. You must either cultivate the garden or play the cornet. Better still, do both. What a charming dream! A band marching down a street bright with flowers. We must drive away dull care.

CEYLON'S CURRENCY SYSTEM

A correspondent to the *Statesman* says that proposals for a revision of Ceylon's currency system are receiving the attention of the Island's Government. At present the currency is linked with India—the Indian rupee is the legal tender—and it involves a sum of Rs. 14,000,000 in solid rupees being kept in store in Government vaults to back the note circulation.

As the Indian rupee itself is linked with sterling in the equivalent of 1s. 6d., it has been felt for some time that Ceylon runs the danger of being caught in a sudden decision of the Indian Government to alter the present ratio.

"There is no reason to suppose that such a change is in prospect," declared Mr. H. J. Huxham, the Financial Secretary, in a statement, "but the fact remains that if India should devalue her rupee, she would do so by reference to considerations affecting India and at a time to suit herself—considerations which may not equally apply to Ceylon."

It is gathered, however, that any changes contemplated will not vary by any considerable degree the present exchange position.

It is intended that subject to a minimum demand and payment of a small commission, the right to receive Indian rupees in exchange for the Ceylon rupee should remain and should be unqualified.

PROVINCIAL LOANS FUND

One of the implications of the provincial autonomy of the 1935 India Act is the disappearance of the Provincial Loans Fund from the Central Government's balance sheet, and this is referred to in a recent notification in the *Government of India Gazette*. The Fund was closed down at the end of the financial year for 1936-37 and the balance of the Fund on 1st April last was about Rs. 50,000. During the year under report, no advance was made by the Government of India to the fund or by the fund to the Provincial Governments.

Repayments by the Provincial Governments to the fund amounted in round figures to Rs. 15,000 during the year, and the capital to the extent of Rs. 5 lakhs for the fund, the 1936-37 income account.

S. I. R. ACCIDENT

One of the most disastrous railway accidents in recent years in South India occurred on the night of August 20-21 at 12-25 a.m. when the engine and four carriages of No. 11 Shenkottah Passenger Train, which left Trichinopoly Junction (South Indian Railway) at 9-45 p.m., capsized down the embankment at mile 255-18, between Ayyalur and Vadamadura. Thirty-five persons including the First Fireman of the engine were killed and about 100 passengers injured.

As we go to Press, a joint Magisterial enquiry is being conducted into the disaster. A number of witnesses have so far been examined including railway officials with regard to the causes of the accident and the steps taken to give relief to the injured.

Meanwhile we extend our deep sympathy to the relations of the victims of the tragedy.

THE BIHTA INQUIRY

The Railway Board and its administration came in for repeated criticism at the hands of the Opposition and the European group, when the Central Assembly discussed Mr. A. G. Clow's resolution to take into consideration Sir John Thom's report on the Bihta railway accident.

Two amendments were moved by Mr. Santanam and Sir A. H. Ghaznavi—the former was rejected and the latter, which was accepted, recommended that action be taken by Government to give effect to Sir John Thom's recommendation that purchase and the continued purchase of XB engines should be the subject of a thorough enquiry and that full investigation be made into individual responsibility of officers for the accident.

CASTE ON RAILWAYS

"If I were to become the Minister for Railways in India, or if the Congress Government were to take up the real Government of India in their hands, the first duty to be done would be to remove caste distinctions observed in the Railways," remarked Mr. V. K. G. Minister for Industries, Madras, when he was at the Railway Passenger Conference at Daravottam recently.

MANGUDI CHIDAMBARA BHAGAVATHAR]

We deeply regret to record the death of Vidwan Mangudi Chidambara Bhagavathar,



MANGUDI CHIDAMBARA BHAGAVATHAR

a well known exponent of the art of Kulakshepam (discourse with music) in South India, at the age of 58.

One of the most popular Harikatha performers, he combined in himself good knowledge of the theory of music and the persuasive art of exposition. He was a familiar figure to every one in South India.

A versatile scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil, the late Mangudi Bhagavathar, as he was popularly known, gave life to a dying art and with his death it loses a great champion. He presided over the last South Indian Music Conference and pleaded for many much-needed reforms in the Carnatic music. His knowledge of music, Carnatic and Hindustani, was profound.

WHAT IS ART

The first extension lecture under the auspices of the Fine Arts Section of the Travancore University was delivered by Dr. J. H. Cousins on the subject: "What is Art."

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

In ancient Greece, the Olympic Games was the greatest of the athletic festivals, others being the Pythian and Nemean Games which took place every four years, and dates were expressed in terms of these Olympiads. They were finally stopped by the Emperor Theodosius in A.D. 389.

The Olympic Games were revived at Athens in 1896 on the initiative of Baron Pierre de Coubertin.

Subsequent games have been held at Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), London (1908), Stockholm (1912), Antwerp (1920), Paris (1924), Amsterdam (1928), Los Angeles (1932) and Berlin (1936).



Ma. P. K. GHOSH

the champion swimmer, who has left for Europe for crossing the English Channel.

ENGLAND vs. AUSTRALIA

England won the Fifth Test match at Oval by an innings and 579 runs.

Australia were all out for 201 runs in the 1st innings and following on were skittled out for a total of 128 runs.

KRISHNAN EFFECT

A striking recognition of the importance of the work done by Dr. Krishnan is contained in the latest issue of the proceedings of Royal Society of London in which a distinguished physicist working in Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, has published a memoir by Prof. R. H. Fowler, F.R.S., of the Cambridge University.

The paper deals with what the author styles as "Krishnan Effect"—a phenomenon discovered and announced by Dr. Krishnan of Bangalore and described in a series of papers published by the Indian Academy of Sciences. The memoir completely confirms Dr. Krishnan's experimental results and theoretical ideas and points out that it has a fundamental significance in relation to a number of other problems in Physics and Chemistry.



DR. MEGHNAD SAHA

[Dr.] Meghnad Saha has been appointed the Sukhraj Raj Reader (Natural Science), in the Patna University, his subject being Upper Atmosphere.

INDIAN FILMS IN MALAYA

A public company with a capital of 500,000 dollars and with ambitious schemes to encourage the Indian film industry is shortly to be floated in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, according to a recent report. The capital may be raised to 1,000,000 dollars if found necessary.

The Board of Directors will comprise some prominent members of the local Chettiar community with a local Indian leader as the Chairman. The objects of the new concern are stated to include the maintaining cinema halls in all the principal towns in Malaya for screening Indian pictures, acquiring releasing rights of pictures as and when they are produced by leading film companies in India and constructing and owning theatres in various places in Malaya.

HOLLYWOOD AS EXILE'S REFUGE

Hollywood, land of opportunity for men of reckless and resourceful nature, has become a Mecca for soldiers of fortune.

They come from foreign wars and foreign legions, from old monarchies and the wreckage of revolutions, from long Odysseys and strange adventures. Hollywood finds men of their talents and temperaments useful.

Many of them become stunt men. Others capitalize upon their experiences by getting jobs as technical advisers on war, sea or aviation films. Still others turn to the more artistic sides of the movie business and become actors, directors or scenarists.

THE BEST INDIAN FILM

The Motion Picture Society of India have selected the film "Unexpected" for the forthcoming International Exhibition to be held at Venice as the best produced picture in India during the year.

It will be recalled that the last Indian film shown at the Exhibition, namely, "Tukaram", was a notable success.

THREAT TO U. S. A'S FILMS

Hollywood's supremacy in the international motion picture field is threatened by rising nationalism abroad by quotas, discrimination, subsidy and tariff barriers, says the annual report of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington.

CAR WITHOUT GEAR

The first gearless and clutchless car in the world which, it is claimed, may revolutionise future transport was demonstrated at Cambridge on August 22, to members of the Engineering Section of the British Association by Professor F. C. Lea.

The car is a result of some years of secret work in London by the Italian engineer, Commendator Piero Salerni, who told *Reuter* that the device was adapted primarily for internal combustion engines but could be used for vehicles propelled by steam turbine such as ocean liners. His invention would not be allowed to become a monopoly but would be placed at the disposal of the whole transport industry of all countries.

Professor Lea said that the scope of the invention should include both the petrol and heavy oil type of internal combustion engines. The car has already been driven 65,000 miles.

ORGANISING MOTOR TRANSPORT

A resolution to constitute an All-India Motor Transport Union with the object of organising motor transport throughout British India and further to carry on persistent agitation to move the Central Legislature to amend and enact the Indian Motor Vehicles Bill in so far as it meets the legitimate and just demands of the Motor Transport Union was passed by the second Special Session of the All-India Motor Union Federal Conference, held at Lahore on August 6 under the chairmanship of Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, M.L.A.

STATE AID FOR MOTOR FACTORIES

Enquiries made in official quarters regarding the scheme for starting a State-aided motor factory in India show that the Bombay Government has postponed consideration of this question pending the appointment of an expert committee by the Congress Working Committee. It is stated that this expert committee is meant solely to advise provincial governments on matters of industrial development of the provinces. The Committee will have first before it Sir Visverayya's scheme for starting a State-aided motor manufacturing factory to produce cheap motor cars.

AIR-YACHT

London and New York may one day be linked by a 120-passenger airliner with several dozen state-rooms, a dining saloon, promenades and a cocktail lounge, says a *Statesman's* correspondent.

The proposal to build this huge flying yacht has been made by the Seversky Aircraft Corporation in response to an invitation by Pan American Airways to aircraft manufacturers to submit plans of aero-planes of at least 100-passenger capacity. The craft would be built of stainless steel and given a cruising speed of 250 m.p.h. at an altitude of four miles. Besides state-rooms and a cocktail lounge, passengers would be able to stroll along promenades inside the liner, and the dining saloon would seat 50 passengers at once.

It would weigh over 180 tons—six times heavier than airliners now flying the Pacific—and have a wing-spread of 250 feet. Equipped with eight engines developing a total of 18,400 horse power, the machine could easily fly non-stop between the United States and Europe, said Major Alexander P. De Seversky, designer of the monster, in an interview in New York.

DEATH RAYS ON GERMAN PLANES

The latest type of German Heinkel aeroplanes are now being fitted with death ray apparatus, according to a Rome message.

This apparatus, it is stated, enables the planes by means of ultra short wave emissions to stop the engines of opposing planes and bring them crashing to the ground. They themselves are run on heavy-oil engines and remain immune to the effects of the rays.

BRITISH GLIDING RECORD

By remaining in the air for 22 hours, 18 minutes, 35 seconds, a new world record for two-seater gliders was made over the Dunstable Downs by Flight Lieutenant W. B. Murray and Mr. J. S. Sproule in the second week of July.

AIR-RAID LESSONS BY TELEVISION

Lessons in air-raid precautions are to be given by television in England.

These broadcasts will show how to use the gas-masks and how an ordinary room can be made gas and splinter-proof.

INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY BOARD

The Government of Bombay have created an Industrial Advisory Board for the province with Sir Chunilal V. Mehta as Chairman, and fifteen members who include prominent industrialists, merchants, and the director of industries, Bombay.

The functions of this Board will be to advise the Government on

(1) all new schemes and proposals relating to industrial development in the province;

(2) all matters of policy affecting various sections of the department of industries;

(3) all matters of public interest in connection with the department of industries and such other matters on which the Government may desire to have the opinion of the Board.

MR. J. R. D. TATA OF TATA'S

Mr. J. R. D. Tata has been appointed Chairman of Messrs. Tata and Sons, Limited, in succession to the Sir Nowroji Saklatvala.

Mr. Tata has been in sole charge of the Aviation Department of Messrs. Tata and Sons, Limited, and is also on the Board of Directors of the various Tata concerns. He is a qualified air pilot.

Mr. Tata joined the firm in 1922 and became a Director in 1926. He has been actively associated with the management of Messrs. Tata Iron and Steel Co., Limited, the Indian Hotels Co., Limited, the Tata Oil Mills and the Investment Corporation of India, Limited.

INDIAN-MADE BOTTLES

The Government of Madras, it is understood, have passed an order recommending the use of glass bottles of Indian manufacture in Government, local fund and municipal medical institutions provided they are more or less equal in all respects to those manufactured elsewhere.

The Government point out that it has been brought to their notice that the glass industry in India has of late considerably improved and that glass bottles manufactured in India are in no way inferior in quality to foreign manufactures.

IRRIGATION IN GWALIOR

The opening of the Parbati Irrigation Project in the northern part of the Gwalior State has offered the cultivators the opportunity of turning barren and arid lands into smiling fields and thereby improving their economic resources. This project has cost a sum of Rs. 1,25,00,000 and has taken many years in planning and constructing it.

The Parbati Irrigation Project consists of two reservoirs on the Parbati River and a main canal 48 miles long with distributaries over 270 miles in length capable of irrigating about 1,50,000 bighas (80,000 acres) of land. The two reservoirs are Kaketo and Harsi, the latter being the biggest reservoir in the Central India with a catchment area of 828 square miles.

THE PREMIER AND THE PLANTERS

Declaring open the annual meeting of the United Planters' Association at Coonoor recently, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Premier of Madras, assured the planters that the Government would not introduce any labour legislation without considering its effect on the industry. He blamed Westerners themselves for introducing into India objectionable ideas about strikes and advised planters to adapt themselves to the *dharma* of the country and do everything possible to make their labourers contented and happy.

WEIGHT-LIFTING PLANTS

A Professor of Experimental Biology at the University of Illinois has proved that a training in weight-lifting increases the strength of plants.

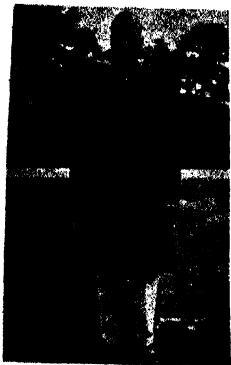
He tied minute weights to the stalk-ends of mimosa plants considered extremely sensitive. After a short period they recovered and straightened out as before. He also found that plants that had to do the weight-lifting were after a month taller and bigger than other plants.

REVENUE REMISSION IN SIND

A Press Note by the Revenue Department of the Sind Province announces that the Government have granted land revenue remission on the non-Barrage area amounting to Rs. 2,40,000—the rate of remissions varying between 12½ and 25 per cent. on rabi crops.

MR. V. V. GIRI'S APPEAL TO WORKERS

An appeal to workers and employers to regard themselves as partners in an industry was made by Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister



HON. MR. V. V. GIRI

for Labour, Madras, addressing a big gathering of textile workers at Tirupur. He deprecated strikes and lock-outs.

Mr. Giri said that the Congress Ministry had determined to improve the condition of labourers, but they could not expect anything from the Government if they resorted to strikes on flimsy grounds. The duty of workers was to work faithfully and honestly for the profit of industry.

The workers had the right to organize Unions on proper lines to represent their grievances in an orderly manner.

Mutual co-operation and trust between employers and workers would bring about the industrial regeneration of India.

Turning to the subject of prohibition, Mr. Giri said that though similar experiments might not have succeeded in other parts of the world, it was bound to succeed in India due to the peculiar conditions existing in the country.

He invited opinions from Trade Unions as to the closing of liquor shops in industrial areas for two days after the workers receive their wages. The Minister thought that a good deal of money was spent by workers on drink.

EVEREST UN-CONQUERED

The *Times*, commenting on the Everest expedition abandonment, says that no one who reads Mr. Tilman's despatch, or studies the stories of earlier expeditions can doubt that sooner or later men will conquer the summit. Mr. Tilman who advocates a yearly succession of expeditions, believes that a favourable season is bound to occur, and it is to be hoped that the conquerors of the mountain would include at least some of the group who were so cruelly robbed of their chances this time.

MR. SASTRI ON THE SCOUT MOVEMENT

"The unification of the Scout movement can only come when the national movement has taken shape as one solid,



RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

unbroken organization," declared the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presiding over a public meeting at Chidambaram on August 6.

Referring to the present condition of the Scout movement in India, Mr. Sastri said that it was in keeping with other things. There was no use concealing the fact, he continued, that whether it was the Scout movement, the co-operative movement or student organization, the poison of communalism had to be contended.

PENSION FOR M. P's

A Bill to provide pensions for ex-M. P.'s and their widows is to be introduced in the Parliament by the Government.

The pension will be £3 a week for an ex-member and 80 sh. a week for his widow. The only qualification will be eight years' membership of the House.

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INDIA, A WORLD POWER

By MR. T. I. MARDY JONES, ex-M.P., F.R.S.

(Late Secretary, India Parliamentary Committee)

DEMOCRATS must concede the right of India to *purna swaraj*. The whole issue now turns on how to achieve it in the minimum of time with the maximum of goodwill in the future mutual relations between India and Britain.

India is so old a country in civilization that research may well reveal it was also the cradle of civilization. In geographical situation, India stands unique—in the centre of Asia cut off by high mountains and deep seas from the rest of the world. Her climate and her rich fertile soils had made life easy and leisured for long ages under ancient conditions during which India was untrammelled by foreign influences in the main. Thus Hinduism produced a high culture first challenged by the rise and spread of Buddhism in India which spread to the Far East, yet, after some centuries, yielded to the greater virility of Hinduism as the permanent social culture of India.

But with the Moghul invasion, Islam became a far more serious challenge to Hinduism, and the rapid and enduring spread of Islam has created regrettable religious cleavage of communalism in the social and political life of India. Until communalism is eradicated or controlled, an united India may not arise as a world power. In the long run the surest

way to unite all the peoples of India is to educate them in their respective mother tongues in the truths of modern knowledge so as to remove the hollow practices and observances that obscure the pristine purity of all true religion. Bring the world and India back to faith in the Fatherhood of God and in the Brotherhood of Man. All these past influences have a direct bearing on the future destiny of India in relation to modern influences upon her.

Modern science and industry spreading from the West to the East are rapidly developing in India, revealing great potential industrial possibilities. Yet modern and scientific cultivation of her rich soils will ever remain the abiding and abounding source of the main wealth and welfare of India. Cultivation is still so primitive that untold wealth awaits the upturning of deeper ploughing. Japan was the first Eastern nation to adapt her ancient culture to the adjustments of modern conditions. China is now being forced to modernise under pressure of the Japanese invasion. In the end, China with her enormous mineral resources and wheat lands may well become the industrial mammoth of the East, leaving Japan in the lurch as the pigmy when India also becomes fully

developed industrially. For modern capitalism knows no nationalism and dominates the world in its greed for gain. Through the forces of British imperialism, it is rapidly preparing India to become a world power long before China can throw off Japan.

Before the Great War 1914-1918, India had no place in world politics. After the War, the Minto-Morley reforms gave India her first taste of self-government: and at the same time she won her place along with the British Dominions as an original member of the League of Nations. From the outset, India has played an important part in the work of the I. L. O., especially. Their intimate command of English, and their knowledge of British labour legislation, gave the Indian representatives considerable influence in the deliberations and decisions made at Geneva from time to time. Indian labour has already secured material benefits as a result of their activities in Geneva.

It is true that in the wider field of world politics, India spoke at Geneva in her master's voice. But some voice was better than no voice at all as it enabled the Indian representatives to acquire first-hand knowledge of world politics: an excellent training ground to equip India for her future position as a world power speaking in her own voice at home and abroad on world affairs.

Even under the New Constitution of 1935, India will cease to be a gramophone record of British imperialism. In the Provinces, she has secured a large measure of self-government, and all the provincial governments are doing remarkably well. In fact, Indians take to politics as ducks to water. They are in their element.

After a few years' experience of responsible government, Congress and Moslem parties alike will make a great success of the parliamentary system of government adapted to suit the needs and conditions of India. Having had opportunities of meeting most of the Premiers and Ministers in most of the Provinces and of seeing their work at first hand, I am much impressed with the forthright manner in which they are all mastering the task of good government. Such upsets and irregularities as break out now and then as in the Central Provinces recently are the measles of infancy in the body politic and will quickly pass away in the robust atmosphere of a healthy nationalism under the strong guidance of the Congress High Command. Mahatma Gandhi's new statement of Congress policy is a masterpiece. If this policy is loyally carried out, India will be able to control and direct the new Federal Parliament as well as the government in the eleven provinces. For Moslem governments must keep in step with the pace set by Congress governments.

The main weakness of the New Constitution is the Federal part which is a bad mixture of autocracy and democracy. Its authors intend the Princes to dance to the tune of the political department of the Government of India through the Viceroy's power over the Indian States, as a check on the revolutionary urge behind Congress policy. One can only hope that H. E. the Viceroy and Pandit Nehru's contacts in London just now will cause the British Cabinet to realise the fierce feelings against the Federal scheme which animate the adherents of all Indian parties.

I predict that on his return to India, H. E. the Viceroy will inform the Chamber of Princes that the Order of Princes had better put its own Order in order along representative lines or run a serious risk. If they have the perspicacity to see it, their only safety lies in becoming constitutional rulers and conducting State affairs on the basis of civic rights for their subjects on some such lines as are enjoyed by the subjects in British India. What is good enough for the King-Emperor must be made good enough for these Princes. If they do not take the initiative along these lines in time to inaugurate Federation as a democratic institution, they will find that when the next Labour Government is in office in Britain, the initiative will be taken out of their hands. Forewarned is forearmed.

Given these concessions by amendment or by convention, Congress can safely work the Federal scheme as it will then be in a position to end it at the most opportune time to effect complete self-government at the centre and in the provinces. Then India can become a world power in one of two ways: within or without the Empire as India may elect. But the choice of ways is not a simple one. For no nation can be free and remain free unless she can defend herself by her own strength or in alliance with some other Power or Powers against foreign invasion. Due to the Moghul invasion and to the British occupation combined, India has been caused to lose the art and power of self-defence at short notice.

Modern warfare is the science of death. It requires great wealth, great man-power, and great armaments to equip expert fighting forces on land, on sea, and in the air. It takes 20 years to train officers efficiently

in all three forces. In the face of the war madness of the modern world and of the relentless vaulting ambition of Dictators for power, no nation is safe against attack without adequate armed forces of defence.

Non-violence may become an effective strategy to induce the British to grant India *purna swaraj* in the long run. But if it so eventuates, it will be due as much to the spirit of political tolerance and liberality on the part of Britain as to the moral appeal of non-violence as conceived and practised by Mahatma Gandhi in his own life. But Gandhi must have many heart-searchings of doubt as to how far the peoples of India, Moslems and Hindus are likely to remain steadfast to his policy. The wider non-violence spreads over India and the longer it has to stand the strain of rigid observance, the greater the disaster that follows if it breaks down in the end. But it is one thing to succeed with it as an internal policy in India where the British Raj has to reckon also with the democratic spirit of the British people. It is quite another thing to prevail upon the imperialist powers of the world, run by dictators, to permit India to live out her own life of isolation as envisaged by Gandhi: or to give India peace and time to build up her own defence forces, say 20 years or so, if she found it necessary to do so—as it is certain she would. For the prize of India is too tempting to resist, and with the armed forces of Britain out of the way, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, or Japan would make short work of Gandhi's non-violence.

Actually, it is a physical and a financial impossibility for India to build up quickly a strong air force, a big army,

and a bigger navy to defend her 4,000 miles of coast line. The cost too would cripple India, disabling her from carrying out social reforms so urgently needed to improve the lot and life of her poor and illiterate peasantry. Congress cannot and dare not realise *purna swaraj* before India has built up her own defence forces or made a treaty of alliance with Britain to function for her defence in the interim period. For it is the masses of India who would be the helpless victims of the holocaust that would follow an armed invasion of India by some mad dog of war like the dictators in Europe who strut the stage of world politics today. Mahatma Gandhi knows, none better, that Britain will not and dare not neglect her moral duty to defend India until such time as she is able and ready to defend herself. Granted *purna swaraj* to-morrow, India will and must make a treaty of mutuality and defence with Britain as security against foreign invasion. Thus complete independence is not practical politics at present.

This brings us to the crux of what is practical to give India effective self-government: namely, Dominion Status or its equivalent. For we must recognise that the case of India is not identical with that of the Dominions peopled as they are wholly or largely with British stock. In the present state of world politics and of the ever present fear of war arising out of the mad freak of one Dictator or the other in the East or in the West, India is fully entitled to the status and freedom of a world power on her merits. For she is fully capable of functioning as such and of bringing her peace mind to bear as a big influence to check and counter the war mind of

Europe. India is destined to play a great part in world politics in that connection. Therefore, the most satisfactory status for India is to be accepted within the Commonwealth of British nations as an equal partner in every respect: and to be given the special duty of becoming the peace-maker between the East and the West. India is ideally circumstanced for such a noble and inspiring task and could do more to assuage the fever of war in the East and to bring China and Japan back into the orbit of peace mentality than all the Powers of Europe put together. India alone is fitted by her long contacts with Britain, by her wonderful command of English common to all her intelligentsia, by her innate political sagacity, by her Eastern culture, and by her peace-mindedness, to function as the interpreter between the East and the West. As a free nation in full partnership with the British Empire or in treaty alliance with Britain, India can and will bridge the gulf that now divides East and West. Let us hope and pray that on this basis India will soon win and hold true freedom as a nation and will soon qualify to become a world power playing a great part in winning back a mad world to the sane paths of peace and prosperity leading all nations towards the goal of the unity of humanity.

Thus India is faced today with the twofold problem. How to defend her freedom when won or granted; and how to fit her citizens for the task of responsible and representative government. The vote is the voice of democracy. But that voice must be the clear expression of a clear mind; and that is impossible as long as the mass of voters, present and potential, remain illiterate even in

their own mother tongues. The motherland of India still remains without a mother tongue. The *lingua franca* of her educated classes is English which can be retained by India as the key to world knowledge and as the voice India can use to reach the ears of the world at large. It is none the less imperative for India to devise and enforce a cultural language as the mother tongue for the motherland as quickly as it can be effected. It is the surest way to link up and to keep up the unity of all parts of India to build up as the mother tongue of the motherland one language common to all Indians because its roots are embedded in the soil of India.

Now that Hindustani is recognised as the most suitable language for common use over all India, it is imperative that the Congress High Command should urge all the Provincial governments to follow the example set by Madras Government and make Hindustani a compulsory subject in the middle school stages. If at first this has to be done in two scripts, Devanagari and in Urdu or Arabic it still needs to be so done despite the waste of time and doubling of teaching costs to carry out. Later on agreement may be reached to adopt a single script so as to avoid all the objections involved in two scripts as wide apart as the poles. The best solution is to adopt the Roman script with such additional characters from existing Indian languages as may be necessary to express vital shades of meaning peculiar to Hindi and Urdu. Turkey and Iran have already adopted the Roman script, and Russia and Japan are considering doing likewise in the near future. If India decides for the Roman script it will be

an epoch-making decision and it will facilitate the studies of all Indian students who go on from the middle school stages to higher education. For the Roman script mastered in Hindustani will make the later study of English or other European languages much easier. The use of the Roman script will in no way affect the beauty and fineness of meaning in Hindi or in Urdu. All the literary attributes of both languages will be fully retained. It is only the present generation of literates in Hindi and Urdu who will miss the attractive orthography of these two languages. Future generations will not miss them and they will retain all the sounds, rhythms, and cadences with the Roman script as with the existing scripts of Hindi and Urdu. Turkey and Iran found it was so in their languages: and India would also find it so. Hence it is the sentimental aspect alone that stands in the way. Once that is overcome, Indian students would quickly forge ahead in their mastery of Hindustani taught in the Roman script and therefrom they would quickly acquire a thorough grasp of English and other European languages in the higher grades of education. Students, travellers, businessmen and many others in many foreign lands who have contacts with India would then be encouraged to learn and use Hindustani, thus making it a language in usage beyond the confines of India and thereby enhancing its uses and status as the future cultural literature linking India with the literature of the rest of the world in the days to come.

It is the key to India's future unity and solidarity against all adverse forces. Without it, India cannot maintain her oneness of outlook as a nation so as to withstand and overcome all the adverse forces that are at work to break up India into a series of regional areas based on local languages and cultures. One mother tongue for the motherland is the first condition of her future nationhood and of her everlasting freedom as a centre of civilization combining all that is best in the culture of the East and of the West.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

By DR. P. S. LOKANATHAN, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.) (Lond.)

VARIOUS estimates of the volume of foreign capital invested in India have been made from time to time, but few of them could claim the serious attention of the scientific student, because their methods of computation were either faulty or not properly explained. Further, those writers who dealt with the subject did not concern themselves either with a description of the mechanism by which the capital actually entered the country or with an examination of the effects on prices and incomes in the country importing the capital. To what extent this omission to take note of the monetary effects of capital import into India has led to wrong conclusions may be seen from the fact that nearly all writers, who sought an explanation for the comparatively greater increase in Indian prices in relation to world prices, were content to concentrate their attention exclusively on the sterling exchange standard and altogether ignored the fact that a continuous import of capital into a country must necessarily lead to a greater rise in its internal prices in relation to world prices, as was proved to be the case in Canada and was so in India as well.

Mr. Pandit has in this work* attempted with conspicuous ability both to evaluate the annual amount of foreign capital that entered India in the period 1896-1918 and to examine the effects of such capital import on her incomes and price levels. His work is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the scanty literature in India on the subject. Mr. Pandit has rightly used the indirect, in preference to the direct, method for, as Prof. Jacob Viner's epoch-making study of 'Canada's Balance of Indebtedness' has conclusively shown, the indirect method is the only way by which capital brought into the country by private industrialists and firms, foreign holdings and shares and debentures of companies registered in the

country and capital employed by foreign companies could at all be reckoned. But the success of this method rests ultimately upon how far all the current items of debits and credits are accurately evaluated. Unfortunately for us, as our author himself must recognise, in respect of a few of the current items, more particularly in regard to freight charges, insurance and banking charges, a large element of conjecture enters. It is, however, to the credit of Mr. Pandit that throughout he has been at great pains to explain his method of calculation so that the reader can judge for himself the degree of accuracy reached in respect of each item.

It is clear that a large volume of capital amounting to Rs. 200 crores has entered India during the period under study. Mr. Pandit has traced the effects of this import on incomes and price level in India and sought to prove that the mechanism of adjustment under the Indian gold or sterling exchange standard was in no way different from that in gold standard countries. Under either system the country that imports capital finds its money incomes and price levels increasing; exports shrink, and imports increase, and an excess of commodity imports equal to the amount of foreign borrowings is created with the result that capital enters ultimately in the form of additional commodities. This explanation, entirely correct as far as it goes, is incomplete in that it ignores one important distinction between the process of adjustment under the gold standard and that under the exchange standard. Where both countries are on the gold standard, there are opposite effects on money incomes and prices and through them on exports and imports. The borrowing and the lending countries meet half-way and adjustment is effected by both countries. But as between England and India this compensatory effect was somewhat lacking. England was not compelled to deflate her money incomes on account of her export of capital and readjustment of her price levels. All the adjustments had to be made by India alone and hence to that extent the gold exchange standard system was inflationary in its working.

*INDIA'S BALANCE OF INDEBTEDNESS. By Y. S. Pandit. With a Foreword by Sir J. Coyajee. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 10s. 6d.

THE BETRAYAL OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

EVENTS move rapidly and perhaps never more rapidly than at present. In 1931 the Government, of which I had



MAJOR GRAHAM POLE

the honour to be a member, was working steadily and with considerable success for a better understanding of the problems that embitter nations in an endeavour to bring justice and equality into international relationships. A Disarmament Conference was planned and had every chance of success. Then came the crisis and the enthronement of a reactionary Conservative Government under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald with Sir John Simon as Foreign Secretary. Behind Mr. MacDonald sat Mr. Baldwin pulling the strings and getting legislation carried through that he had previously failed to accomplish by being beaten at the polls whenever he proposed it. Big Business was enthroned and Great Britain's work for peace and disarmament under the guidance of Arthur Henderson was brought to nought. The Disarmament Conference was killed because Disarmament never suits Big Business.

The Japanese raided Manchuria and were unanimously condemned by the League of Nations. It remained for Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, to make a case for them at Geneva saying, as the Japanese delegate expressed it, in half an hour the case he had been trying to put for Japan without success for several days. Had

the machinery of the League been employed, as it should have been by Great Britain then, the Japanese rape of Manchuria would never have taken place and the writing of subsequent history would have been very different.

There followed Abyssinia. Again it was a case of Great Britain taking no definite stand against the aggressor and the proposal for the dividing up of Abyssinia, agreed to by the then British Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, and M. Laval of France. The outcry against this base betrayal of Abyssinia was so great in this country that Sir Samuel Hoare was thrown to the wolves—but only for a time. Sir Samuel Hoare was no more guilty than other members of the Cabinet and in justice to him, Mr. Baldwin felt he could do no less than bring him back into the Cabinet, which he did after a comparatively short interval.

Then came Spain. We were, and still are, on friendly relations with the Spanish Government and as a consequence they are entitled to buy from us or anyone else such arms as they require in their defence. The British Government, which did not openly want to oppose the rebel Franco, who was supported by Germany and Italy, yielded to threats from these two Powers and took part in a so-called Non-Intervention Pact. The only concrete result of this was that while we refused to supply any arms or munitions of war to the Spanish Government, Germany and Italy openly supplied both munitions and men to the rebel Franco.

Then followed Austria, a State whose integrity was guaranteed by Mussolini himself, a State whose borders were fixed by the Peace Treaties for which we and other members of the League of Nations were responsible. We had time and again refused to allow Austria even to have a customs union with Germany—and yet, without almost a protest, we allowed Hitler to over-run and annex that country.

And now has come Czecho-Slovakia. It is difficult to write of this because we are at the moment just at the point of

its betrayal. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, is flying to Germany to explain to Herr Hitler that he has persuaded his ally France to join with him in putting such pressure on Czechoslovakia that its Government has been compelled practically to commit suicide and give large tracts of the Sudeten highlands, with all their mineral wealth and tremendous fortifications, to a Germany of which it has never before been a part.

It is easy for a Great Power, in order to buy peace for itself, to hand over parts of someone else's territory. But this is not the end, it is only the beginning. When the British Prime Minister meets the German leader he will get little thanks for the gift of portions of Czechoslovakia which he is bringing with him. He will now no doubt be told that Hungary must have her slice of Czechoslovakia and Poland hers. The German Dictator without a fight is being taken behind the defences of Czechoslovakia. These defences are handed over to him without a shot being fired—and he will now be in a position to dominate the whole of Central and Eastern Europe.

Czechoslovakia as a Sovereign State is practically a thing of the past. It has been clearly demonstrated, and Great Britain and France have accepted the fact, that the only thing that now counts in international affairs is brute force. Barely six months ago, Herr Hitler's Government re-affirmed their pledge to send to arbitration their differences with Czechoslovakia. What reliance can be put on any pledge or guarantee given by a Dictator?

The question that is troubling not merely the Opposition in this country but many supporters of the Government is whether there is any point at which the Democratic States will make a determined stand against the violence of the aggressor States? Are we back at the law of the jungle, or is there to be any place in international affairs for reason and justice?

Herr Henlein is of course in the present business merely the mouthpiece of Herr Hitler. In December 1935, Herr Henlein addressed the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and dealt with

this very question of Germany and Czechoslovakia. These are his words:

After the horrors of bloodshed in 1914 to 1918 no responsible statesman should ever again think of employing war as an implement of politics. Should a war be waged between Germany and Czechoslovakia arising out of disputes over Sudeten-Deutsche problems, it could bring nothing but nameless misery to my native country, since the latter must of necessity then become the seat of war. Nor could such a trial of arms obtain for the Czech nation any lasting advantages.

Those who wish sincerely and without any mental reservations for peaceful collaboration between the Czechs and the Sudeten-Deutsche must once and for all abandon the dream of the 'Totalitarian National State'. New methods must be found to enable the nations to live together.

The *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, in its leading article to-day (September 22) speaking of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to the German Chancellor, says that:

Obviously the effort will not have been worth the candle if it is to bring no more than a few weeks' or a few months' respite from German demonstrations of bellicosity—if, in other words, this is but the first instalment of a Danegeld that Europe is to go on paying for ever afterwards in ever larger sums as the price of immunity from military aggression. Any such idea is too ridiculous to merit a moment's consideration, and it must surely be doing a grave injustice not to Mr. Chamberlain alone, but to the British and French Governments whose writ he carries, to imagine, as is being too hastily done in some quarters, that their peace policy amounts to nothing better than that.

And yet I shall be surprised if their peace policy brings much better results than that. There are still Memel, Danzig, the Polish Corridor and other parts of Europe, that Hitler intends to incorporate sooner or later in the German Reich. He has also his plans for absorbing the Ukraine and we have by no means heard the last of his demands for the return of the German Colonies. This last demand does not depend on Great Britain alone, but will bring in South Africa and other Dominions who have no intention of having a Nazi stronghold on their borders.

No, this is not a settlement that Mr. Chamberlain is making with Herr Hitler. This is not peace. This is only another of Germany's successful steps towards the next World War from which may God defend us.

LONDON,

22nd September '38.

PROPRIETORY RIGHTS OF HINDU WOMEN

I. PROPRIETORY RIGHTS DURING COVERTURE

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

(Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University)

[In this series of four articles to be published in successive issues of the *Indian Review*, Dr. Altekar tackles the question of the proprietary rights of Hindu women—a subject that is likely to command the attention of our legislatures more and more in harmony with the spirit of the times and the growing demand for equality of rights for women in India as elsewhere in the world. In the following two articles Dr. Altekar discusses the proprietary rights of women under coverture, that is, the rights of the wife *vis-a-vis* her husband during the coverture, including the right of Stridhana. The next article will deal with "The Rights of the Daughter" and the fourth on "The Widows' Rights".—ED. I. R.]

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT

THE study of the evolution of the proprietary rights of women is a subject of very great fascination. It gives us a glimpse into the general attitude of society towards the fair sex. It shows how primitive notions took centuries to explode before women's rights were eventually recognised. It enables us to have a bird's-eye view of the progress of a civilisation. In the present series of articles it is proposed to discuss very briefly the origin and growth of the property rights of Hindu women. At the end of each article there will be also a discussion as to the lines on which the present law should be changed in order to bring it in harmony with the spirit of our times and culture. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill was passed only last year but in a mutilated form. It was only a compromise measure and has not given to women all that they wanted. The question is bound to crop up again in the legislature. It is, therefore, desirable that we should possess a proper historic perspective in the matter so that we may know what developments in the future may be in consonance with our best cultural traditions. In the first article we propose to discuss the proprietary rights of the wife *vis-a-vis* her husband during the coverture.

WOMEN AS CHATTEL IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

In early times the proprietary rights of women were but tardily recognised in almost all civilisations. This was specially the case in patriarchal societies. For a

long time there was no question of woman holding any property; she herself was an item in the list of the moveable property of the husband or the patriarch. Such, for instance, was the case among the Teutons. The Frisians used to give their women and children in payment of their taxes to Rome when they had no other means to discharge their liabilities. In Rome itself the husband could sell away his wife in early times, the right being taken away only in the days of Roman kings. For a long time the Roman wife was under the tutelage of her husband and could possess no separate property, if her marriage had been performed according to the orthodox religious rites. During the feudal age in Europe, women could no doubt inherit and hold landed property. This was, however, a nominal right. Women were really pawns in the hands of kings. Land was for military service, which women were incapable of rendering. So the king would take immediate steps to marry the daughters or widows of his barons to whomever he liked. When in the Spanish campaigns a number of his noblemen died, Charlemagne immediately married their widows to the knights of his own choice. He was anxious that land should not be under the ownership of those who could not fight in his battles. Whether the widows concerned wanted to marry, and if so, whether they had approved of the proposed new matches, was a matter which Charlemagne did not stop to enquire. Women were a sort of ritualised deed of conveyance. They were hardly as important as horses—which were so

useful in war—save as living titles to landed property.

THE CONDITION IN INDIA

In India too in prehistoric times women were regarded as mere chattel. They were given away as gifts; in the Mahabharata we find old king Dhritarashtra proposing to give a hundred slave girls to Krishna as a token of his regard, for him when he had come to try for a compromise between the contending cousins (V, 86, 8). The husband was regarded as having a proprietary right in the wife. It is on this assumption that Dharma proceeds to stake Draupadi in the gambling hall. It may be pointed out that even this proud and haughty lady does not think of disputing this right when she was dragged to the gambling hall. She only wants to know whether her husband's transaction was not an invalid one, as he himself had become a slave prior to his staking her away (II, 89, 19).

WIFE NOT TO BE TREATED AS CHATTEL

The epic, however, states that the assembly began to hiss loudly when Dharma proceeded to stake away his wife. It was observed by many that none but a mad or infatuated person could think of proposing the wife as a wager. It is, therefore, clear that though the husband's theoretical rights over his wife was recognised in the epic, its actual exercise met with stern social disapprobation. Hindu legend or literature has, however, preserved very few cases of wives being sold away by their husbands. Smriti writers of the first and second centuries A.D. were anxious to leave no scope for an enterprising husband to utilise the results of his researches into prehistoric social customs to the disadvantage of his consort; they have definitely declared that wives and children can never be objects of sale or gift under any circumstances whatever. We may take it that from 1000 B.C. at least the wife was not regarded as a property of her husband.

WIFE AS JOINT OWNER WITH THE HUSBAND

The cases of the sale of the wife by the husband belong to prehistoric times. Ever since the Vedic age, cultured sections of Hindu society have been holding that not only is the wife not a property of

the husband, but owns the family property jointly with him. This is the clear implication of the term *Dampati* used for the couple as early as the Vedic literature. The term denotes the joint owners (*Pati*) of the house (*Dama*). Smriti writers also have recognised this implication of the term and declared that the husband and the wife are joint owners of the family property.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF JOINT OWNERSHIP

The theory of joint ownership was no doubt very early enunciated in India, but it was not pressed to its logical conclusions. The only important corollary drawn from it is that by Apastamba, who declares that the theory invests the wife with a right to incur normal expenditure for the household even in the absence of her husband (II, 6, 14, 16-20). If the theory had been pressed to its logical conclusions, it could have secured for the wife an absolute equality of rights in the family property as against an unreasonable or vicious husband. But this did not happen. If a husband transferred his affections to another woman and married her, the wife could not claim half the share of the family property under the theory of joint ownership. Smritis as a rule allow her only a maintenance. Yajnavalkya is the only exception. This remarkably liberal jurist declares that if a well-behaved wife is abandoned by her husband, she ought to be given a third share of the family property (I, 48). Yajnavalkya was, however, much in advance of his age; for this right does not seem to have been actually conceded by society as it is not recognised by any other law-giver.

JOINT OWNERSHIP THEORY NOT PRESSED TO ITS LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

The theory of joint ownership did not invest the wife with right to incur any substantial expenditure on her own initiative. Even the Mitakshara, which champions the cause of women so zealously, declares that the wife can spend out of the family property only with the consent of her husband. Nor did the theory afford any absolute protection even to the wife's limited right of mere maintenance. It did not prevent the husband from selling or gifting away the family property without the consent of his wife, who

was its nominal joint owner. If our jurists had been anxious to secure the rights of the wife, they could have made the consent of the wife as much obligatory for such a transaction as they made the assent of male coparceners. But they failed to do so.

The fact was that the general circumstances were unfavourable for the above deductions being drawn from the theory of joint ownership of the husband and the wife. In ancient times landed property was for a long time owned either by village communities or by large joint families. Individual ownership was but slowly recognised even in the case of males. By the time when the rights of male coparceners came to be recognised, the husband had come to be deified and women had ceased to receive any proper education and thus lost their early higher status. Our jurists, therefore, found it difficult to invest the wife with any substantial rights as against the husband in the family property.

REFORMS NECESSARY IN MODERN LAW

The theory of joint ownership of the husband and the wife has thus practically remained a dead letter. In actual practice the husband was the sole owner of the family property and the wife had no legal remedy if he proceeded to squander it away so as to defeat her right of maintenance. In modern times neither the legislature nor the law courts have come forward to afford any protection to the wife in such cases. It is only in Portuguese India where the Code Napoleon prevails, that the consent of the wife is a condition precedent for a valid disposal of the family property by the husband. It is desirable that the Indian Legislature should proceed to amend the Hindu Law and invest the wife with full powers over her own share of the family estate, rendering its sale invalid without her express consent. It is true that an unscrupulous husband can coerce his wife to give such a consent and a considerate husband would never proceed to sell his property so as to reduce his wife to poverty unless such a procedure were absolutely necessary owing to family

calamities. Nevertheless it would afford some protection to the unfortunate wives of drunkards and libertines, who can at present reduce their wives to beggary in order to pursue their career of vice unchecked. Such cases are not uncommon in the lower strata of our community.

PENALTY FOR POLYGAMY

Another corollary that we must draw now from the theory of joint ownership is to invest the wife with the right of demanding a partition of her share if her husband proceeds to contract a second marriage. Polygamy is a relic of primitive times which we must get rid of as early as possible. It was originally intended to be permitted only in those cases where a son was not born to the couple to perpetuate the name of the family and to offer oblations to ancestors. A concession that was intended to be available in rare cases has come to be recognised as an inherent right of the male sex, and as a consequence there are several cases in our society where men wantonly proceed to contract second marriages and ruin the lives of their first consorts. In such cases the unfortunate superseded wives can get only a maintenance and even that right can be defeated by the husband on the ground that the wife refuses to stay with him. What self-respecting woman can consent to stay in a house where she had once reigned as a queen and where she would now be treated as an unwanted and unpaid maid-servant? It is, therefore, desirable that the wife should be invested with a legal right to claim a share in the family property equal to that of the son, if her husband proceeds to contract a second marriage against her wish. The great jurist Yajñavalkya allows the wife to claim a one-third share in the property in such cases as we have already shown above. The amendment of the Hindu Law in this direction would not be, therefore, against the spirit of our national culture. It would eventually serve the purpose of discouraging polygamy, which it is now high time for us to forbid altogether. If the effort that is being now made to render polygamy illegal succeeds, then this right

would become superfluous. It is, however, doubtful if the Bills prohibiting polygamy would pass through the central legislature.

Should the theory of joint ownership invest the wife with the right to claim a share in the monthly income of her husband? In modern times, normally speaking, the husband enjoys the privilege of earning money and the wife that of spending it. In vast majority of cases husbands would be quite willing to surrender

even 90 per cent. income to their wives provided they agreed to manage their household, *saris* and jewelry expenditure within that amount. The question, however, has another side and the modern educated but unearning wife has a different case to present to us. As, however, this problem is essentially connected with the question of Stridhana, we propose to consider it in the following article which would deal with that subject.

ii. The Right of Stridhana

We have seen that there was a reluctance shown by society to invest the wife with full joint ownership over the entire property belonging to the family. It was, however, recognised since very early days that women should be allowed to have complete sway and ownership over some types of property, specially intended for them. It is no doubt true that down to the 5th century A.D. Smritis went on mechanically reproducing an old text which declared that the wife, the son, and the slave can own no property; what they may acquire, would belong automatically to the husband, the father and the master respectively. The haughty proposition formally laid down in this archaic text had, however, ceased to represent the reality of the situation even in the Vedic period.

STRIDHANA IN THE EARLY TIMES

For, the Vedic literature expressly declares that the wife is to be the full owner of *Parinayam*. Unfortunately the full significance of this term is not now known, but it almost certainly included all the presents and ornaments that were given to the bride on the occasion of her marriage. Many of these were often given by the parents of the bride, and the society, therefore, felt that it would be in the fitness of things that the bride alone should be endowed with full ownership over it.

STRIDHANA IN THE SMRITI PERIOD

It is only in the Smriti period that we begin to get a clear idea of the full scope of Stridhana. Here again we find that

the idea was, that what was specifically given to the bride on the auspicious occasion of marriage should never be taken away from her. So the Smritis lay down that not only the presents given by her parents but also the presents and ornaments given by the husband and his relations should become the property of the wife. This was a very important concession given to women. Well known is the tendency of Hindu society to invest a very large part of its savings in ornaments. The tendency was even more pronounced in the past. By investing women with a right over the ornaments exclusively intended for them, Hindu society really transferred a large part of its savings to the ownership of women. The hardships of a law of inheritance, which for a long time refused to recognise the ownership of women over immoveable property, were thus mitigated by the principle that women should be the exclusive owners of ornaments and other presents given to them. Originally only ornaments and presents given at the marriage were included in Stridhana. Later on ornaments presented by the husband at any time during coverture were also added to the category. Later jurists further laid it down that maintenance given to women should also be included in their Stridhana.

REVOLUTIONARY ADDITIONS MADE BY THE MITAKSHARA

It was, however, left to Vijñanesvara, the famous 11th century jurist of the Deccan, to propose most important and extensive additions to Stridhana. Taking a skilful advantage of the word *adgam* or *adgama*

which Yajnavalkya had used after mentioning the usual six varieties of Stridhana, this ingenious commentator declared that the expression in question is used in order to include under Stridhana the property acquired by inheritance, partition, purchase and adverse possession. This amplified definition of Stridhana is so comprehensive that it can hardly leave out any property in possession of a woman, however it may have been acquired.

There can be no doubt that the amplification of Stridhana, as proposed by Vijñanesvara, was an innovation deliberately made in order to make the law more modern and progressive. It is extremely doubtful whether the crucial word *etcetera* occurred at all in Yajnavalkyasmṛiti, which Vijñanesvara professes to comment and explain. And supposing that the word did occur, it is certain that Yajnavalkya could never have intended to include items like inheritance and partition property under the term *etcetera*. These were very important items, which not only increased women's rights extensively, but circumscribed those of the coparceners. If Yajnavalkya had really intended to include them under Stridhana, he would have mentioned them specifically and prominently instead of smuggling them surreptitiously under the innocuous term *etcetera*. Vijñanesvara, however, deliberately included the share of partition and inheritance, because he desired that women's proprietary rights should be enlarged. This he did under the guise of explaining the word '*etcetera*'. In ancient and medieval times, reforms in Hindu law were brought about by this modest and indirect method of explaining the ancient texts. No one ever thought of declaring that certain old texts, being no longer suitable to the condition of society, should now be overruled and replaced by new provisions framed and approved by the new age.

RIGHT OF DISPOSAL

By about the 12th century, ownership over extensive property was thus transferred to women. Could they dispose of it in any way they liked? To the modern age, ownership without the right of disposal

would appear as a contradiction in terms. But such was not the case in the past.

Under the Mitakshara law, a widow could inherit her husband's share in the joint family, if he had effected separation before his death; and this was regarded as her Stridhana. It is, however, certain that she did not possess the right of disposal over it. It is no doubt true that the Mitakshara does not expressly lay down that a widow can enjoy only the income of the inheritance that would be included in her Stridhana. The Mitakshara was not prepared to concede even to the male manager of the joint family the power to alienate landed property that he may have himself acquired. It is, therefore, inconceivable that a right that was not granted even to the male manager of a joint family, could ever have been contemplated to be given to a widow. It was the intention of the Mitakshara that as long as she was alive, the widow should be in full possession and enjoyment of her husband's share of property; she should not dispose of it except for legal necessities.

Over Stridhana consisting of gifts and ornaments given to women by their relations, they however possessed absolute ownership. Even their husbands could not lay hands on it. In times of exceptional calamities, however, the husband was authorised to utilise Stridhana for family needs. This permission was but natural; when the stability and reputation of the family itself was at stake, what woman would ever think of clinging to her separate property? Hindu jurists have, however, laid down that the property taken from women on such occasions should be returned to them as soon as better days came.

ITEMS EXCLUDED FROM STRIDHANA

It is interesting to note that some items have been deliberately excluded from Stridhana. The first among these consists of gifts received from non-relatives at any time after the marriage. Inclusion of this item under Stridhana would have led to serious complications in families presided over by jealous husbands. It

was therefore but natural that such gifts should have been excluded from Stridhana. Wages earned by the wife did not also form part of her Stridhana. This would appear rather strange, but a little reflection will show that it was not an unreasonable step. Wages were usually earned by women of the working classes, whose budgets cannot be balanced even to-day without including the earnings of women and children. Under these circumstances, it would have been unfair to include the wife's wages in her Stridhana and call upon the husband to shoulder the entire burden of the family. Hindu jurists felt that the earnings of both the husband and the wife should be dedicated to the needs of the family. They have, however, failed to provide relief to the wife in those cases where the husband squanders away his own earnings and compels the wife to support the family almost entirely by her own wages. In modern industrial areas, such cases are not few. The law on this point, therefore, ought to be modified. It is but fair to maintain that what an educated wife may earn as a teacher or a doctor, or an uneducated wife as a field labourer or factory worker, should be primarily regarded as her own property. The husband should have no right to it. The Income Tax Department should not be allowed to lay its greedy hands over it. It should be left entirely to the wife as to what portions of her earnings she would devote to the general family expenditure. In actual practice it will be found that a woman factory worker or teacher would be spending a lesser amount on herself than her husband would do from his own income.

IMPROVEMENT NECESSARY IN MODERN TIMES

Let us see what other changes and improvements are necessary in the law of Stridhana. It would be seen that Stridhana, as conceived by the most liberal of Hindu jurists, did not comprise any items which could ensure any regular and recurring income to the wife during her coverture. An inheritance from the father was a rare event; an inheritance from the husband was possible only during widowhood. Ornaments included in Stridhana no doubt

transferred large property to her control, but it could not bring any recurring income. Women, therefore, were not provided for with any regular income during their coverture, which is just the time when they are anxious to spend most. In spite of the specious theory of joint ownership, the husband is usually the *de facto* controller of the family purse. The present age is an individualistic one, and the modern wife, whether educated or uneducated, often feels that it should not be necessary for her to get the sanction of her husband for every little expenditure that she may have to incur for herself. In order to get over the embarrassing situation often arising on such occasions, she feels that it would have been much better if she had a share in her father's property, the income of which she could have spent at her own free will. There are, however, several difficulties in giving the daughter a share in her father's patrimony, as will be shown in a subsequent article. It has to be admitted that owing to inherited traditions, the husband is often inclined to assume a patronising attitude when sanctioning any expenditure for the wife not relished by him. It has further to be recognised that whether in the East or in the West, there is not yet a proper appreciation of the valuable unpaid work for the household which the wife ungrudgingly does for the welfare of the family. Gifts from the husband formed an important element in Stridhana as envisaged by Hindu jurists and its scope went on increasing in course of time. The difficulties of the modern sensitive wife, above referred to, will disappear if it is laid down that a small percentage of the monthly income of the family, say 10 per cent., should belong exclusively to the wife as her Stridhana to be spent by her at her own sweet will, either for her own sake or for the sake of the family. An orientation in the development of Stridhana on this line is necessary in the modern individualistic age. It will immensely help in increasing the happiness of many a family.

RACE DISCRIMINATION IN CHILDREN

BY MR. PAUL MATHEWS, B.A. (Toronto), M.R.S.T.

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Not alone what we tell our children, nor what we give them to read, but what we are and do in our daily lives are bound to leave their deepest mark. Our attitudes toward servants and tradesmen, toward dirty and "objectionable" children from under-privileged homes, who climb on our automobile or steal our children's sled, our unspoken feelings about the coloured person who sits next to us in the street car, about the Jew in an exclusive real-estate development, private school or club, about our children's intimacies in whatever families represent to us "the other side of the tracks", all these will make up the sum and substance of how children learn to feel about others who are different from themselves.

—Anna W. M. Wolf.

THE first five years of a child's life are, perhaps, more important than any other five years of life. At birth the infant is endowed with unlimited possibilities in diverse directions. When he grows up, he may adopt any one of a wide range of occupations and display any one of a large variety of temperaments, so great are the individual differences in man. We do not claim too much when we say that personality is predetermined by hereditary potentialities, but it is most certainly controlled by training and environment. A child's conception of truth and falsehood, of the real and the imaginary, have their inception in the earliest years of life. Whether he is to be fundamentally truthful and honest, or capable of facing a reality even when it is unpleasant depends in large measure upon the atmosphere of the adults around him; for it is their own ability to deal successfully with reality that has the most profound effect upon an infant. A knowledge of the earliest years of childhood is essential for an adequate understanding of the child's development into adulthood.

The beginnings of a child's attitude towards others, of the recognition of what belongs to him and what does not, of respect for the rights and privileges of others, are all made in the first few years of life. It is while living at home with mother, father, brother and sister that he learns his first lessons in give and take, live and let live. Since he will have to live in a social world of equals and adults, one of the most important

acquisitions of his childhood is the development of right attitudes toward other people—their needs, interests, and activities; he should learn to consider as he would his own.

Race and class distinctions do not find a place in the life of the average child under five. As we watch the growth of the child mind, observing the interaction of new experiences and new knowledge making its indelible mark, we are sometimes shocked by a very young child blurring out some adult opinion or prejudice entirely out of harmony with his previous training. Our search for the origin of this statement may lead us to unexpected sources. Johnny, a Syrian aged five, and Angelo, an Italian, were playing quietly on a sand pile. Angelo turning round quickly happened to knock over the house that Johnny had built. One word brought another, and soon such phrases as "Wop", "Arab", and "Jew" were heard. Finally Angelo asked which was the better, an "Arab" or a "Wop." Upon being assured that both were equal, peace reigned for the time being, and both children went back to their play of building sand houses. When George, a four-year-old Syrian boy, gets angry, he calls other boys of any nationality a "Wop" or a "Jew", whichever word comes first into his head. He knows that it makes his temporary enemy angry and that is his purpose. Thus we find in quite young children a recognition of racial difference with an emotional bias against any other race but their own, and a careful investigation reveals the fact that the source of such feeling originated from the surrounding adult world.

Fear is most frequently connected with race-awareness in small children, and the reactions experienced in this way have the most devastating effects in later life. A young child may experience the emotion of fear for some one different from him because of acquired fear associations connected with certain race terms.

In a small country town in western New York was one very big black Negro who did odd jobs for everybody and was

respected and needed by all. The children, who knew him as the only one of the race, were devoted to him. A little fellow, four years old, had a long illness. He was allowed to go out on the front piazza in the twilight but was told not to go in the street. The temptation was too great, and he trotted out of the gate and up the street. It was almost dark, and looking suddenly up he saw this great big black man approaching. He shrank back in some fright and then laughed at himself heartily and said: "Why, Joe, is that you? I thought it was a nigger." None enjoyed the joke more than Joe who told it everywhere.

Parents are often surprised to find clearly defined race attitudes in their children, but on careful examination they will find one or two responsible sources. Either the attitude has been handed on to the children by some grown-up or older child, or they have themselves been responsible for transmitting the attitude without being consciously aware of having done so.

"A five-year-old, whose parents were not aware of having ever taught or suggested to him any kind of race feeling, was playing at the Kindergarten with a small coloured boy. When this child came a little too close to him for his liking, he remarked (in a tone of disapproval rather than alarm): 'Look out, little black child, don't breathe your black breath on me!'"

Obviously this child had not been deliberately taught by his parents that 'coloured' and 'bad' were synonymous terms, but had no doubt been instilled with the idea that there was something unclean and infectious about coloured children.

The tendency in young children to tease others, not necessarily of a different race, is often unduly regarded as cruelty by adult observers. This attitude of seeming cruelty towards someone who is unlike the group to which the child belongs is not uncommon. The cruelty of children, however, is not always the result of conscious hostility, and may often be associated with the pleasure of experiencing some form of activity. Freud links this cruelty in early childhood

with what he calls a 'repetition-compulsion' the desire for the repetition even of unpleasant experiences in order to get the better of them. Most of the unpleasant experiences of a small child are passive. In play or in phantasy, however, he will repeat these experiences, assuming the active part in the situation in order to gain complete mastery of it. If, for example, he has been accidentally hurt by an object or a person, he will remain fearful as long as he does not realise their harmless nature; when he does so, however, he often repeats the experience but taking the active "hurting" part himself. Even in the stories a child hears, he identifies himself with the character who hurts others, unless his sympathy has been previously guided into the right channels. To young children anybody strange-looking is a lawful prey to teasing, as long as he continues to remain harmless; but the first signs of retaliation on his part soon discourages further experimenting.

A negro family moved to a small town in America where there were no other coloured people. They sent their small son to a local school. Every day the boys ran after him with sticks and stones. Finally in desperation he took enough courage to fight them back—running after his tormentors with a butcher's knife. After that he was left respectfully alone.

Many children acquire the thoughtless habit of calling out to strangers by derisive nicknames which they have heard in their neighbourhood, and this should not be confused with deliberate ridicule. Children often enter school with the prejudices of their parents, and thoughtlessly let fall from innocent lips names of race contempt that hurts many a little heart out of all proportion to the intentions of the speaker. Countee Cullen vividly depicts such an incident:

Once riding in old Baltimore,
Heart-filled, head-filled with gloom,
I saw a Baltimorean
Keep looking straight at me.

Now I was eight and very small
And he was no white nigger,
And so I smiled, but he pinned me,
His tongue and called me "Nigger."

I saw the whole of Baltimore
From May until December;
Of all the things that happened there
That's all that I remember.

Let us look at the attitude of children in the despised group or class to various forms of ridicule. At first the child is made to feel ashamed of his ancestry and may develop a vague sense of resentment against his parents for being directly responsible for his fate. As he grows older, however, this ceases; he begins to form friendships with members of his own class and feels proud of his own group. But if he is placed in an alien environment and made to compete with children who reflect adverse adult attitudes towards him, he will develop a sense of inferiority that is apt to colour his outlook for life. George Brandes (the great Danish writer) described an illuminating scene of his early childhood:

When he walked out behind the servant girl, his younger brother with him, he sometimes heard a boy call after him, and when he turned around he saw a sneering face with drawn mouth and threatening fists. For long he paid no attention; but when the call became more frequent, he asked the servant what it meant. She said: 'Oh, nothing! When he asked again, she said: 'He is calling a bad word.'

One day when he again heard the word, he wanted to know what it meant and asked his mother: 'What does it mean? 'Jew', said his mother. 'There are some people called Jews? Are they bad people? 'Yes', she said smiling, 'very ugly people they are sometimes—but not always.' 'I'd like to see a Jew.' 'You can do that,' said the mother and held the little boy up to a large oval mirror that hung over the sofa. He cried out, terrified, and his mother quickly set him down, regretting not to have prepared him. She never mentioned the incident.

At one time or another, adds the commentator, every Jewish child cries out like that. It is the cry of one wounded to death. And with this cry the child becomes different.

The class and race attitudes of children vary with their environment, and their reactions differ according to their age. An infant may show signs of fear at someone who looks strange; at the early school age a child enjoys teasing those who amuse him by their odd appearance or peculiar dress; this may later develop into a mild form of ridicule without any intention of hurting. Beginning with "calling names" and "throwing stones", a more serious attitude of dislike and

hostility may be acquired and carried over into adult life. In much the same way that the child develops race attitudes does he acquire class discrimination.

A letter published recently in an English Liberal paper records the embarrassment of a refined household where a small boy visitor, who came from abroad and had not yet mastered the intricacies of polite manners, rose to open the door for a servant whose hands were full with a tray loaded with dishes.

As a child grows older, he begins to feel the impulse to fight not so much for the sake of fighting as for testing his own growing powers against that of his fellows. Two distinct gangs existing in the same locality will soon find their level in a healthy way. But when the gangs happen to belong to different classes, the feelings mixed with the combative tendency is strongly influenced by the adult attitude on both sides and the foundations of inter-class hatred are early laid. Where parents do not mind what they say or do to their servants, the children are not likely to treat them or their children with more respect. Fighting between gangs of the two classes can assume all the hostility and hatred of opponents in a class struggle. Between the ages of 10 and 12, boys apparently show more adverse race and class attitudes than before or after, but this is probably due to their love of fighting, and more fighting takes place for the mere pleasure of it, not because of any race hatred.

Upon his parents rest the grave responsibility of developing right attitudes toward others in the child. Soon enough the school and the gang, the club and society and a dozen other agencies will lend their help. But the attitudes that take deepest root and make their most lasting impression upon him in later life are those he acquired unconsciously during the earliest days of childhood in the home. The feelings of youth on matters of religion, race or rivalry can invariably be traced back to some early experience in the family. With meagre exceptions, the milestones of life are hung around a child's neck by his own parents, and all unconsciously carried by him into

adulthood. As Shaw has reminded us even the manners which children derive from their parents have a way of cropping up in spite of their evident efforts to keep them out of sight.

We denounce pugnacity in childhood, because it disregards the peace of others; we deprecate stealing, because it ignores the property rights of others; we may even discourage gossiping as an interference with the privacy of others. But one of the fundamental attitudes that calls for careful consideration to-day we most often neglect,

because it is bound up with our own emotions in such a way that makes it impossible for us to analyse clearly the child's attitude towards those who are different from him in social standing or national character.

Religious education in its widest sense is the only factor that can have a transforming effect upon a child by correcting wrong attitudes and creating a new outlook on life. Yet so much is lost by the narrow conceptions we have of religion to-day.

INDIAN PROBLEMS IN MALAYA

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS

A book of exceptional interest to South India has just reached me from Malaya. It has been written by Mr. K. A. Neelakandha Aiyer, the Secretary of the Central Indian Association, and it contains a Foreword written by Mr. A. M. Soosay, President of the same Association. The author has lived for more than a quarter of a century in the Malay peninsula and knows his own subject thoroughly. He has also a deep and sympathetic interest in his own fellow-countrymen, who come over as labourers to the Rubber Plantations from the Madras Presidency. His book is written with particular care, and there is very little in it that has any note of special pleading. On the whole, the writer draws a picture of the European employers, which they themselves could hardly find fault with. For, as far as I have seen, there are no one-sided statements, that might be in any way unfair to them. Yet, as we read it over, we find to our regret that the actual condition of things to-day is by no means as satisfactory as the Government Reports, issued each year, make them out to be.

In this article, I propose to quote specially from those chapters in which the writer has described certain factors, where my own earlier experience in Malaya corroborates what has been written. One of the things that has saddened me has been the fact, that in spite of an

Agent from the Government of India having been appointed to look after the interests of the Indian labourers in that country, and in spite of the earnest efforts that have been made at different times to bring about a more satisfactory condition of things, many of the old stumbling-blocks remain just the same as twenty years ago. Indeed as far as this book appears to tell us, there has been very little permanent improvement as yet in the Tamil labourer's lot. Perhaps one may make this one exception, that the minimum wage, which in earlier times was always liable to great fluctuation, has now become more stable. Yet, as contrasted with the profits that are derived from the Rubber industry, this living wage of the labourer is still outrageously low.

Let me record three revealing incidents in three different areas for which Indian labour is still being recruited to-day under the capitalist plantation system:

(1) Soon after the War was over, I was called to visit Chandpur in East Bengal, where what was named in the Press the 'Coolie exodus' took place quite suddenly. Many thousands of Indian labourers left in a body the Tea estates in the lower valley of Assam owing to the starvation wages which were being offered to them. On enquiry I found out that in a previous year the estate management had fully expected a big boom in

tea. They had, therefore, accepted on their estates nearly five times the annual number usually recruited. Then, after all, a slump came instead of the boom. As a consequence, this heavy increase in their labour-force was either discharged, or kept on half-rations. Such ruthless exploitation of labour was the real cause of the terrible disaster at Chandpur, where thousands of these poor labourers walked down all the way from the plantations to Chandpur and were kept waiting while cholera raged among them.

2. When I was in Ceylon, in 1986, a similar thing had recently happened. In 1984, a boom in tea was expected and in consequence labour was recruited from South India far in excess of any previous year. Here again, after an interval, a slump came in the tea industry, and the surplus Tamil labour was either sent back to India or else wandered about Ceylon in a half-starved condition, begging for employment. This led directly to a crisis in Ceylon and almost a riot, because these unemployed Tamil labourers increased the distress among the Ceylonese.

8. I find that, according to this new book of Mr. N. Aiyer, the year 1987 in Malaya was regarded as the beginning of a boom in the Rubber industry. In consequence of this expected boom, the labour recruited from South India was suddenly doubled in a single year! We read in this book: "A record number of labourers emigrated from South India in 1987 owing to signs of high prosperity, which, however, proved to be of a transient nature."

I have italicised the last words of this sentence, for if this proves to be true, then we shall have once more the miserable sequel of unwanted labour thrown aside, or else 'returned empty', as it were, by the rubber plantations.

What other countries, except India or China in its present chaotic state, would allow its own labourers, who are not able to look after themselves, to be exploited in this manner by those who are seeking to get rapidly rich? Who else would be allowed to use a large labour force of hundreds of thousands of people in this way,

as if it did not consist of human beings whose families at any moment may starve?

We are told, again and again, by the Government of Malaya and the Planters' Association that the European employers are kind hearted and generous men; and this is actually true on many estates as I know well. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri's Report also appears to bear this out. Indeed, in the good seasons of prosperity, there are always certain amenities granted. But no capitalist system in the world is ever based on charity. No capitalist business methods ensure permanent liberality towards those who are employed. Single acts of personal and individual kindness, on the part of certain employers, are continually counterbalanced by the ruthlessness of the whole system.

When I look back on that Cholera Camp in Chandpur in 1921, and remember those terrible days, it is difficult to forgive or forget this money-making capitalism, which is ready in spite of kindly employers, to act in a ruthless manner,—at one moment to absorb a vast number of labourers, far beyond the annual quota, and then at another moment to throw them aside like the skin of a sucked orange!

The table of arrivals and departures for the last 10 years in Malaya prove interesting reading. They show how the estates have thrown aside their surplus labour as soon as ever a world slump threatened. Whenever a boom is expected they absorb as fast as possible new recruits. The year 1929, for instance, was such a boom year. Then the slump came in 1930-31. The boom was again expected in 1984. In the light of these facts let us examine the tables which I give below:

| | Arrivals. | Departures. | Difference. |
|------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| 1928 | 68,072 | 91,252 | - 28,180 |
| 1929 | 114,252 | 76,854 | + 87,898 |
| 1980 | 69,114 | 151,755 | - 82,641 |
| 1981 | 19,692 | 101,547 | - 81,855 |
| 1982 | 17,784 | 84,501 | - 66,717 |
| 1984 | 89,828 | 26,008 | + 81,220 |
| 1985 | 85,191 | 88,889 | + 26,532 |
| 1987 | 122,566 | 45,167 | + 77,899 |

Chinese labour seems to be almost as helpless as Indian labour. Exactly the same process can be easily visualised from the table of arrivals and departures of Chinese deck passengers to Malaya which is given below:—

| | Arrivals. | Departures. | Difference |
|------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| 1929 | 264,591 | 164,826 | + 99,765 |
| 1930 | 218,868 | 199,800 | + 19,068 |
| 1931 | 79,085 | 212,900 | -133,815 |
| 1932 | 88,584 | 161,809 | -123,275 |
| 1933 | 28,464 | 86,555 | - 58,091 |
| 1934 | 109,267 | 68,129 | + 41,138 |
| 1935 | 145,858 | 69,025 | + 76,833 |
| 1937 | 248,804 | 66,502 | +176,802 |

Many questions immediately arise in the mind, when we see the drift of these figures. "What happens," we ask, "to these thousands of dismissed labourers who are obliged to return to their own countries, where unemployment has already reached its highest point? Why should not Malaya provide relief for its own unemployed? Why should it drive them back to India during the slump years and then immediately call for them once more when the boom years begin? Why should the Government of India itself allow this?"

One further point of very great importance arises from the consideration of labour conditions such as those that exist in Assam, Ceylon, and Malaya. How far are these countries, which first take this casual labour and then eject it, prepared to provide *land settlement* for those who come over? These countries are still comparatively under-populated areas. Is any attempt being made on a large scale to enable recruited immigrants to settle down with their families. When I was over in Malaya, in earlier years, strenuous attention was called to this question of land settlement. The Government of India was constantly urged to make the recruitment of this form of Indian emigration depend on the prospects held out in these countries for the land settlement of immigrants from South India with their families. It was pointed out again and again that only by such settlement could the proportion of men to women become at all equalised and the evils of a large disproportion of men as compared with women be avoided. Looking through this recently published book, I see very little real improvement with regard to this land settlement question. Here is an acid test.

Possibilities of Broadcasting in India

BY MR. C. N. ZUTSHI, M.R.A.S. (LONDON)

(Ex Editor of "The Sunday Times")

BBROADCASTING is nothing new to a country like India familiar with Akashvani or an ethereal or disembodied voice heard from the higher regions as a Divine warning or approbation on critical occasions, tragic or joyous. There are many references to this Divine voice in the ancient literature. To-day broadcasting represents that Divine phenomenon as a purely scientific truth; in other words it means the conquest of nature by science which has harnessed the ether for the purposes of popular education and progress, vocal communications being free from the dry-as-dust dryness of the printed records are more appealing to the hearts of the listeners-in; and it is this fact that makes broadcasting an AI invention of modern times.

In the present age when the surging tide of democracy is setting up everywhere progressive political institutions on the ruins of the old forms of government, personal or aristocratic, when we are all anxious to see the successful working of such new-fangled institutions wherever established, it is not too much to say that anything that helps to disseminate such ideas of democracy as may tend to make people all over the globe think, feel, and act as one man, ought to be of great interest to us and must be welcomed by all. This being so, for India at a time like the present when great constitutional changes have been introduced, broadcasting has special significance and importance.

Apart from such obvious political advantages, broadcasting is bound to add

to the sum-total of the efficiency and happiness of the citizens of the world by infusing in them the common love of good and an appreciation of the correct outlook on life. Exchange of ideas through



MR. C. N. ZUTSHI, M.B.A.S.

broadcasting will remove the barriers of prejudice and hatred and wean people from their false pride in rank and blood, which tends to retard cultural unity among the nations of the world. For India cradled in a sublime religion and philosophy and nurtured in a highly ethical culture, broadcasting will make it possible to benefit the world by her great cultural inheritance. She will thus be able to continue the great work carried on in the past by her sages and saints who carried their messages either by roaming throughout the length and breadth of the world or by inscribing them on rocks, ever keeping alive man's spiritual thirst for eternal truths and breathing peace and goodwill to all human beings upon earth. Broadcasting will enable India to carry the wise teachings of Kabir, Tulsidas, Ram Das and a host of other mystic saints to the hearts of the people and thus keep the torch of truth and wisdom aflame for all times in the world. More than this, she will preach the gospel of peace and universal brotherhood of all sentient beings and thus realize the life dreams of Asoka and Buddha by establishing the Parliament of man in the Federation of the world.

It would be a cruel irony if broadcasting were made a purely high brow

affair, appealing to higher intellectual classes only, humanizing culture, and making it universal in the world and its benefits not made to filter down to the lower orders. I mean millions of people living in villages should be made to participate in the benefits of broadcasting.

An ever-deepening national impulse is compelling India to go back to the font of her own tradition and her own culture, to insist upon developing along her own lines so that she may be able to contribute to the knowledge of the world. This being so, I think great importance attaches to the task of rural reconstruction, for the village still forms the unit of the ancient civilisation of India. It is, therefore, necessary that all schemes of rural uplift should include facilities for improving the lot, mental outlook, and physical well-being of the Indian peasant who forms the backbone of Society and of the State. For as the poet says:

Great is the sword and mighty is the pen,
But greater far the labouring ploughman's blade,
For on its oxen and husbandmen,
An Empire's strength is laid.

In the task of rural reconstruction in India, broadcasting is sure to play a great part and the diffusion of this agency is, I think, both urgent and called for.

Now something for the broadcasting programmes must be said. The standard of the broadcasting programmes should not be either too high or too low. The speaker on the microphone must not only be heard but also understood by millions of listeners-in. His task is different to that of a speaker in the town hall or the theatre with its limited audience. In broadcasting, one cannot simplify the interpretations of one's performance by means of visual contact. Hence the importance and difficulty of the broadcasting programmes; and great care need, therefore, be taken to make them productive of real good.

The broadcasting programmes, in general, must be so framed as to cater for all tastes; they must be interesting to the more fastidious taste and yet pleasing and intelligible to the less pretensions. In a word, these programmes should be a skilful psychological mixture of instruction, stimulation, relaxation and entertainment, free from vulgarising narrowing tendencies,

advertisement, and, last but not least, cheap sensationalism, political stunts and controversies. Special consideration must needs be paid to relaxation and entertainment.

Now what stuff can hold a village audience? What programmes should be framed for the edification of the villagers? The peasants should be given the news of the day, the fluctuation of prices and the knowledge of outside markets and some advice as to how these would affect them. The broadcasts should supply information regarding weather related to crops grown in different parts of India. Along with these, popular music and songs, dramatic discourses in conversational form should be a regular feature of the programmes for the villagers.

Of all the twentieth century inventions that have opened our eyes to the beauties

and riches of life, the radio is the most important as it has brought the educational treasures of our culture within easy reach of countless millions. Broadcasting can play a vital part in the building up of the future of India as well as of the whole world, only if it is not vulgarised and used for narrow purposes; but, on the other hand, if this dynamic force, under an intelligent and skilled leadership, is regulated to serve as a means of well-designed and comprehensive scheme of education and uplift, it is sure to be a great asset in the task of increasing the sum-total of human happiness and enjoyment and of directing human effort to high purposes. It is thus by judicious handling that the dynamic forces of the twentieth century, now at work for good or for ill, can be so guided and arranged to beneficial purposes as to be our servants and friends.

WHITHER CIVILIZATION ?

BY

DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, M.A., PH.D.

CIVILIZATION to-day seems to be in the throes of a serious crisis. It appears to be passing through one of those periodic convulsions which have effaced many a culture in the past. Doctors of humanity are diagnosing the disease. While some of them are a little optimistic in the hope that something good will come out of all this evil, the others see no way out of the present debacle and forecast a speedy doom. William Winwood Reade writing in 1872 thinks that it is but just that each generation should be tortured for the sake of making their children profit by their woes. It is in the martyrdom of man that his prosperity lies. H. G. Wells, in presenting the "Dream Book" of Dr. Philip Raven, describes the age we live in, the early twentieth century, as the age of frustration. He regards this as an era of increasing mental uneasiness, of forced beliefs, hypocrisy, cynicism, abandon and impatience. A French writer (M. Andre Maurois) deplors the tragic decline of the humane ideal

during the last ten years and declares that at every point the forces of civilization seem to be sounding a retreat. Spengler would say that it is all as it should be. In the course of history, civilization takes successive incarnations in different centres. In the case of each there is a determinate and approximately equal term of life with a period of incubation, adolescence, maturity and decay. The present Western civilization, under whose sway almost the entire world finds itself, has by now entered the last of these stages, the period of decay and so its downfall is imminent. The decline of the West is only the fulfilment of the law of civilization. Some may not endorse Spengler's view, but all are agreed that we are passing through a critical stage. The old world is fast dying, the new has not arrived.

Paradoxical it may seem, but nevertheless it is true that the enormous progress of science is not a little responsible for the present sorry plight. It was one of the delusions of nineteenth century thinking

that the millennium was going to be established through the march of science. Within the lifetime of a single individual in that century the face of the world was changed beyond recognition. It was covered with a network of steel-rails on which locomotives drew gigantic vehicles; its waters were made to teem with huge ships propelled without sail or oar; over the land and under the seas were stretched wires along which messages could be sent from continent to continent with the speed of lightning.* To-day we are familiar with even greater wonders. The air-ways, the talkie and the radio are the fruits of scientific progress and the symbols of modern civilization. And the potentialities of science do not seem to have been exhausted. We are promised several things tending to give us increasing comfort and leisure, and we are led to believe that science will comfort this world into a veritable garden of pleasure.

I need not tell you that this hope is ill-founded. Control of natural forces and increased technical efficiency have only accentuated the complexity and tragedy of life. When we look at the grotesqueness and ghastliness of mass-murder which science has helped to bring about, we wonder if in any way we are better than the pre-historic savage in spite of our huge machines, magnificent sky-scrapers, luxurious motor-cars and fashionable dress. The monkey may learn table-manners and the ritual of the knife and fork; it may ride a bicycle and smoke a cigar; but still it remains a monkey. As an unlettered peasant remarked to Maxim Gorky: "Yes, we are taught to fly in the air like birds and to swim in water like fishes, but how to live on the earth we do not know." Moral progress has not kept pace with material advance. We have learned the secrets of nature, but we have forgotten the art of life. Science was meant to cure, but it has turned out to be a curse. It was intended to serve as the magic key to unlock the mysteries of Nature; man wields it as he would the pick-axe to tear and to destroy. A hundred thousand years of so-called progress has not

enabled him to leave off his primitive bestiality.

We are living in an age of war and of preparation for war. We shudder when we are told that the nations of the world are at present spending seven million pounds a day on armament programmes, spending these vast sums of money for the destruction of humanity. The human race appears to have become enslaved to military tyranny. Youthful millions are driven to the battlefield to kill and to be killed. We are informed that war is a manly exercise. Women are regarded as machines for producing baby warriors; and if their output of cannon-fodder is insufficient, they themselves should leave their homes, don the uniform and take to this exercise called war. The engines of wrath mow down masses of civil population and life has ceased to be sacred. In the name of civilization and peace, wars of aggression are waged; the machine gun and poison gas have become the messengers of culture. Force is preferred to persuasion war to peace, armaments to articles of food. There can be no decency in any war. But even the ordinary rules of this dirty game are not now observed.

Disruption has invaded all the institutions of the human kind. As an eminent English economist (R. H. Tawney) says: We are obsessed by economic issues. We worship money with an ardour that has never been excelled, not even by the seventeenth century religious zeal. It is this obsession by economic issues that acts like a poison, inflaming every wound and turning each trivial scratch into a malignant ulcer. Family life, community interests, national and international affairs are all affected by this baneful disease. Art and philosophy, religion and morality are considered to be things not worth troubling about. Spiritual values are fast being forgotten and materialism is the ruling ideology of the day. If religion is not universally condemned as a dope which fogs men's minds, it is at least conveniently ignored or reserved for ceremonial occasions. Man's soul is not what matters; what is useful is his body. Nay, it is even doubted if he has any soul, if he is anything more than a pair of pincers set over a bellow and a stew-pan, and the whole fixed

* See "Civilization" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

upon stilts'. By an irony of fate, man has become one with the machine which he has created. Instead of being its master, he is its slave. We are lost in a maze of machines and wander without a lofty ideal. Culture has, as a consequence, received a set-back. The world has been thrown into a welter of disaster. Its eyes are blindfolded. It cannot see whither civilisation is driving it. It has definitely lost its way, gone off its track, though not irretrievably, very far away indeed.

It is not my wish, however, to strike a pessimistic note. There is no need to take an alarmist view of things. We learn by blundering and so long as there is left in us the capacity to learn there is no fear of a final doom. Man is perfectible because he is educable. He can be civilised because he can be made to understand. There are signs of a new civilisation even in the midst of the prevailing gloom and frustration. In our country, for instance, we have, of late, seen how persons, who believed in the efficacy of violence, have now come to realise the error of their old ways. And ere long even nations will recognise the futility of war. Only then will civilisation come to its own.

Spengler thinks that the rising civilisation is that of Russia. It is the tenth avatara of civilisation. According to him a Russian renaissance may be expected at about A.D. 2500 by which time Western European civilisation will have reached its close. I believe this will not come true. The age of regional civilisations is past. The world is becoming smaller every day. With increasing facilities for transport and communication, the destinies of the different countries are thrown together. There is a greater chance of a world-civilisation coming into being than of any provincial progress. Further, Spengler overlooks the significant fact that a civilisation like the Indian is not really dead. On the other hand, lovers of culture like Romain Rolland look to India for the emancipation of the human race. The Wellesian vision of the future world-state is that of one single organism of nearly two thousand five

hundred million persons. The history of life will pass into a new phase—a phase with a common consciousness and a common will. Even this consummation does not seem to be probable. Political or cultural absolutism, however broadbased, will not serve to remove the present ills. Harmony and not uniformity will be the mark of the coming civilization. It will have many centres and it will find expression in many ways. But all these differences will be subservient to the understanding and accomplishment of the purpose of the universe.

The future civilization, I trust, will be founded on intellectual co-operation, international understanding and economic sharing and wedded to the realisation of the eternal values, truth, beauty and goodness, through philosophy and science, poetry and art, morality and religion. There will be civil liberty, social equality and spiritual fraternity. The civilizing *elan* will make man a citizen of the world, who would wish and work for the well-being of all. There is an old Sanskrit verse praying for universal happiness and peace. *Sarvas taratu durgani, sarvo bhadrani pasyatu; sarvas tad buddhim apnotu, sarvas sarvatra nandatu*. May all beings safely cross beyond the hazards and hardships of life; may all see the beaming face of happiness; may all attain to right knowledge and let there be universal rejoice. I believe this will be achieved in the coming civilisation, because it will be an age without wars. When the seeds of strife have been destroyed, why should there be war? When economic competition has been abolished, why should there be strife? When the materialist ideology has been banished, and when people are not prepared to lose their 'soul' even if they should gain the whole world, why should there be a scramble for material power? Blood-lust and earth-hunger will be unknown to the generations of this unborn civilisation. Science will then be a ministering angel extending the frontiers of man's knowledge and making him live in amity and peace.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAKIAN CRISIS

By MR. HRISHIKESH ROY, M.A.

HITLER'S dramatic coup in Austria and the consummation of his long-cherished Anschluss have brought about an alarming situation in Central Europe. Far-seeing statesmen saw in this move a definite attempt to realise his dream of a Pan-Germanic State striding like a Colossus over the continent of Europe and shrewdly suspected that a similar coup would soon overtake other countries in Central Europe where the Germans form strong minority groups. This suspicion has been fully corroborated by recent events in Czecho-Slovakia where the Sudeten Germans forming a large part of the population have raised the bogey of persecution and are demanding complete secession from the Czecho-Slovak State. Hitler's full support of their demands has created a crisis of the first magnitude which threatens to lead to a world conflagration.

The situation, as it has now developed, is as complicating as it is baffling. First of all, there is the immediate problem of acute and almost unbridgeable differences between the Germans and the Czechs. Next are the wider racial problems of the State which unfortunately consists of several minorities not having much sympathy with the just aspirations of the Government. Of its total population of 14,782,644 millions, nearly 35 per cent. are neither Czecho nor Slovaks. These form the minorities and the 1930 Census gives their numbers as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Germans | 3,231,716 | 22.22 per cent. |
| Magyars (Hungarians) | 693,131 | 4.73 " |
| Ruthenians | 594,043 | 3.79 " |
| Jews | 136,474 | 1.29 " |
| Poles | 31,741 | 0.22 " |
| Other Nationalities | 49,645 | |
| Foreigners | 250,031 | |

The Czechs and Slovaks are about 9,688,948 millions and form 62.90 per cent. of the total population. Of course, the Treaty of Versailles is mainly responsible for this unhappy state of affairs; for while creating a new state for the Czechs and Slovaks, who groaned long under the tyrannies of the German and the Austro-Hungarian monarchies, it sowed seeds of dissension by drawing up political boundaries not consistent with ethnical principles.

But this is not all. Closely bound up with the minorities problem is the international question—its political relationship with neighbouring countries, especially Germany. A glance at the map of Czecho-Slovakia will show that the whole State is a narrow strip of land surrounded on all sides by powerful neighbours. Two long pincers of German population press upon it, the Germans of Silesia and the German-Austrians north-east of Vienna. Magyars press upon it from the south in like degree. Then there are Poland, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia. The welfare of Czecho-Slovakia is, therefore, dependent, to a great extent, upon its international relationships.

The new State, as soon as it came into being, tried to solve its minority problems on a just basis without aiming at "Czechosization". But the Germans and the Magyars were not satisfied with this; for the Germans had so long dominated Bohemia, and the Magyars had ruled Slovaks and Ruthenians and had no desire to exchange places with them. They offered unrelenting opposition to the new government, but their opposition was weakened by their dissensions among

themselves and the clever foreign policy and administration of the government under the able guidance of President Masaryk. The just aspirations of the Germans were satisfied by providing German schools for the Germans and conceding full proportional representation in the local government and also in the Parliament. The majority of the Germans agreed to co-operate with the Government with the result that three German ministers were included in the Cabinet.

The German "Activists" consisting of the German Agrarians, the Christian Socialist Party and the Social Democrats helped the Government a lot which was practically supported now by 85 per cent. of the German electorates; but at the General Election of 1935, the majority of the votes went to Herr Henlein, the leader of the newly formed Sudeten Deuschke Party, who so long refused to co-operate with the Government and raised the cry of persecution at the hands of the Czecho-Slovak Government.

In November 1936, the Prime Minister, Dr. Hodza, asked the three German ministers to formulate their demands. The Activists concurred with the proposal and laid down the following six principles:

- (1) In the placing of Government contracts, local enterprise and local workers shall have first consideration.
- (2) Social welfare and health services, especially child relief, shall be administered by Germans wherever they form majority.
- (3) More civil service appointments are given to Germans—language tests should be made easier and appointments would be made conditional on loyalty to the State.
- (4) Public bodies and organisations in German areas are to annex German translations to all official communication free of charge.
- (5) The Government will allocate funds for the educational needs of the minority.
- (6) And the Government promises to investigate and remove shortcomings in local government practice injurious to the interests of the national minorities.

The Czecho-Slovak Government considered these principles and prepared the Administrative Reform Bill and the National Statute for safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Germans and other minorities. But these concessions were not considered as adequate by Henlein's Party. Intoxicated with power as a result of their victory in the municipal and provincial elections, the Sudeten Germans demanded full racial autonomy. Herr Henlein, the leader of their Party, submitted a memorandum in which they put forth eight demands:

- (1) Full equality of status for Czechs and Germans.
- (2) A guarantee of this equality by the recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a legal body corporate.
- (3) Determination and legal recognition of the German areas within the State.
- (4) Full self-government for the German areas.
- (5) The protection of the law for every citizen living outside the area of his own nationality.
- (6) Removal of the injustices inflicted in 1918 and reparations for the injustices thereby caused.
- (7) Recognition of the German officials within the German areas.
- (8) Full liberty to profess German nationality and German political philosophy.

The Czecho-Slovak Government regarded the proposals to be highly extravagant and incompatible with the integrity and independence of the State. The door for negotiations, however, was kept open and the Government set forth counter-proposals to meet some of the demands of the Germans which were as follows:

- (1) A recommendation for the principle of proportional employment of officials according to population.
- (2) Employment of officials in districts of their own nationality.
- (3) Division of security service among local State police so that local regions may have a police force of their own nationality.
- (4) A new linguistic law based on complete equality in language.
- (5) Assistance to individual life in German districts most affected by the crisis, including a loan of 700 million crowns on advantageous terms.

(6) Creation of equality of national status on the basis of national autonomy by introducing a system of 'gane (cantons) whereby Germans will enjoy self-government within territories where Germans are in a majority. All questions not concerning national unity will be dealt with locally. Integrity of frontier and unity of State will be effectively guaranteed.

(7) Special sections for cantons will be created in all central administrations, which will be run by nations who will deal with matters affecting their own nationality.

(8) The national right of the citizens will be protected by special laws and the elected representatives of the various nationalities in the various representative bodies will have the right to complain against any interference with the rights or interests of their nationals. A special register will be established for each nationality.

(9) Immediate steps will be taken to reach an agreement on those points which do not require legislation.

These proposals, when properly analysed, are found to satisfy most of the grievances of the Sudeten Germans as embodied in their memorandum. Surely these concessions are the furthest limit that any State can go to safeguard the rights of its minorities consistent with its independence and integrity. The Czecho-Slovak Government have all along treated the minorities with special consideration and have spared no pains to satisfy their legitimate rights. This is at once apparent when the treatment of the minorities in Czecho-Slovakia is compared with the treatment accorded to the German minorities in Italy. But Hitler is blind to these persecutions because Mussolini's friendship is required for gaining his ends.

The Sudeten Germans, however, were not satisfied with these concessions and demanded full racial autonomy. The truth is that the clamouring for their rights is, after all, a smoke-screen to hide their real objective which is to merge themselves with the Reich. Herr Henlein in his Carlsbad speech on April 28 frankly said:

We solemnly and openly declare that our policy is inspired by the principles and ideas of National Socialism. If Czech statesmen want to reach a

permanent understanding with us Germans and with the German Reich, they will have to fulfil our demand that a complete revision of Czech foreign policy which up to to-day has led the State into the enemies of the German people.

Again, in speaking at the National Gymnastic Festival at Dresden, he referred to Hitler as leader of the Germans within and without the frontiers of the Reich and said that while being nationals of various Powers, they remained citizens of the great German nation and voluntarily placed themselves under the laws of the German nation. Thus it is seen that the Sudeten Germans are merely the advance guard of German expansion in Central and South-eastern Europe. They are mere pawns in Hitler's game.

This brings us to the most important problem before the Czech Government—its relationship with the powerful neighbouring nations, particularly Germany. It has been already pointed out that Czecho-Slovakia is pressed on two sides by the Germans like two pincers; the Hungarians press down from the South. Then there are the States of Poland, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia. From the outset, Germany, Austria and Hungary were hostile to the new State; for it gained territory at the expense of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Czecho-Slovakia, therefore, at once concluded a defensive alliance with Yugo-Slavia and Rumania in 1920 and 1921, two States that had similarly been carved out of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy in order to prevent the return of the Hapsburgs to power either in Austria or Hungary. These three little States together formed the Little Entente and established a permanent council of their three Foreign ministers to direct foreign affairs. A treaty was concluded with Poland by

which both agreed to recognise each other's territorial rights as defined in the several peace treaties. But Hitler was successful in drawing Poland to his side by forming a treaty of friendship with Poland in 1934. Czecho-Slovakia realised the danger and concluded a treaty with Russia, and being a member of the League of Nations, France and other Powers, who are still members of that body, are bound to fight for the integrity and independence of Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia was, therefore internationally in a very strong position. But Hitler is determined to take it; for it occupies a very strategic position and lies at the junction of four trends of political expansion—the Germans, the French, the Italian and the Russian. Prince Bismarck realised it long ago when he said: "Whoever is master of Bohemia is master of Europe." Hitler knows this fully well and is, therefore, backing up the demands of the Sudeten Germans, who are mere pawns in his political game. For if he can once annex Czecho-Slovakia to the German Reich, Germany will be the master of the Czecho-Slovak iron works, coal and metal basins, grain, sugar, and meat; of the Ruthenian petroleum, of the Ukrainian fertile plains; of an access to the Black Sea, and the Germans' dream of 'Drang nach Osten' (thrust towards the East) will be easily achieved.

The situation in Czecho-Slovakia is daily growing graver and graver. Lord Bunciman's mediation, which had been looked upon in certain circles with great hope, has failed to achieve any tangible result. The negotiations between the Czecho-Slovak Government and the Sudeten Germans have completely broken down. There is practically a civil war in the

country and the Czech Government had to declare Martial law in several districts where disturbances occurred. The Sudeten Germans complained of persecution and submitted a six-hours' ultimatum to withdraw Martial law and release all German prisoners. The Government denied that the Germans were being persecuted and extended Martial law to other districts as well. The Sudeten German Party then advised Germans to use arms to defend their rights. The Government were, therefore, forced to declare the Sudeten Deutschtze Party as unlawful and asked all Germans to surrender their arms. Hitler became indignant and threatened to use the whole might of Germany to protect German minorities in Czecho-Slovakia. Powers now began to group together as they did before the outbreak of the Great War. France and Russia agreed to stand by Czecho-Slovakia. Italy supported Germany. The peace of Europe now hangs by a thread. But this impending war can easily be averted if all the democratic States of Europe put up a united front; for the struggle that is going on in Czecho-Slovakia is not merely a fight for maintaining its integrity and independence, but it also represents a bulwark of democracy fighting for its very existence against the monster of Fascism and Imperialism menacing civilisation in Europe. Everything now depends on the attitude of Britain. Mr. Chamberlain's flight to Germany and meeting personally with Hitler kindled great hopes of an eleventh hour settlement of the Czech-Sudeten problem. What has transpired between the two leaders has not been definitely known, but it is learnt that Britain and France have submitted a joint memorandum which proposes cession to Germany of all

Sudeten territories in which there is a majority of 75 per cent. German population and measures of wide autonomy in those districts where the percentage of Germans is less.

This shameful betrayal by Britain and France has shocked the whole world. Whether the Czechs have accepted these proposals or not is not yet definitely known,* but it is reported that the Czech Government's note to Britain and France states that it cannot subscribe to the Franco-British proposals, which were made without Prague's consent and asks that the conflict between Germany and Czecho-Slovakia should be submitted to arbitration in accordance with the 1926 treaty. Czecho-Slovakia is now on the horns of a dilemma. If she agrees to the Anglo-French proposals, it means extinction of its independence; for with the secession of Sudeten areas, other minorities will also clamour for the same rights. On the other hand, if she rejects

*For further developments in the Czech-German crisis, the reader is referred to the section—"Foreign Affairs".—Ed. I. R.]

these proposals, war will be inevitable. But in that event, she will have to fight a lone battle or at best she can expect to get Russia's help. France has already backed out; for it is reported that the British Government threatened to wash its hands off the Czecho-Slovakian affairs if France refused to accept the British plan and so she was made to betray Czecho-Slovakia under threats of non-co-operation in the event of Germany attacking her. British policy has been criticized severely in England and America. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, Lord Cecil condemned the British policy in the strongest language:

Submission to Hitler means extinction of Czecho-Slovak independence; it means breach of our treaty pledges; it means a great increase of the prestige of the Nazi Government and corresponding diminution of the prestige of Britain; it means acceptance of the view that the only thing that counts in international affairs is brutal force and that the hope of substituting for it reason and justice must be definitely abandoned.

If Britain thinks that by keeping herself aloof, she will avert a war, then she is mistaken. Events are moving so fast that nothing can be predicted.

22nd September, 1938.



MAP OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Dotted line round shaded portion represents present boundary. If areas are ceded to Germany, Poland and Hungary, the country will be reduced as shown.

THE SIND MINISTERIAL TANGLE

BY

PROF. H. C. MALKANI, M.A.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL summed up the problem of Sind in a very succinct manner. It is, as he said, a small province with small men and a big deficit. Sind is, indeed, a small province with an area of 46,000 square miles and a population of about 88 lakhs. Both from the point of view of area and population, it compares unfavourably with the other provinces in India. As for the men, the bulk of the population, nearly 78 per cent., are Mussalmans. The province is backward both economically as well as politically. The masses are illiterate, and the literate few have not much influence on the life of the province. There are still vestiges of feudalism in rural Sind. The Sind Zamindars or 'Waderas' as they are called are big absentee landlords having villages called after them and exercising great control over their people.

The Sind Legislative Assembly has 60 members including the Speaker. The members are elected by single-member constituencies and are largely representative of rural and agricultural interests. Barring a few representatives of the towns, most of them are directly interested in problems of agriculture and irrigation. The bulk of the revenue of the province is derived from taxation of land. Land revenue includes the charge for irrigation facilities. Thus it is a composite charge and provides for no exemption even to the smallest Khatedar. Most of the Sind Zamindars are absentee landlords living on the fat of the land. The typical Sindhi agriculturist called the 'Hari' is a tenant-at-will, that

is, more or less a landless labourer having no rights whatsoever in the land that he cultivates. He depends for his livelihood as well as his security upon the good graces of his Zamindar, who often finds it advantageous to re-employ him every year at least for the recovery of his old debts.

The land revenue settlement in Sind is a variety of Zamindari tenure revised after stated intervals. The present ministerial tangle has arisen out of the Settlement proposals of the Government. Following the report of the Sind Administrative Committee appointed before the separation of Sind, the Government of Sind have adopted the sliding scale of land revenue taxation whereby the land revenue charged in a particular year will depend upon the price of produce in that year. There can be no objection in principle to a sliding scale system, which is definitely more scientific than the present system. Objection seems to have been taken on account of the fact that the present ministry did not consult the parties on whose support it came into existence. These parties are the Congress Party, the Hindu Independent Party and the Sind United Party, each having roughly a strength of about 10 members.

The present ministerial crisis in Sind has arisen mainly on account of the fact that the Government formulated their assessment proposals without formally consulting the parties on whose support it relied. Thus the ministry has been accused of betraying the trust reposed by the parties in it. The question has been further complicated on account of

the personal bickerings between Mr. G. M. Syed and Khan Bahadur Allahbux, both of whom combined to overthrow the previous ministry.

It must be admitted that the parties in the Sind Assembly are not based on fixed political principles. They are groups rather than parties in the strict political sense of the term. Members leave one party and join another almost as ordinary people discard old clothes and wear new ones. Everything seems to change, only the personal jealousies and rivalries seem to be permanent. Of late, the Muslim members in the Opposition have been drifting towards the Muslim League, not very much because they are enamoured of its principles but because they find it advantageous to decry the present ministry as being pro-Hindu on account of its being supported by the majority of Hindus.

The Congress Party, which is a homogeneous unit of 10 members, has failed to give the right lead in the present crisis. It is not prepared to take upon itself the responsibility of either maintaining or overthrowing the present ministry. It has resumed its original position of independence and has decided to maintain neutrality when the no-confidence motion is brought against the present ministry.

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the former Chief Minister, has addressed a letter to His Excellency the Governor of Sind, requesting His Excellency to convene the Assembly in order to enable the Opposition to move a vote of no-confidence against the ministry.*

* As we go to Press it is announced that the acting Governor, Mr. J. H. Garrett, has refused the demand to summon the Assembly. In his reply to Sir Ghulam Hussain, the Governor

The present Governor is just a bird of passage, the permanent incumbent, Sir Lancelot Graham, having proceeded on leave.

Thus the province of Sind is in a state of political flux. What work can possibly be expected from ministers who every day of their life are faced with new situations? Their only effort at present appears to be to consolidate their position and, if possible, to escape a vote of no-confidence. How long will they succeed in baffling organized Muslim public opinion against them is difficult to say with certainty. Meantime, the ministry is going to make another attempt to woo the Congress to its side. Rumour has it that Khan Bahadur Allahbux may go over to Delhi to discuss with the Congress leaders some new formula whereby the present impasse may be removed.

Be it as it may, one thing is certain. The financial and political troubles of Sind make it abundantly clear that it is not very desirable to constitute small separate provinces merely on the ground of linguistic and historical reasons.

says that he is unable to agree that the prolongation of the period between two sessions of the Assembly infringes the constitutional rights of the people and is a violation of the spirit underlying the new Constitution.

The constitutional position in the Governor's view is governed by Section 62 (1) of the Government of India Act 1935 which runs as follows:

"The Chamber or Chambers of each Provincial Legislature shall be summoned to meet once at least in every year, and 12 months shall not intervene between their last sitting in one session and the date appointed for their first sitting in the next session."—[Ed. I.R.]

THE NEGLECTED CHILD

By MARGARET R. LADDEN

THESE two slim volumes edited by Clifford Manhardt,* the well known Director of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay, are of engrossing interest to those who hear everywhere in India the cry of the neglected or exploited child. India is a land of strange contrasts. On the one hand we find the child made the pinnacle of marriage, loved and petted even to the point of spoiling. Nowhere in India is the childless marriage anything but a cause for sadness and disappointment. Yet at the same moment we can see children in the street exploited as beggars, even maimed that they may be more profitable, or children working beyond their puny strength at an age where they should be concerned with growing happily and freely in body and mind. These two books give one a true picture of what misery is existent, of what actually is being done to counteract these bad conditions, and of what ideals we ought to aim at.

"The Child in India" is a collection of extremely interesting papers by various authorities on their subjects relating to the problems of childhood. The papers cover many topics, the first being a lively account of the origin and growth of the Society for the Protection of Children in Bombay, written by Mr. R. P. Masani, who, twenty-two years ago, was the first to take pen in hand and try, in his own words, to "move the Government and the people of Bombay out of the slough of

apathy concerning the destitute, deserted, neglected, oppressed and exploited children of the City and the Presidency." Other subjects dealt with are: Diet for Children, the Delinquent Child, Recreation and Play, Training and Character, and Pre-School Education. It is interesting to note that our own Province of Madras comes in for some commendatory notice in the matter of Nursery Schooling, and of the Industrial Training and Character Building in some of our Institutions for Boys in Madras.

The second volume: "Some Social Services in the Government of Bombay," is an actual record of what is being done not only for children, but also for Maternal Welfare, Public Health, Workmen's Compensation, Village Improvement, Co-operative Societies etc. etc. But this is no dull record of facts and figures. Each paper is written by a Government official who has inside knowledge of what he is talking about, enthusiasm in his task and sympathy for those for whom he is working. Hence our pleasure in reading such an article as that on Village Improvement in Nasik. Note there how the villager, once he sees the why and wherefore of the new idea, is willing to apply it, and what is more, to give his time and labour for the common good, as for instance in the case of the villages where the men built a new road, constructed a dam, and drained a morass. In other villages, again, the villagers, once they saw that injections and boiled water soon stopped a cholera epidemic, sent the practisers of witchcraft flying, nay, the very witch doctors themselves consented to be injected. And so the reading of these two books leaves us with the hopeful feeling that, though much remains to be done, yet progress is being made, strongholds of greed, ignorance and prejudice are being stormed, and the light of a new day beginning to filter through the darkness.

* THE CHILD IN INDIA: A symposium. Edited by Clifford Manhardt. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 4 net.

SOME SOCIAL SERVICES of the Government of Bombay. Edited by Clifford Manhardt. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 3-4 net.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Dr. Tagore and the Japanese Post

DR. YONE NOGUCHI is a Japanese poet well known in India and a friend of Tagore and Gandhi and the intellectuals. His poems reveal a delicate sensibility to beauty and a gift of expression altogether admirable. But war is a thing that warps one's judgment and it is somewhat difficult for the Indian mind to appreciate the point of view which the Japanese poet urges in his letters to Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore *vis-a-vis* the terrible war of aggression that Japan is waging against China. It can only be explained by the fact that the mind of Japan is so completely regimented to the cause of patriotism as to make it altogether impervious to humaner ideals. It is surprising that a poet of his distinction should indulge in a sort of special pleading which smacks very much like crude propaganda. Yet one may very well believe that he truly represents the Japanese national psychology. For Japan's militarism is a national religion, and a religion embedded in the very marrow of the people.

But the heart of India throbs in sympathy with China, and Dr. Tagore has spoken for nearly every one in this country. With matchless vigour of expression, Dr. Tagore contends:

The doctrine of "Asia for Asia", which you enunciate as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the larger humanity that makes us one across the barriers of political labels and divisions.

It would be humorous if it were not so tragic to see the Japanese poet vindicating Japanese cruelty in the name of civilisation and in the interest of China herself—just the plea that Mussolini put forward in defence of his action in

Abyssinia. Referring to the present campaign in China, the Indian poet writes:

With all the deadly methods learnt from the West and launching a ravaging war on the Chinese humanity, Japan is infringing every moral principle, on which civilization is based. Humanity, in spite of its many failures, has believed in a fundamental moral structure of society. When you speak therefore of the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent—signifying I suppose the bombing of Chinese women and children and the desecration of ancient temples and universities as a means of saving China for Asia—you are ascribing to humanity a way of life, which is not even inevitable among the animals and would certainly not apply to the East in spite of her occasional aberrations. You are building your conception of Asia, which would be raised on a tower of skulls.

Proceeding, Dr. Tagore refers to the "betrayal of the intellectuals" which is a dangerous symptom of our age.

In the West even in the critical days of war-madness, there was never any dearth of great spirits, who could raise their voice above the din of battle and war-mongers in the name of humanity. Such men had suffered but they never betrayed the conscience of their peoples which they represented.

The poet hopes that artists and thinkers of Japan would not succumb to the military swaggers.

Indian Political Science Conference

We welcome the proposal to establish an Indian Political Science Association to encourage the study of Indian public questions. The proposed Association is backed by a strong committee of learned men, among whom are: Dr. Beni Prasad, Prof. Habib, Prof. Gurmukh Singh, which augurs well for its efficiency. We understand they are organising a Political Science Conference to meet in Christmas Week and we hasten to congratulate the Committee on their choice of the veteran Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to inaugurate the session. The aged Pandit is the doyen of our public life and the Committee could not have chosen a more inspiring leader to guide them in their deliberations.

Travancore Disturbances

Recent events in Travancore have caused much concern in British India. We do not associate rioting and incendiarism with so cultured and progressive a people as the Travancoreans. It is, therefore, painful to read accounts of mob attacks on the Police and the burning of State buses. It would appear that the Dewan's attempt to deal with certain elements in the State, suspected of subversive activities, was followed by disorderly meetings and acts of rowdism. Brickbats had to be answered by bullets and the vicious circle of mob violence and reprisals has gone on widening. There have been statements and counter-statements in defence alike of the Government's action and that of the State Congress. Gandhiji himself made two statements, and the Dewan has replied with some warmth justifying his action in view of the undoubted acts of violence. There have been suggestions for an enquiry into the firing and one of the latest is a plea for a Round Table Conference between the representatives of the Government and of the State Congress. But neither the enquiry nor a consideration of reforms to satisfy legitimate political aspirations is possible so long as the atmosphere is vitiated by violence and disorder. The first business of the Government is to restore order and normal conditions. It is obvious until order is restored, Government can hardly entertain any plan of negotiation for reform. Civil disobedience and defiance of authority are not the best means of approaching the authorities for a dispassionate consideration of demands, however legitimate.

In the immediate task of restoring order, we are afraid Mahatma Gandhi's advice to State Congress to go on with their programme of direct action is not a helpful contribution. For though he warns them against violence of any kind, if past experience is any guide in these matters, direct action will invariably result in more mob violence. Such action against Government will necessarily "have to be met by the use of all resources of the Government" as the Dewan reminds us, and that is not to bring matters any nearer to the desired end. The State Congress will be better advised to withdraw its programme of civil disobedience at once and in a more chastened mood formulate its political demands and press for their redress by all constitutional means. Surely, the Dewan is not a hide-bound bureaucrat but a public man with a reputation for progressive ideas, and he cannot be impervious to the needs of the situation. In the chaos of conflicting voices and the defiance of constituted authority the essential needs of the situation are lost sight of. There is an element of pathos in the shout and noise of what looks like a situation where "ignorant armies clash by night".

The A. I. C. C. and Travancore

We are glad that the All-India Congress Committee, which has since met at Delhi, has viewed the situation in Travancore and its reaction on Government's policy with a marked sense of restraint and responsibility. The Committee wisely reiterates its policy of non-intervention and recommends to the Travancore Government the appointment of a constitutional committee "to explore the possibilities of granting responsible

Government". It certainly expresses the sense of its limitation and pleads for the State Congress permission to carry on its agitation for responsible government in a constitutional manner. The resolution which is conciliatory in tone, while expressing grief and dismay at the situation, urges the Government

to set up an impartial enquiry committee, presided over by a jurist from outside the State, to enquire into the charges made by the Government against the State Congress as well as the firing incidents and other repressive measures.

In tendering its advice to the peoples of the State, the A. I. C. C. records that it

cannot but reiterate its policy of non-interference, and, consistently with its resources, to help the people in every way open to the Congress. The policy of non-interference is an admission of the limitations of the Congress. In spite of the declarations of some Congressmen to the contrary, the corporate policy of the Congress, so long as it holds by truth and non-violence, must be one of continuous attempt to convert the Princes to the view that their true welfare consists in a voluntary surrender of power to the people so as to bring them into line with the people of the so-called British India, consistently with the existence of the constitutional heads of the respective States.

A Mysore Souvenir

On the eve of the Dasara festivities, the Mysore Exhibition Committee have done well to issue their attractively got up official handbook and guide for 1938. It is as usual a sumptuous volume of over a hundred pages replete with illustrations and special articles dealing with different aspects of Mysore history and administration. The handbook also provides a conspectus of the main resources and industries of the State, written by officials who are in touch with recent efforts to improve and develop them. Both the literary and the advertisement sections of the guide book have been in competent hands, for Rao Sahab C. S. R. Rao is a veteran publicist, and Mr. S. S. Rajan has more than once given proof of his enterprise in making the volume a financial success.

Congress and Federation

In view of the doubts expressed in many quarters as to the attitude of the Congress on the question of Federation, the All-India Congress Committee, at its meeting in Delhi, reiterated the Haripura resolution on the subject. The text of the resolution is almost identical with the one passed at the Haripura session but the additional clauses are significant. They read:

The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that developments have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution and warns the British Government against entertaining the hope that the Congress will ever submit to the imposition of Federation on the country against its declared will to the contrary.

The A. I. C. C. further declares that the continuance of the irresponsible Government at the Centre is becoming intolerable and any further prolongation may precipitate a crisis which all desire to postpone, if at all possible.

The necessity for this reiteration arose in order to dispel suspicion that Congress, while protesting against Federation, would ultimately set to work it, in the same manner in which it has taken up government in the Provinces. Babu Rajendra Prasad, who sponsored the resolution added that he wanted to make it clear to the British Government that the Congress was no longer prepared to tolerate the repeated extensions of life of the present Central Assembly in view of the expected inauguration of Federation at an early date. He warned the Government that it was no use adopting dilatory tactics as all Congressmen were as one on the question of Federation.

In moving the resolution, he pointed out clearly that if the British Government tried to impose the federal scheme, as adumbrated in the Government of India Act, the Provincial Congress Governments would obstruct it with all the resources at their command. He wanted to know what more was wanted in the nature of a lead on the question.

The Late Sir Phiroze Sethna

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Sir Phiroze Sethna, the veteran Liberal leader and a prominent figure in Indian Insurance and Banking. Sir Phiroze was 72 when he died.

Sir Phiroze was long connected with the Bombay Corporation and the Port Trust and was a distinguished member of the Council of State since 1921.

He was appointed a member of the Indian Sandhurst Committee and was one of the six delegates sent by the India Government to South Africa to settle the question of Indians there.

Sir Phiroze was a staunch Liberal and presided over the All-India Liberal Federation. He was a member of the Indian Round Table Conference and a British Indian delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He was knighted in 1926.

Melancholy interest attaches to what is probably the last of his public utterances—"I Look Back"—published by Taraporevala Sons & Co. of Bombay. In that excellent radio talk, Sir Phiroze gave a vivid account of his extraordinarily active life and reminiscences of his varied experiences. It is bracing to read the record of such a live wire as Sir Phiroze was. But apart from his adventures in big business, there was something compelling in the dignity of his bearing. Success came to him in abundant measure and he lived in good style. There was undoubtedly something of the Grand Vizier about his person: and one can quite appreciate the genius of the English artist, Sir William Rothenstein when he chose this Bombay Knight as his model for the portrait of Sir Thomas Roe, King James' ambassador at the court of the Grand Moghul.

The Eighth Congress Province

Yet another Province, Assam, has become a Congress Province. Sir Mahommed Saadulla has done the inevitable. He preferred to resign rather than face as many as four motions of no-confidence against his Ministry. For months together he had tried hard to keep a united front. But it was a hopeless task and only the other day he tried to carry on with a reconstituted ministry. But yet he could not muster enough strength and he had to bow to the inevitable.

In the nature of the case Congress has to work in coalition with other parties in a legislature of mixed groups. This has not proved injurious in a province like the Frontier. There is no reason why it should not prove equally advantageous in Assam. Coalition necessarily involves a price. Is the price worth paying? Mr. Subhas Bose and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad who have helped to form the coalition to replace the Saadulla Ministry certainly expect the fullest support to the new Cabinet. We wish Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, the leader of the Congress in the Assam Assembly, success in his adventure. The Congress group is strong and influential in Assam, and Mr. Bardoloi will have the support and good wishes of all progressive elements in the Province. But the Opposition is by no means negligible. Here, again, the European bloc will have the final say in any matter. European legislators have, of course, their right to their opinion. But it would be a pity, as a contemporary reminds us, "if any section of representative Europeans should be hostile to a Ministry merely because it functions under Congress aegis or is predominantly Congress in personnel".

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

On the eve of Munich

AT the moment of writing, all eyes are turned on Munich where Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, and M. Daladier, the Premier of France, in company with Sgr. Mussolini are making a final effort to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Czecho-German dispute with Herr Hitler. The issue arises out of Czecho-Slovakia's inability to accept the "impossible" German demands at the threat of immediate invasion.

The German demands include the separation of Sudeten land from Czecho-Slovakia without further delay and the withdrawal of the entire Czech armed forces and the police, this area being handed over to Germany on October 1 in its present condition both military and economic. The Prague Government has been given six days to consider the situation.

The terms thus disclosed by the British Premier, who had forwarded them to the Czechs with the indication that he accepted no responsibility for them, amount to a German ultimatum. Diplomatic correspondents commonly assert that Mr. Chamberlain, produced Herr Hitler's own marked map and explained that he further insisted on the handing over of the regions delineated within six days at the peril of Nazi troops marching in.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, writing in *Reynold's News*, calls it "arrogance that passes the borders of sanity". The German dictator, he says, has insisted that he should plant his heel on the neck of the Czechs by actually invading the soil that the Western Powers had promised him. "If, by this folly, he precipitates a general war, the issue is simplicity itself. We

cannot abandon civilisation to the rule of a mad man."

Under constant pressure of her "friends"—England and France—Dr. Benes, the Czech Premier, has yielded to the utmost limit of endurance. But apparently every successive concession has only whetted Hitler's appetite all the more and the fiat of the Dictator has gone forth in thundering accents which even the friends of Czecho-Slovakia cannot countenance with any decency. Hitler's answer was to boast of his vast army and in a characteristically sabre-rattling speech at Berlin on September 26, the Fuehrer declaimed:

It is the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe and it is one which I will not renounce. Germany's patience has come to an end. My final demand has been given in the memorandum to Britain. It is, that people who are German and want to go to Germany shall go to Germany now and immediately. This region must be placed under German sovereignty. The drawing of the final frontier, I leave to the vote of the people. Dr Benes will have to surrender this territory on October 1. If the Czechs solve the problem of other nationalities in a decent manner, then the Czech nation does not interest me any more, and as far as I am concerned, I will guarantee it.

"It is *de facto* an ultimatum of the sort usually presented to a vanquished nation and not a proposition to a Sovereign State which has shown the greatest readiness to make sacrifices for the appeasement of Europe," says the Czech Note handed over to the British Government in reply to Herr Hitler's memorandum. The Note concludes:

The proposals go far beyond the Anglo-French plan. In their present form, the proposals are absolutely and unconditionally unacceptable. We feel bound to make the utmost resistance to these demands and we shall do so, God helping. We rely on the two great Western democracies whose wishes we have followed, much against our own judgment, to stand by us in our hour of trial.

The situation in Czecho-Slovakia continues to be tense. According to official reports the mobilisation has been carried out with

order and enthusiasm. Only in the extreme Sudeten area was there any opposition. Complete national unity prevails.

The Powers meanwhile are taking precautions. Following the partial mobilisation order, France is taking other steps to meet emergencies. Belgium, Holland and Norway are also taking measures to ensure their safety.

And what of Britain? It is feared that Britain under the lead of Mr. Chamberlain, will make the same mistake as she did in the fateful August of 1914. She is still irresolute and unable to make up her mind. That will mean throwing poor Czecho-Slovakia to the wolves. In the course of a Broadcast talk on September 27, Mr. Chamberlain said: "At this moment I see nothing further which I can do by way of mediation." He then went on to make the astounding statement:

However much we may sympathise with a small nation confronted by a big powerful neighbour, we cannot in all the circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war simply on her account. If we had to fight it must be on larger issues than that.

Mr. Lloyd George, however, took a different view. In a letter to the Chairman of the South Wales Liberal Federation, he says:

In 1914, we made the mistake of not warning Germany that, if she invaded Belgium, she would have to face the whole might of the British Empire. Do not let us repeat that tragic blunder.

If war is to be averted, what is required is a clear statement by Britain that the Czechs have gone to the limit of reasonable concession and that Sudetens at German instigation have not moved to meet them, and if there is any further attempt to crush the Czech Republic by force, Britain would side with France and other countries to resist aggression.

It may be added that this view is very widely shared by most people who are no less keen on peace than the Premier himself. It is, however, stated, in official quarters in London that if in spite of all Mr. Chamberlain's efforts a German attack is made on Czecho-Slovakia, the immediate result must be that France is bound to go to her assistance. Great Britain and Russia will certainly stand by France. Yet it is still not too late to stop this great tragedy.

25th September.

The Munich Agreement

Britain and France have bought peace for the time being at a high price. Herr Hitler's terms have been practically conceded. The following is the text of the agreement:

Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy have agreed taking into consideration the agreement already reached in principles for the cession to Germany of the Sudeten German territory on the following terms and conditions governing the said cession and by this agreement each hold themselves responsible for steps to secure its fulfilment:

Firstly, evacuation will begin on October 1.

Secondly, Britain, France and Italy agree that the evacuation of the territory shall be completed by October 10 without any existing installations having been destroyed and that the Czecho-Slovakia Government will be held responsible for carrying out the evacuation without damage to the said installation.

Thirdly, the conditions of the evacuation will be formulated by an International Commission composed of representatives of Germany, Britain, France, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia.

Fourthly, the occupation by stages of predominantly German territory by German troops will begin on October 1, the four territories marked in the attached map to be occupied in sequence. The remaining territory of predominantly German character will be ascertained by the aforesaid International Commission forthwith and will be occupied by German troops by October 10.

Fifthly, the International Commission will determine the territories in which a plebiscite is to be held; these territories to be occupied by international bodies until the plebiscite is completed. The same Commission will fix the conditions in which the plebiscite is to be held, taking as a basis the conditions in the Saar plebiscite. The Commission will also fix a date not later than the end of November on which the plebiscite will be held.

Sixthly, the final determination of the frontier will be carried out by an International Commission. This Commission will also be entitled to recommend to Germany, Britain, France and Italy in certain exceptional cases minor modifications in strictly topographical zones to be transferred without a plebiscite.

Seventhly, there will be right of option into and out of transferred territories, the option to be exercised within six months from the date of this agreement. A German Czecho-Slovak Commission shall determine the details of the option, consider ways of facilitating the transfer of the population and settle questions arising from the said transfer.

Eighthly, the Czecho-Slovak Government will within the period of four weeks from the date of this agreement release from their military and political forces any Sudeten Germans, who may wish to be released and the Czecho-Slovak Government will within the same period release Sudeten German prisoners who are serving terms of imprisonment for political offences.

War averted

By the Munich Agreement, the outbreak of a general European war has been averted. The immediate reaction is one of relief and satisfaction tempered by a feeling that a small country like Czecho-Slovakia has been made to pay a heavy price. Britain and France, Italy and Germany each hold themselves responsible for the fulfilment of the agreement. Though Czecho-Slovakia has been humiliated to an extent, the cutting off of a disloyal section of her population is not a bad thing for her future integrity and security. The Four Power agreement is essentially made to appease a strong aggressor at the expense of the weak, but for the moment it has saved Europe from an explosion. The Czechs have no alternative. For now, all the Big Four are ranged on one side. But, as a contemporary shrewdly observes:

If there is to be for the Governments concerned any justification more satisfactory than the selfish one that they have avoided the danger of war for their own peoples—that, after all, is the first duty of Governments—it is imperatively necessary that a more general settlement shall be arranged which will remove the danger of war altogether so far as is humanly possible.

Czech Premier's Statement

It is officially stated from Prague that the Czech Government "after considering the decisions taken without and against them" has no alternative but to accept them. "This is the most difficult moment in my life," declared General Sirovy in a broadcast speech on September 30:

Superior force has compelled us to accept. My duty was to consider everything. As a soldier, I had to choose the way of peace. The nation will be stronger and more united. We had to choose between a useless fight and sacrifices. We have accepted unheard of sacrifices imposed upon us. We had to choose between the death of a nation and the abdication of some territories. The main thing is that we are remaining ourselves. I appeal to the people to maintain confidence in its leaders. There are smaller States than we shall be, but understanding with our neighbours will be easier, our main task is to rebuild our State.

1st October

Britain's obligations

In view of Mr. Chamberlain's declaration about British obligations in respect of the integrity of Czecho-Slovakia it is an interesting study in contrast to recall what another British Prime Minister, the late Mr. Asquith, (Lord Oxford) said under similar circumstances in regard to Belgium in 1914:

H. H. Asquith: 1914

"If I am asked what we are fighting for I reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfil a solemn international obligation, an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law but of honour, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say, secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle which, these days when force, material force, sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power."

Mr. Chamberlain: 1938

"How horrible, how fantastic and incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks because of a quarrel in a far away country, between people of whom we know nothing. However much we may sympathize with a small nation confronted by a big, powerful neighbour, we cannot, in the circumstances, undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war simply on that account. If we have to fight, it must be on larger issues than that."

Anglo-German Declaration

The following declaration of the utmost importance to the future of European peace was signed at Munich:

We, the German Fuehrer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister had a further meeting to-day and are agreed in recognising that the question of Anglo-German relations is of first importance for the two countries and for Europe. We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

We have resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method to be adopted to deal with any other question that may concern the two countries. We are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus contribute to the assurance of peace in Europe.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Sept. 1. The British and French Cabinets meet in London and Paris for discussing the Czech crisis.
- Sept. 2. The Congress Medical Unit sails for China.
- Sept. 3. Central Assembly passes the resolution on the Indianization of the Army.
- Sept. 4. Herr Hitler meets Herr Henlein at Berchtesgaden re: Czech crisis.
- Sept. 5. Dr. A. R. Menon is appointed Minister for Rural Development in Cochin in place of the late Mr. Sivarama Menon.
- Sept. 6. Council of State throws out the resolution asking for the formulation of a correct Defence policy.
- Sept. 7. The Government of Madras announce a 8 per cent. Loan for 150 lakhs redeemable in 1958.
- Sept. 8. Czecho-Slovakia offers definite proposals for the solution of the Sudeten problem.
- Sept. 9. The adjournment motion in the Assembly criticizing Government for allowing Britain to impose large defence charges on India is carried by a big majority.
- Sept. 10. Mr. Hofmeyr resigns from the South African Cabinet.
- Sept. 11. H. E. the Viceroy opens the Exhibition of Simla Fine Arts Society.
- Sept. 12. Prof. Sanjib Chaudhuri of Dacca is awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.
- Sept. 13. The Assam Ministry resigns. The Governor summons Mr. G. Bardoloi, a Congressman, for forming the Ministry.
- Sept. 14. Czech Government declares Martial Law in Sudeten area where organised disturbances are reported.
- Sept. 15. Mr. Neville Chamberlain flies to Germany and meets Herr Hitler re: the Czech crisis.
- Sept. 16. Sir Phiroze Sethna is dead.
- Sept. 17. Czecho-Slovakia bans all Sudeten Party's activities: inhabitants in Sudeten area have been ordered to surrender arms.
- Sept. 18. League Assembly meets; China appeals for action against Japan.
- Sept. 19. Mr. G. Bardoloi forms the new Ministry in Assam.
- Sept. 20. Mr. C. H. Henderson is appointed Agent of the Government of India in Burma.
- Sept. 21. Dr. Bhagwan Das resigns his seat in the Central Assembly.
- Sept. 22. The League of Nations decides to apply Article 17 (Sanctions) of the Covenant against Japan.
- Sept. 23. Anglo-French proposals recommend cession of Sudeten land to Germany. —Czecho-Slovakia agrees to cede Sudeten area to Germany.
- Sept. 24. Chamberlain visits again Herr Hitler and negotiations break down.
- Sept. 25. Several addresses of felicitation were presented to the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University, on the occasion of his 70th birthday.
- Sept. 26. Herr Hitler's speech in Berlin demands surrender of the Sudeten territory before October 1.
- Sept. 27. All-India Congress Committee adopts resolution on civil liberty. —President Roosevelt's message to Herr Hitler and Dr. Benes.
- Sept. 28. Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons. The Premier announces Hitler's invitation to Four Power Conference at Munich.
- Sept. 29. Four Power Conference meets at Munich. Hitler postpones magnification for 24 hours.
- Sept. 30. The Czech Government agrees to make further concessions, provided the integrity of Czecho-Slovakia is safeguarded.



THE WORLD OF BOOKS



THE GREEK LANGUAGE IN ITS EVOLUTION.

By Anatol F. Semenov. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London.

Language students are highly indebted to Professor Anatol Semenov whose book under review is an attempt, a successful attempt, to evolve the science of the Greek language. After briefly showing the relationship of Greek to other languages, the learned author passes on to a general survey of the dialects of ancient Greece. Modern Greek and its dialects are analytically treated by the author. In the second part of the book, the author gives an historical survey of Greek syntax. The book is a very useful addition to the critical works on the Greek language.

WHEN THEY CAME BACK. By Roy Devereux. Cassell Co. Ltd., London.

The scene opens in ancient Egypt. Priests and priestesses, young virgins offered in sacrifice to the Nile God, love and jealousy and revenge, and a fearful curse which follows its victim even beyond the graves, such is the startling opening of this story. The second chapter transports us far from the sunny banks of the Nile to the gloom and fog of London, where in modern times Mark Etheridge and his wife Hazel are making the best and at times the worst of an ill-mated marriage. The story centres round the theme of reincarnation, not just those "intimations of immortality" of which the poet sings, but real memories of a life that is past and done with.

INDIAN COMPANY LAW. By M. S. SETHNA.

D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, Bombay. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co. Rs. 4-8.)

The author has done a great service to the legal world and the public at large in publishing this book soon after the recent amendments to the Act by the legislature. The book contains an introduction which is very comprehensive and instructive. A good exhaustive treatment is accorded to the powers of the court in ordering winding up of companies, the rights of the shareholders, the jurisdiction to be exercised and the procedure to be adopted in matters before court. It is a matter of satisfaction that this rather difficult and technical aspect of the Act has been elucidated well.

The book contains the compulsory articles, the Rule under the Act of 1914 and the forms. The author has had recourse to select English and Indian cases in expounding the main principles of the law. Special mention should be made of the author's exhaustive analysis of the powers and scope of the official liquidators. So much of commentaries and the text of the Act as amended with the schedules are all that are requisite to make a legal publication perfect. It is hoped that such a publication, the result of assiduous industry, will be appreciated by both members of the Bar and Bench, and will come in handy to people interested in company law and its working,

DRAPSA: The Vedic Cycle of Eclipses. By R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., Panchacharya Electric Press, Mysore.

VEDANGA JYOTISHA. By R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., Government Press, Mysore.

Vedanga Jyotisha is an astronomical work exclusively astronomical in its character. Notwithstanding much careful effort, it has not been fully understood. The author claims to have reached a clear and consistent interpretation in the light of a Jaina work. Scholars will pronounce on it in due course.

To interpret the Vedas is another matter. Shall we ever reach anything like fair certainty in Vedic exegesis? From the earliest times there have been different schools. There have been the *Nairukta* (etymological), the *aitihasika* (historical) and the *adhyatmika* (spiritual) schools as well as the astronomical school of exegetes. Each can quote passages but none has established its exclusive right to hold the whole field. Where the words in their natural meaning support an idea, no question of interpretation arises. When passages are obscure and the meaning far from clear, the exegetes fall into their respective grooves and give forced interpretations and the ordinary student is mystified. The guesses at meaning have many times not even the merit of plausibility.

The years and cycles of them are known, and seasons and months and half months and days and nights are referred to particularly in connection with sacrifices. How can these throw light on obscure passages? All moderns have to make their own speculations acceptable by prefacing that Yaska had lost the clue to Vedic ideas and so had all the commentators down to Sayana, and adding

that even the efforts of Roth and Bohtlingk to make the Vedas yield up their own meaning had failed. The old commentators did not know enough geology, said Mr. Tilak. Mr. Shama Sastri may add that they did not know enough astronomy either.

Can we then maintain that the Vedic bards were studying astronomical phenomena all the time and calculating the corrections that a calendar would require in the course of ten or twenty thousand years? One can understand the need to adjust the year and the seasons for the many purposes of tropical life. Inter-calculation of days to start the new year correctly and keep to the seasons correctly is of supreme value to an agricultural country. Even the intercalation of months in a cycle of five years may be allowed to serve an intelligible purpose. What use can a thirty year cycle be with one year intercalated except that the cycle would have seen every day out of its place in the season, and every season would have been confounded with every other during the period?

For the rest it is with great difficulty that one gets tens of thousands of years and minute calculation of what happens in a thousand days into an original Vedic text. When you come across reference to a thousand days with "992D" inserted within brackets, you are reminded of Max Muller's remarks on Bentley's speculations from the names of planets on the basis of occultations that did not in fact happen but might be treated as rough approximation. Add to it the fact that the same texts yield to Tilak seven or more sunny months indicating the arctic home of the Aryans and to Shama Sastri seven or eight eclipses in a cycle of years.

Interesting it all is and will merit the attention of the author's compeers. But final certainty of conclusion for the ordinary student, one does not hope for.

SONGS FROM THE HEIGHTS. By Sanjib Chaudhuri. Arthur Stockwell, Ltd., London. 8s. 6d. net.

This attractively bound little volume of verse by a Professor of English in Nepal does not lay claims to being anything else but the simple outpourings of one who loves nature and his fellow-men. He classifies his poems into groups of love poetry, nature poetry, religious poetry and so on and ends the book with a longer and more ambitious effort called "The King's Love", being the story of a recent royal romance. One has to read such a book continually reminding oneself that English is not the author's mother tongue and that therefore some errors in choice of words and expressions are excusable.

THE EATER OF WOMEN. W. J. Blackledge. Werner Laurie. 7s. 6d.

Captain Digger Craven, posted to the Frontier, gives us an account of his adventures in that hotbed of religious disturbances and fanatical outbursts. The fanatic Moslem party, with the Fakir of Ipi at its head, is constantly at war with the myrmidons of British Law. Anusha, an extremely charming Eurasian cross-breed at the service of the Fakir, tries to make short work of the Captain as he is felt a great stumbling-block to their unbridled, fanatic activities. The attempts frustrated through the help of the Eater of Women, a native guide, who is very faithful and loyal to the Captain throughout. One wonders, however, how far the guide justifies the rather queer title of the book.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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THE GANGES CALLS MR. By Yone Noguchi. Kyo-Bun Kwan, 2, 4-chome, Ginza, Kyobashi, Tokyo, Japan.

DIRECTORY OF INDIAN LIBRARIES, 1938. Gives a consolidated list of libraries in India. This is the first venture of its kind undertaken by the Indian Library Association, Imperial Library Buildings, Calcutta.

EXAMPLES IN INTERMEDIATE PHYSICS. By Lakshmidas G. Patel. Students' own book depot, Dharwar.

A HANDBOOK OF INTERMEDIATE PRACTICAL PHYSICS. By Lakshmidas G. Patel. Students' own book depot, Dharwar.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA for the year ending March 31st 1937. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE for Samvat 1933-34. Government Press, Jammu.

THE LAW OF TORTS. By S. Ramaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L. 2nd Edition. The Madras Law Journal Office, Mysapore, Madras. Rs. 10.

REPORT ON CURRENCY AND FINANCE FOR THE YEAR 1937-1938 ISSUED BY THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA. Secretary, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.

EATER OF WOMEN. By W. J. Blackledge. T. Werner Laurie, London.

UNIVERSAL RELIGION. By Sri Swami Yogananda Saraswati. (Pamphlet, distributed free.) Saraswati Kutir, Bishanpura. Payal P. O., Punjab.

INDIA'S LIVING TRADITIONS. Compiled from the works of various authors. With a Foreword by George S. Arundale. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. As. 8.

EDUCATION FOR HAPPINESS. By G. S. Arundale. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. As. 8.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA. Vol. IV. 1934-1938. The University Press, Cambridge.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN HINDU CIVILIZATION. By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B. The Culture Publication House, Benares.

CUSTOM AND LAW IN ANGOLO-MUSLIM JURISPRUDENCE. By Hamid Ali, B.A., B.L. Theacker, Spink & Co., (1933) Ltd., Calcutta.

THE LAW RELATING TO PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND AMUSEMENT. By K. Venkoba Rao, Advocate. With a Foreword by Hon. Mr. Justice F. W. Gentle. 1-31, Nallatambi Mudali St., Triplicane, Madras.

ZAMIR OF CONSCIENCE PERSONIFIED: A drama of modern life. By Mohd. A. Khan, Begumpet, Deccan.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD REFORMS

The Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, President of H. E. the Nizam's Executive Council, made the following remarks in his address to the Members of the Hyderabad Legislative Council :—

"It is the primary task of those who genuinely desire to sponsor the constitutional advance and liberty of the people as a whole to purify their own ranks, become true representatives of a people inherently at peace among themselves and thus create a common national platform. Absence of honest distinction between communalism and politics must inevitably tend to jeopardise the chances of any advance."

Sir Akbar dealt with the measures adopted to give relief to the ryots of the State and the question of communal claims in regard to the services.

THE HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS

Formation of the Hyderabad State Congress has been banned by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam on the ground that it is a communal body and, therefore, an unlawful body. In a *Gazette Extraordinary* issued on September 7, under the Public Safety Regulation, Government observe that they have no objection to the establishment of political organisations in the State, provided they are strictly non-communal and are not affiliated with organisations outside the State.

As regards the banning of fifteen newspapers of British India, Sir Akbar Hydari stated in the Legislative Council that the ban had now been imposed on certain outside newspapers found guilty of spreading communal ill-feeling in the State. He defended the action of the Government in the matter.

Mysore

THE DASARA IN MYSORE

Dasara and Mysore are both names to conjure with. The celebrations attract thousands of visitors to the Capital City every year. Holiday seekers and savants alike will delight in reading Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao's book on the subject (*The Dasara in Mysore: Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Rs. 2*) depicting Dasara's Royal pageantry, its social importance and religious significance in such a scholarly manner. The worship of Devi in all her manifestations means according to tradition relief from poverty and distress and attainment of all one's cherished desires even unto salvation. It is a universal festival in India common to Saivaite, Vaishnavite or Sakta, with a tradition that goes back to the Puranic Churning of the Ocean, later connected with Rama's march against Ravana and with the worship of the Bauni Tree in the Mahabharata. And to-day it continues to be a festival full of colour, joy and happiness to young and old alike.

CONTROL OF MONEY-LENDING

The general principles of the Bill for the control of money-lenders in Mysore were placed before the Dasara Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly which commenced its sitting on the 26th September at Mysore.

Every money-lender, according to this bill, whether an individual or a corporation, will be required to register himself before a Registrar to be specially appointed for this purpose under the Act. The registration has got to be renewed once in three years. On payment of a small flat rate fee, every one who so registers will have to take out a license every year. Under this Act, no court in the State can give more than a certain percentage of interest when passing decrees in suits.

Baroda

SOCIAL LEGISLATIONS IN BARODA

The recent session of the Baroda Assembly had a heavy agenda before it, which included two official bills. The first was a bill to amend the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act so as to incorporate in the State law important principles recently introduced in British India in the legislation on the subject. The object of the second bill was to amend the Marriage and Divorce Registration Act so as to make registration of marriage under the Act sufficient proof of marriage. Introducing the second official bill, Mr. Sudholkar, the Legal Remembrancer, observed that while under the existing Act, which applied uniformly to all castes and communities, a record of all marriages was maintained, the registering authority had no means to ascertain whether the marriage had actually taken place and so the record did not serve the purpose of legal proof in the event of a dispute. The bill, therefore, sought to make it obligatory on those concerned to get the marriage registered and to produce before the Registrar a certificate as prescribed.

BARODA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

At a public meeting at Baroda presided over by Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Rajkumari Amrit Kumar said that the time had come when the social order should be changed to suit modern conditions. She felt that it was the moral and spiritual value that really mattered to enable a country to take its place in the comity of nations and this could be achieved only if every limb of the nation contributed its quota towards the attainment of the goal.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar thought that for the eradication of the social evils in the country, an awakening should be brought about in the women of India.

Travancore

PUBLIC HEALTH IN TRAVANCORE

Dr. R. K. Pillai, Editor, *Boon of Health*, and Honorary Secretary, International Fellowship, gave a broadcast talk on August 20, from the Hyderabad State Broadcasting Studio, on "Public Health activities in Travancore". He said Travancore was enjoying to-day a new era of progressive reforms of far-reaching importance. Dr. Pillai claimed that Travancore could be said to be a pioneer among the Indian States in the matter of work it had done in fostering public health and sanitation, which had been expanding during the past 75 years. Preventive medicine like vaccination had been introduced into Travancore as far back as in 1819. The State Public Health organisation was steadily expanding from time to time so that it could cope with the changing conditions and the growing requirements.

THE NEW CHIEF SECRETARY

Mr. M. K. Nilakanta Ayyar, Commissioner of Excise, has been appointed Chief Secretary to the Government in place of Mr. Madhavan, acting Chief Secretary, who has been granted leave preparatory to retirement.

Mr. Nilakanta Ayyar, who took charge of his office on September 24, has served the Government in various capacities and held many important posts.

UNREST IN TRAVANCORE

Proclamation has been issued by His Highness the Maharaja prohibiting associations dangerous to the public peace. Both the State Congress and the Youth League have been declared to be unlawful bodies. Members of the State Congress, who addressed meetings in defiance of the District Magistrate's orders, have been sentenced.

Kashmir

AMENITIES TO TOURISTS

The Kashmir Durbar is taking steps for stimulating tourist traffic in the State. A Committee has been appointed to suggest improvements in the amenities and the provision of fresh attractions.

His Highness the Maharaja is taking keen interest in the matter. Mr. R. C. Kak, Chief Secretary, recently made inquiries in France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy regarding measures adopted by the Governments of those countries to stimulate tourist traffic, and he has been appointed chairman of a committee which will undertake the work of attracting more visitors to Kashmir. Rs. 1,00,000 has been set aside for this purpose.

THE KASHMIR REVOLT

There has been a recrudescence of revolt in Srinagar where the Prime Minister's car was stoned and Government orders were defied and processions taken out. The leaders have been arrested and jailed. The situation, we understand, is well in hand.

KASHMIR RESIDENT

H. E. the Viceroy has been pleased to select Lt.-Col. D. M. S. Fraser, C.B.E., of the Indian Political Service, for appointment as Resident in Kashmir on his return from leave early in October, 1939.

Bikaner

BIKANER'S LOYALTY

In view of the grave international situation, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has telegraphed to His Excellency the Viceroy placing unreservedly at the command of the King-Emperor his own sword and the services of his army and the entire resources of Bikaner State.

Cochin

COCHIN'S NEW MINISTER

Dr. A. R. Menon has been appointed Minister for Rural Development in place of the late Mr. Ambat Sivarama Menon.

Dr. A. R. Menon is the Floor Leader of the Cochin Congress Party in the Legislative Council and is a younger brother of the late Mr. Ambat Sivarama Menon. He is also a member of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and a member of the Palghat Municipal Council. He has taken a prominent part in the public life of the State.

COCHIN HIGH COURT

Orders have been issued by the Government of Cochin whereby a Judge of the High Court will be entitled to retire voluntarily from public service on full pension after he has put in an active service of 11½ years on the High Court Bench.

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Reserve Funds .. " 50,000

CURRENT ACCOUNTS Opened and interest allowed at ½ per cent. per annum on daily balances upto Rs. 50,000.

TIME DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS Opened and interest allowed at 2 per cent. per annum on daily balances upto Rs. 10,000.

SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS Opened and interest allowed from Rs. 5 upto Rs. 5,000 at 2½ per cent. per annum on daily balances withdrawable by cheques upto Rs. 500 per week.

FIXED DEPOSITS Received at favourable rates for one and two years which may be ascertained on application.

ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS UNDERTAKEN

For Particulars please apply to any office of the Bank.

G. H. DIVANJEE,

Secretary.

Nov. '39.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

THE AGENT-GENERAL'S ADVICE

The Agent-General for India, Mr. B. Rama Rau, made a thought-provoking speech at the welcome reception given in his honour and in honour of Mrs. Rama Rau at Capetown. In the course of his remarks he made the following observations:

"You may find it difficult to detect any appreciable change in this Province, especially when you are threatened with measures such as the Cape Segregation Ordinance, but in Natal as well as in Transvaal the leaders of the Indian community generally agree that the situation has substantially improved."

Referring to the Capetown Agreement, he further went on to say:

"It will be my duty and constant endeavour by representations at the appropriate time to the appropriate authority to see that this promise of the uplift of the Indian community is implemented so far as financial and other circumstances permit."

Malaya

EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, in consultation with the Governor of the Straits Settlements and the High Commissioner for Malaya, Sir Shenton Thomas, has appointed a Commission to visit Malaya this autumn to survey existing arrangements for higher education, general and professional, in Malaya, and to consider in the light of local needs and conditions, whether they require extension, and if so, in what directions and by what methods, and to report upon the present work of the Raffles College at Singapore and on any potential development which may seem desirable.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

The Central Legislative Assembly censured the Government of India for their failure to take adequate and prompt measures to protect the lives and property of Indians in Burma and for their attitude in maintaining silence in the face of a grave situation.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi said that the censure was against the Secretary of State for India, who was also Secretary of State for Burma, and complained that Indians were as dust in the balance of the British Empire. He and Sir Ziauddin Ahmad asked whether the British Government would be silent if a similar situation had developed with regard to Europeans in India?

The Government Member said that Government were handicapped in obtaining prompt and adequate information from Burma and, therefore, proposed to send their Agent immediately to keep them informed of the happenings in Burma.

Mr. C. A. Henderson, I.C.S., First Member of the Board of Revenue, is appointed Agent to the Government of India in Burma.

Russia

INDIANS IN RUSSIA

In the House of Commons, Mr. J. McGovern (Labour) asserted that a large number of Indians living in Moscow and Leningrad were arrested on a charge of being Trotskyists, and asked the Government to take steps to protect their lives and see that they had proper legal defence.

Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that he was not aware of this, but assured that if Mr. McGovern supplied particulars, he would ask the British Ambassador to enquire into it.

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Village Community Ordinance of Ceylon, by which the Indian labourers in that Island were refused the village franchise, has been returned by the Secretary of State for Colonies, who insists that the invidious distinction should be removed.

There has been a considerable amount of agitation on this question, and both the planting communities and the Indian labourers have been protesting against the exclusion of Indian estate labourers from the village vote. The agitation was so acute that the Governor of Ceylon, after the Bill had been passed by the State Council, had reserved his assent pending the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

The Bill has now been returned by the Secretary of State with a suggestion that no distinction be made between Indian and Ceylonese labourers and that all labourers, overseers and Kanganis living on estates be excluded from the franchise to village committees. A similar suggestion was made by a Ceylonese member when the Bill was being discussed in the State Council, but was not found acceptable.

The *United Press* authoritatively learns that the suggestion of the Secretary of State was put before the Executive Committee of the local administration, which has now consented to amend Section 12 of the Draft Bill as suggested by the Secretary of State. The only dissentient has been the Indian Member, Mr. Natesa Iyer. If the Bill, as amended, is finally put on the Ceylonese Statute-Book, one of the few grievances which the Indians in Ceylon have as regards racial discrimination will be done away with.

Fiji

INDIAN INTERESTS IN FIJI

The Government of Fiji has decided to create Fijian reserves of land round the centres where the Fijian tribes permanently reside. A Commission headed by a Fijian Chief named Ratu Sukuna has been appointed to set aside lands for the exclusive use of Fijians. Commenting on this, Mr. C. F. Andrews says that Indians in future will not be able to lease any portion of this land.

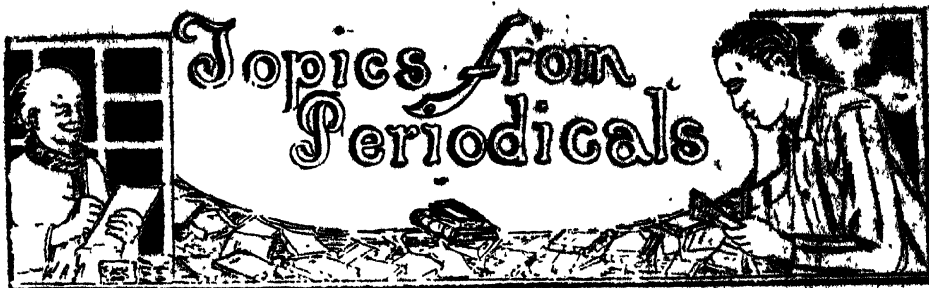
All the remainder of the lands in the Island, which is not already occupied on freehold basis, will now be controlled by the Government itself and leased to other races including Indian settlers. The rent from these lands will be used by the Government for the improvement of Fijian conditions. Nothing has yet been decided as to lands for these new Government leases. It would, therefore, be of the utmost importance that while many questions of this nature are still undecided, some responsible person from India should meet the Government of Fiji in the interests of the Indian settlers.

England

INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND

In order to help students proceeding to England, the High Commissioner for India has attached to his office a part-time Accommodation Officer, and a *Communique*, issued by the Government invites prospective visitors to get into touch with the India Office.

The duties of this officer are mainly to maintain a list of boarding houses, hostels and private families who will receive Indian students and to make arrangements to meet students on arrival in London and ensure that they obtain suitable accommodation at once.



CULTURAL UNITY IN INDIA

Current Affairs, a new Journal of Contemporary life and thought, which hails from Cuttack, has an article on "Cultural Unity in India" contributed by Reaza-ul-Karim. The writer says that to-day the Hindus and Muslims of India are much concerned with the preservation of their respective cultures. There are in India diverse religious communities, each thinks that its own culture is the best conceivable in the world. The notion of culture that it pertains to a particular religious community, that it has a separate existence aloof from the environment of the world is unhistorical and unscientific. Culture is the training, development or strengthening of mental powers. It is the systematic improvement or refinement of the mind. Culture has nothing to do with the tenets and principles of religion; it is not to be qualified by a communal or religious name.

What we call Hindu culture is not the work of the followers of the Vedas and the Upanishads alone; many other factors have largely contributed to its growth. The Dravidians, the non-Aryan aborigines, the Shakas, the Huns, the Greeks have all contributed something to it. The contributions of the Aryans to it are decidedly great inasmuch as the whole structure of Hindu culture has been tinged with Aryan influence. The word "Hindu" is the most comprehensive in the world. It embraces all who adopt India as their motherland. Therefore in a broad sense, Hindu culture includes all that has found a place in India. The sum-total of all these cultures is known by the name of Hindu culture; it is distinct from the religion of the Vedas and Upanishads. Islamic culture is not the work of the followers of the Prophet of Islam; to it many other factors also like the Arabs, the Jews, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans have contributed—and the sum-total of their contribution is known as Islamic culture.

When the Muslims came to India, they brought with them Islam as their religion, not as their culture. Islam as a religion does not admit of reconciliation with other religions, specially with a religion which believes in idolatry. But culture is no religion. The culture that the Muslims brought to India began to be influenced by the existing culture of the country.

Hindus might not adopt Islam as their religion and the Muslims might not adopt Hinduism as their religion, but the two cultures have through the long course of history acted and reacted upon each other.

A Hindu is generally proud of the Aryan culture, because there is in it the preponderating influence of the Hindu religion. Similarly a Muslim is proud of the Islamic culture because it has been largely influenced by Islam. But no one can deny that both the cultures are the outcome of various other factors. In the Hindu culture of to-day there is something of Islamic influence, and the Muslim culture of India has greatly been influenced by Hindu culture. To preserve the purity of our culture we cannot go back to the old days by abandoning the teachings of experience that have been imbibed in our culture.

In fine, the writer points out:

The cry of separation is daily being dinned into our ears; but has that in any way influenced the inner life of the people? In spite of our differences in religion, there will be found a sort of harmony between us, undercurrent indeed, yet perceptible to the casual eye. Look at the people, whether rich or poor, their mode of life, their dress, their conversation, their endearing words. You will marvel to see how the process of the blending of two cultures is at work. Go to a Bengal village and you will find that the two cultures are at the confluence of a great ocean about to be united into one. Dive deep into the daily routine of the villagers, be acquainted with their tales of joys and sorrows, search into the simple and unostentatious village ballads, you will find that in spite of certain diversities, there is unity, an inner harmony that has been from time immemorial moulding and remoulding the lives of the people.

STATES AND THE CROWN

Writing in the latest number of *Federal India and Indian States*, Prof. Berriedale Keith discusses the legal and constitutional implications of the relation between the States and the Crown from the recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in regard to a case from the Maltese. The essential issue decided in the Maltese case, so far as it interests India, is the extent of the authority of the Crown over a community which voluntarily accepts "the authority of the British Crown and the status of British subjects". The facts of the case may be briefly told in the Professor's words:

The Maltese won their freedom from the French, who had acquired sovereignty by conquest and capitulation of the Knights of St. John in 1798 by armed rebellion sustained at their request by the British fleet and some Sicilian forces. They created for themselves during the period 1798 to 1800, when the French garrison capitulated a popular elective council, which was a revival with changes of their older historical form of government, and they naturally expected that, when in 1813 they were accepted as British subjects by the Crown, they would be allowed to exercise the powers of legislation and taxation through that instrumentality with the assent of the Crown. Their hopes were defeated, and the Crown asserted the unfettered power of legislation for the Governor alone. This the Maltese never ceased to protest against, and in 1849 considerable concessions were made by the creation of a legislature in which there was a substantial elected element, though not a majority. Further agitation followed, which the Crown met in part by conceding the principle that in practice the control of taxation and expenditure should largely be allowed to the elected members though a paramount power remained to the government. This was followed in 1857 by a much more generous concession, for the elected members were placed in a majority and the paramount power of the Crown, which was necessarily retained as Malta is an important garrison, was exercised in legislation and taxation only by Order in Council. In 1903, as a result of friction, the constitution was again changed, and the number of elected members reduced to fall below that of the official members; but in 1921, after much discussion in virtue of the principle of self-determination asserted by the allies in the war, Malta was given a modified form of self-government in all local matters leaving to the Governor and the Crown in Council complete legislative authority over all matters of imperial interest. The system might have worked successfully but for constitutional intervention. Lord Strickland, the leader of the party, supporting British as opposed

to Italian influence, fell under the ban of the Roman Catholic Church which is very pro-Italian in outlook, and the electors were menaced with spiritual censures if they voted for his party. Hence in 1930 the pending general election had to be abandoned and the constitution in large measure suspended. In 1932, after investigation by a Royal Commission, the constitution was restored but clerical orders secured a pro-Italian government which in 1933 was dismissed by the Governor as it was defying the law regarding the use of languages as laid down by the Crown in 1932, and was recklessly expending the public funds. Since then the island has been governed by the Governor alone with complete legislative power.

So complete an abrogation of the rights of the people to share in their own government produced resentment among the pro-British and pro-Italian sections alike, and the former through Lord Strickland appealed to the Courts. The Court of Appeal of Malta held that the legislation of the Governor in matters not reserved under the constitution of 1921 was invalid, but the Privy Council reversed that ruling.

The point in the case which interests India is the argument put forward for Lord Strickland in favour of the view that the Crown never had legislative power over Malta, because it was acquired not by conquest, but by the free consent of its people who had been allies of Britain in the war of liberation.

The Judicial Committee, however, refused to accept these contentions for reasons which seem to amount to the view that cession, even if voluntary, implied complete submission to the royal will.

It follows, therefore, that because the Maltese as allies sought British sovereignty, they resigned themselves for ever to being dealt with at the pleasure of the Crown, that is under modern usage, the will of the Cabinet for the time being. It is a hard doctrine, essentially iniquitable, but now that it has been definitely established, it may safely be assumed that no Indian prince would accept such a fate. But only Parliament can limit the prerogative whose plenitude has thus so remarkably been restored. The view of the Committee no doubt reflects the growing tendency of the day to exalt the authority of the executive at the expense of popular liberty.

HIND SWARAJ

It is over thirty years since Gandhiji wrote the now famous book "Hind Swaraj". (Price 8 as. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) Written in answer to the then Indian school of violence it contains in a nutshell all that Gandhiji has stood for. The book deserves to be read and re-read for its challenging ideas. The conductors of the *Aryan Path* have, therefore, done well to issue a special number recording the views of some of the foremost Western thinkers on the principles of *ahimsa* as advocated by Gandhiji in his great, little book and practised by him with such inspiring consistency. "The ideas of this small book," they say,

have changed the hearts of anarchical revolutionaries. European thinkers and leaders have first to effect a change in their own hearts; and nothing will aid them in this transmutation like the actual effort of politically minded India to create a social order founded upon the doctrines of Satyagraha which are in the little book *Hind Swaraj*.

In the critical and distracted times we are living in, is it possible that his message and the way of life adumbrated in that book will prove of any practical use? That is the question that engages the attention of so many thoughtful writers as Prof. G. D. H. Cole, Dr. Delisle Burns and Middleton Murry and others. Gandhiji himself sends the following message:

I welcome your advertising the principles in defence of which "Hind Swaraj" was written. The English edition is a translation of the original which was in Gujarati. I might change the language here and there if I had to re-write the booklet. But after the stormy thirty years through which I have since passed, I have seen nothing to make me alter the views expounded in it. Let the reader bear in mind that it is a faithful record of conversations I had with workers, one of whom was an avowed anarchist. He should also know that it stopped the rot that was about to set in among some Indians in South Africa. The reader may balance against this the opinion of a dear friend, who also is no more, that it was the production of a fool.

It is not to be expected that his challenging ideas will be acclaimed without criticism. A book of such vital thoughts is bound to provoke controversy. Indeed, one should think that its chief merit is in provoking thought. Mr. Cole, for instance, in a very fair estimate of Gandhiji's philosophy, concedes that much can be said in favour of his condemnation of Western civilization. And yet, he goes on to add:

I am not a Gandhist. I do not believe that Western civilisation is of sharp necessity in conformity with the human soul. I do not believe that science is man's curse, or that the world would be better without doctors or without machines. I do care about the body as well as the soul and about the enjoyments of the body. I do not believe that the peasant life is best, or that homespun is to be preferred to machine-made, or that it would be better for men to sweep all their discoveries of the past two centuries aside and go back to take up their lives again at a point. I know not where in history, before these things had become their masters. I make no judgment for Indians concerning the road they should travel; for I am not competent to make any judgment. But for myself and the men and women I know, I am not prepared to say that Western civilization is inherently false to the souls of men.

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INDIA AND CHINA

"The beginnings of intercourse between India and China" is the title of an interesting article in the Winternitz Memorial number of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. The Professor proves from historical records that from the first century B.C., the products of South India had begun to reach China by sea and that at the beginning of the Christian era, a Chinese mission traversed the entire Indian Ocean. He continues:

We have good reason to think that the maritime contacts between China and Southern India reach as far back as the second century. This is confirmed by a curious find of a Chinese coin, most probably of the second century A.D., from Mysore. This coin was discovered in 1909 by R. A. Narasimhaiah in the Candravalli site, and Taw Sein Ko to whom the coin was referred made the following observations on it:

"Most probably, Chinese merchants visited Southern India during that period (138 A.D.) and they came from Canton or some other southern port bringing with them Chinese brass coins of low value. It is on record that, during the early centuries of the Christian era, there was a brisk commerce carried on between China and Southern India and Ceylon."

If the Chinese traversed the entire Indian Ocean at the beginning of the Christian era and used foreign vessels earlier in the second century B.C. for travelling to and from Kanohi (Conjeevaram), it is not unreasonable to suppose, says Prof. Sastri, that the eastern expansion of Hinduism began much earlier than is commonly believed. The Professor concludes:

The term *China* occurs in many early Sanskrit texts, the *Mahabharata* and the *Manusmriti*, as is well known; but the trouble is that there is no general agreement on the exact age of the particular texts that enter into such discussions; but it seems that the prevailing view, or by underrating the antiquity of the contacts between India and China both by land and sea, and that, on the whole, Jacobi and Winternitz were nearer the truth in their estimates of the chronology of Indian literature and culture than others have found it possible to concede.

ZOROASTER'S MESSAGE

Under the heading "Zarathushtra's message for to-day", Mr. Jehangir Jivaji Vakil gives the prophet's message to mankind in a nutshell in the pages of *Humata*:

Organised religion has to-day become the citadel of reaction, the tool of vested interests of all sorts. The poor and the humble are shamelessly exploited in the name of God and religion. Evil claims an equal right to existence as good and has her claims allowed in the name of peace. The world is being rent asunder by brute forces of a magnitude hitherto unparalleled, but soon to reach heights of destruction that threaten to wipe out the very name of civilization from large parts of the world. Naked oppression and stark brutality are openly and shamelessly condoned by excuses that could not be put forth so blandly, so cynically were it not for the fact that international morality has sunk to unsuspected depths of degradation due to the fear of war—a fear which has become a trump-card in the hands of the spirits of evil, of whom Zarathushtra knew so well; against whom he fought so unflinchingly, so uncompromisingly; with such prayers and supplications to the Righteous One, for His strength, which alone would lead him to victory, and not only Zarathushtra, but all the other prophets as well and others inspired of God. But Zarathushtra emphasises this aspect of man's life with a vehemence that is perhaps not to be found in the message of the other prophets, which lay varying stress on this or that point of their doctrine.

What is the explanation of the entrenchment of evil in high places—evil which seems to be flourishing merrily on all sides; moving from strength to strength to the dismay of the humble and the righteous, the hungry and the oppressed? Mr. Vakil answers as follows:

Here the voice of the old prophet of Iran crashes into our dependency with the fiery suddenness of a bolt from the blue in passionate vindication of eternal justice. If God is good, He cannot tolerate the triumph of evil except as the means of a greater, completer, holier, more perfect triumph and vindication of the good. Ultimate good shall prevail, he says, enriched by the strength and purity derived from the harassment of the long-sustained and murderous onslaught of hate. A statement whose full implications are a warning against visioning the ultimate good as static, as incapable of moving from perfection to still greater perfection.

* LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF ZOROASTER. By Prof. A. R. Wadia. Price Rs. 12. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 10. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

SCOTTISH NATIONALISM

"Give a nation freedom, prosperity and hope and the spiritual growth of that nation is assured for all time," writes Mr. Arthur L. Henry in the *Theosophist*.

"It has been assumed that the prosperity of Scotland was the effect of the union with England—nothing more false. Our prosperity was due to the economic development of the whole world. It could not have been kept away from us even if England had done her worst. The union was superimposed upon us and it is to disentangle ourselves from the fetters placed upon us two hundred years ago that we, the Scottish Independent Party, address ourselves to you today.

You may say that what I have been touching on are merely sentimental questions. But sentiment is the strongest force to move mankind. All causes, that of Bruce, of Wallace, the Greeks at Marathon, and all the causes in the creation of the world till today have been set afoot by sentiment. Do you suppose that if the Irish had gone on asking for reduced rents and nothing else, they would have achieved their freedom?

I think most of us have made up our minds, and those who have not, might look around these historic surroundings. Under the Wallace Crag our national hero led his men against Hugh Cressingham. Within three miles Bruce broke the chivalry of England at Bannockburn. Burns wandered in those hills. In Stirling Castle, our historic Parliament stayed for centuries alternating with Edinburgh and with Linlithgow. The eternal hills still look down on us as they looked down on Wallace and on Bruce. The same snell wind coming up from the Western Isles still breathes on us today. The same

sun pours its rays upon us. The same mist fills the corries of the hills. The same spates fill our rivers. And I would fain hope that the same spirit fills the heart of every Scotsman in the demand which we have placed before our friends today." The resolution in favour of Self-Government for Scotland was carried unanimously.

The British Commonwealth of Nations is a League of self-governing peoples with a common language. They all have the right to send their own representatives to their own Parliaments. Scotland—one of the oldest of the world's small nations—has no such right. Scottish nationalists look forward to that day when an independent Scotland will contribute a worthy part to world peace, co-operation and progress.

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THE FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE

The League of Nations with its lofty objectives behind its constitution has failed. Why? Can anything really be done to make the League more potent, active and useful? These queries find some interesting answers in Mr. Indu Bushan Ghosh's article on "The Future of the League of Nations" in the September issue of the *Modern Review*.

The authority of the League is for the main part a moral authority. It is not really true that the League system of collective security has failed. The statesmen of the Democratic and pro-League countries, contrary to the wishes of a large majority of their subjects, refused to carry out their obligations and made the 'pious system' a camouflage for their old diplomatic game. The failure of the League as an organisation for collective security was inevitable. There is a flagrant disregard for obligations and we find every nation in a feverish state of armament activity. An electrified atmosphere of suspicion and distrust pervades everywhere.

What is needed now is a new social ethic. If the collective system is to be a reality, it must involve Government co-operation in an immensely wider range of human activity. If the States desire to prevent war, they should be prepared not only for the sacrifices involved in economic measures, but they should be prepared to muster all their national strength into a common pool so powerful that no aggressor in the world can ever hope to break through it.

Mr. Noel-Baker suggests that qualitative disarmament, budgetary limitation, the limitation of manpower, the abolition of disguised para-military

formation, the abolition of private manufacture of armaments, the control of the arms-traffic, the organization of a strengthened system of international supervision and control—these are indispensable elements of an effective system. He is further of opinion that the total abolition of national military air forces, an international regime for civil aviation, the organization of world airways, and the creation of some form of joint international air police force—are some of the drastic measures needed for the air danger.

The League as at present with its palpably inadequate machinery for decisive action cannot go on. But we cannot afford to part with it altogether, since in these critical days we necessarily need a sort of concentration of moral force which the League like the constitutional monarch commands. The League should be re-vitalised and rejuvenated, and Mr. Indu Bushan Ghosh suggests improvements on two lines.

(a) On the one hand, we should strengthen the sanction clauses and make them really effective, so that they take away all temptations from a state to embark upon a war light-heartedly. The gap in Article 16—the rule by which each Member of the League is to decide for itself when aggression has occurred—must in some way be removed. Assistance to the victim of aggression must be worked out in advance. The system of arbitration must be extended so that, as a general rule, important disputes shall be dealt with first by the Permanent Court of International Justice or by *ad hoc* tribunal.

(b) On the other hand, it is equally important to give life to Article 10 of the Covenant. The Article embodies the principle of collective and peaceful revision of treaties and other international conditions. A system which collectivizes the use of force and provide no machinery for the collective revision of the *status quo* is certain to fail.

TENANCY LEGISLATION IN BENGAL

On the 16th of August, the Governor of Bengal gave his assent to the Amendments of the Bengal Tenancy Act. How far these amendments are an improvement on the old legislation is discussed at length in an article by Mr. S. A. Gomes in the September number of the *New Review*. Mr. Gomes briefly recounts the history of tenancy legislation in Bengal since the days of Akbar down to our times with a review of the working of the Permanent Settlement. By the Act of 1928 the tenant was assured of his right to sell his occupancy holding without let or hindrance from the Zamindar; and the latter could not demand more than 20 per cent. of the sale proceeds. Another right clarified by the Amendment of 1928 was the right of the tenants to erect *pucca* residences for themselves and their families.

Now what are the main changes proposed by the Amendment of 1937? They are:

1. Abolition of the landlord's fee.
2. Abolition of the right of pre-emption exercisable by landlords.
3. Suspension of suits for enhancement of rent to tenants for 10 years on any ground whatsoever; no decree for enhancement shall be executed within the said period.
4. Summary procedure for infliction of fine on the landlord or his agent for realization of *Abwab*.

The object of this Bill was to improve the condition of the cultivators. But its provisions do not reach the actual cultivator who tills the land as a mere servant.

The present Bill does hardly anything for non-occupancy ryots, i.e., those cultivators who have not yet acquired a right of occupancy to their holdings. I believe the reason is that as this class of tenants have not acquired any permanent right to the land in their occupation, and until they come to acquire the right to keep the land, they cannot expect any greater rights.

The contention of the landlords is that the actual tiller of the land gets no benefit from the Amendment Bill, while they themselves are deprived of

substantial rights which they have exercised from time immemorial.

Another contention of the landlords is that the right conferred on the tenant by the new Bill will give money-lenders the opportunity to attach his holdings and that money-lenders will induce ryots to sell their holdings to them and thus reduce them to poverty. The writer meets these arguments and points out:

Whether such a state of affairs will come or not, no one can say; but this is no reason why tenants should not be free to dispose of their property as they like without the intervention of the landlord.

The landlords also say that by granting these privileges to tenants, the legislature is depriving them of some of the rights given to them by the Permanent Settlement of 1793. This plea cannot hold, for by the Permanent Settlement only the revenue was settled in perpetuity with the Zamindars, and the Government reserved to itself the right of looking after the welfare of the ryots.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

In the course of a lecture delivered at the Town Club at Gudivada, an account of which appears in the September Number of the *Divine Life*, Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan brings out the idea that philosophy in the West has always striven to be independent of religion, while the genius of the East has never in its long history made any absolute distinction between philosophy and religion.

The philosophy of the Vedanta is the crown and glory of the religion of the Vedas. In the age of the *Darshnas* there was a move to develop the systems independent of religious faith; but it turned out to be impossible. Metaphysics in India is not a mere intellectual approach. It is in the very nature of the intellect to dissect and divide. How, then, can it reveal the real? The Absolute is beyond the grasp of speech and mind. Though reason is powerless to apprehend reality, it has a negative use. It can tell us what is not real and by implication can point the way to the real. Thinking has ultimately to be transcended. Thought has to commit suicide before the absolute spirit can be intuitively experienced. The philosopher in India began his quest at the right end. He wanted to know that by knowing which everything else could be known. Knowledge, according to the Upanishadic view, is not a product of intellectual activity; it is the very nature of the Self. He found no contradiction between philosophy and faith. Inquiry is not antagonistic to real mysticism. A philosophy without faith is barren; a faith without philosophy is blind.

THE FULFILMENT OF BEAUTY

The September issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata* contains an article on the "Fulfillment of Beauty" by Dr. J. H. Cousins. Dr. Cousins does not explain the ideas of beauty but the power that beauty may become in moulding the materials and activities of daily life to the excellence of one or other of its aspects. He says:

The arts in India have never moved far from idealism. Mughal art in its prime, in architecture plus decoration, and in painting, though it renounced religious themes, had a respect amounting to devotion, for delicacy and dignity and was thus aesthetically idealistic.

Buddhist architecture and painting had the same aesthetical exquisiteness as Mughal art; and it extended its reach towards a fuller idealism in its delineation of the personal attainment of spiritual illumination and liberation.

Hindu art in all its phases has added to the range of Mughal and Buddhist art a psychological and cosmic stretch that gives it the rank of the most inclusive art of humanity. So all-embracing is it, indeed, that it has included within its iconographical idealism a realism in the depiction of certain aspects of human life that is sometimes too frank for even those who are accustomed to the reserve of the American talkie and the London monthly Magazine cover!

In conclusion, Dr. Cousins points out that life without something of enlargement of desire beyond bodily satisfactions can only become an articulate animalism; and without discipline can only relapse into savagery.

But reverence and discipline can no longer be imposed from outside. They must rest upon inherent worth and arise inevitably out of the nature of circumstances.

We believe that humanity has, in the universal participation in creative art-activity, first in education and afterwards in life the surest and most effective means of bringing into life the sense of enlargement, the glimpse of perfection, the touch of universality that transforms apparently insignificant things into hieroglyphs and codes of illuminating and inspiring and purifying revelation and discovery and achievement. Such activity, which yields up its joy to the participant under accepted inevitable laws governing each particular art-form, produces in the participant a parallel understanding of the laws of individual and social life and, by reducing egoistic deductions away from creative purpose, as well as by increasing responsiveness and effectiveness, makes the individual a much more accessible receiver and co-ordinator of the Will behind life that is forever seeking instruments for its fulfilment.

SOUVENIR SANDALS

News Review, that bright and vivacious British weekly which has already established itself as one of the most attractive of British News magazines, publishes an interesting piece of news from South Africa. General Smuts, the soldier-statesman, presented a pair of sandals to the retiring Indian Agent-General, Sir Syed Raza Ali, as a token of goodwill. These sandals, we are told, had been Jan Smuts' treasured souvenir for a quarter of a century. "As Justice Minister years ago, he ordered the prosecution of an unknown Hindu named Gandhi, who had led a campaign of passive resistance to the Government's restrictive laws against the Indian settlers. In gaol, Mahatma Gandhi spent his time making a pair of sandals which he presented to the General on his release."

Offering the souvenir to Sir Raza, General Smuts remarked: "If you happen to see Mr. Gandhi, will you give him my best wishes for his continued health and strength? His work for Indian regeneration, more especially in its social aspect, seems to me among the greatest and most fruitful human tasks and in extent surpassing that undertaken by any single man in our generation."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE WOMEN POETS OF INDIA. By Dimple Chand Sharma. [The Twentieth Century, August 1933.]

MUNICIPALISM IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Y. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. [The New Review, September 1933.]

HINDU ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. By Dr. F. V. Ramana Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. [The Prabuddha Bharata, September 1933.]

REFORM THE INDIAN HOME? By Mrs. Raj Lal Nehru. [Modern Girl, September 1933.]

ECONOMIC INVASION OF INDIA. By Mr. Rakhmal Chitoy. [The Modern Review, September 1933.]

Utterances of the Day

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S BROADCAST

In the course of his broadcast on September 27, Mr. Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, said:

You know that already I have done all that one man can do to compose this quarrel. After my visits to Germany, I realise vividly how Herr Hitler feels that he must be the champion of the cause of Germans whose grievances have not been met before this. He told me privately and last night repeated publicly that after this Sudeten German question is settled, that is the end of Germany's territorial claims in Europe. After my first visit to Berchtesgaden, I did give to the Czech Government proposals, which gave the substance of what Herr Hitler wanted and I was taken completely by surprise when I got back to Germany to find that he insisted that the territory he wanted should be handed over immediately and immediately occupied by German troops without previous arrangements being made for safeguarding the people within the territory, who are not German and do not want to join the Reich.

I must say that I find this attitude unreasonable. If it arises from any doubt that Herr Hitler feels about the intentions of the Czech Government to carry out their promises and to hand over the territory I have offered on behalf of the British Government to guarantee their words and I am sure the value of our promise will not be underrated anywhere.

I shall not give up hope of a peaceful solution or effective efforts for peace as long as any chance for peace remains. I would not hesitate to pay even a third visit to Herr Hitler if I thought it would do any good. But at this moment I see nothing further which I can usefully do in the way of mediation.

Mr. Chamberlain added:

Don't be alarmed if you hear of men being called up to man anti-aircraft defences or ships. These are only precautionary measures such as a Government must take in times like this, but they do not necessarily mean that we are determined on war or that war is imminent. However much we may sympathise with a small nation confronted by a big powerful neighbour, we cannot in all the circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war, simply on her account. If we had to fight, it must be on larger issues than that.

I am myself a man of peace to the depth of my soul. Conflict between nations is a nightmare to me. And, if I were convinced that any nation had made up her mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel it must be resisted. In such domination the life of people who believe in liberty would not be worth living. But war is a fearful thing and we must be very clear before we embark on it. That it is really great issues that are at stake and they call to risk everything in that defence, when all consequences are weighed, is irresistible.

TAGORE ON GANDHIJI

Mahatma Gandhi's birthday was celebrated all over the country on September 21.



GANDHIJI

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, addressing the Santiniketan inmates in the Mandir, said:

The needs of great men, however great, are answerable to time, but the dedication that lies behind them, remains beyond the reach of temporal standards. Mahatma Gandhi's work has won world recognition but, what is more for us to realise, is the spirit that has given a dynamic vitality to his actions. Utter self-giving to truth, indomitable, fearless and regardless of consequence, it is this that has invested his life-work with imperishable significance.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN ON BUDDHA

The following is the concluding portion of a very interesting lecture delivered by Sir S. Radhakrishnan on the 29th June at the British Academy, London:

We find in Buddha, in powerful combination, spiritual profundity and moral strength of the highest order and a discreet intellectual reserve. He is one of those rare spirits who bring to men a realisation of their own divinity and makes the spiritual life seem adventurous and attractive, so that they may go forth into the world with a new interest and a new joy at heart. While his great intellect and wisdom gave him the comprehension of the highest truth, his warm heart led him to devote his life to save from sorrow suffering humanity, thus confirming the great mystic tradition that true immortals occupy themselves with human affairs, even though they possess divine souls.

The greatness of his personality, his prophetic seal, and burning love for suffering humanity made a deep impression on those with whom he lived and gave rise to those legends and stories which are the modes of expression available to ordinary humanity when it tries to express true things, the personal superiority of Buddha to the rest of them, and Gautama the apostle of self-control and wisdom and love becomes the Buddha, the perfectly enlightened, the omniscient one, the saviour of the world.

DR. KHARE AND THE C. P. CRISIS

The All-India Congress Committee after five hours' discussion passed by an overwhelming majority the Working Committee's resolution on the C. P. Ministerial crisis as amended by Pandit Balakrishna Sharma's amendment urging that disciplinary action should be taken against Dr. Khare. Only 11 members voted against the resolution.

The following is the text of the resolution placed before the All-India Congress Committee by the Working Committee:—

The All-India Congress Committee approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in handling the Central Provinces Ministerial crisis and fully endorses the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr. Khare and the Governor of the Central Provinces in the unfortunate episode.

The A. I. C. C. further is clearly of the opinion that the conduct of Dr. Khare since his resignation from the Central Provinces Ministry deserves severest condemnation.

To the above resolution, Pandit Balakrishna Sharma moved an amendment that disciplinary action should be taken against Dr. Khare. The amendment was passed by 151 members voting for and 61 against.

INDIAN X'ANS AND HUQ MINISTRY

"The present Huq Ministry is not responsible to the people of the country, but to the 25 European members of the Assembly and to themselves. We have thus 25 Honorary Ministers, and dictate to them on what terms they will be prepared to support them," said Mr. S. C. Mookerjee, President of the Indian Christian Association of Bengal, while explaining the attitude of the Indian Christian community towards the European position as revealed on August 9 when the no-confidence motion had been moved in the Bengal Legislative Assembly against the present Ministry.

"In our view," added Mr. Mookerjee, "the European members committed a great error of judgment and a complete lack of political foresight by supporting the condemned Ministry."

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

Sir Shanmukham Chetti drew the attention of the League administration to the inadequacy of representation given to Indian nationals in the League Secretariat and International Labour Office in the Fourth (Budgetary) Committee of the Assembly which met in Geneva on September 19.

After recalling the point stressed on many past occasions, Sir Shanmukham Chetti added that they were still dissatisfied with quantitative recruitments and still more with what he might call qualitative recruitments.

He declared that "what would satisfy Indian aspirations is the appointment of some competent Indians in higher posts relating to the direction of control in the League".

BOMBAY'S LIQUOR-DRIVE

It is understood that the Bombay Government propose to bring forward legislation to prohibit liquor advertisement in any form in newspapers, placards or posters in furtherance of the Government's prohibition programme.

It is also understood that the Government have increased the powers of Excise Police with a view to make boot-legging and illicit liquor traffic impossible.

PROHIBITION IN THE PUNJAB

The Punjab Government propose shortly to enforce prohibition as an experimental measure in five selected districts of the province. The difficulties likely to be met with have been carefully considered by the Government and an attempt will be made to profit from the experience gained in other provinces.

HINDUSTANI IN UNIVERSITY

Co-education and adoption of Hindustani as the medium of instruction in all subjects of the Faculties of Law and Arts, except English, have been approved, it is stated, by the Executive Council of Lucknow University in its reply to the questionnaire issued by the Universities Education Reorganization Committee.

Among the means suggested by which Hindustani may be speedily adopted for the medium of instruction are that if extra-mural instruction is undertaken by University teachers, it should be in Hindustani and that every newly-appointed teacher should be required to pass a test in Hindustani as a condition precedent to his confirmation. Further, it is desirable that all existing members of the

teaching staff in the University should satisfy the Executive Council as to their knowledge of Hindustani, subject to exemption for good reasons.

THE WARDHA SCHEME

Asha Devi, in charge of the Department of Education during her speech at Santiniketan, explained the ideals of the Wardha Scheme. She said:

The scheme of basic education must be national, i.e., must be suited to the peculiar genius of the Indian nation and must relate to the needs of the present age. Mr. Gandhi's present scheme of education fulfils these two conditions. A complete education of the whole man—mind, body and soul—is possible only if all intellectual training is given through some form of productive manual work; and as our country is a land of villages—through village handicrafts.

Considering the fact that to put the scheme into practice the first and foremost need is that of the right type of teachers."

MR. K. SUBRAHMANYAN

Mr. Kuppaswami Subrahmanyam, an Assistant Sanitary Engineer in Ceylon, has obtained the highest number of marks among candidates in the British Empire, at the examination for the Associate Membership of Institute of Civil Engineers. Mr. Subrahmanyam is a native of Tinnevely and graduated from the Madras Engineering College.

A VICE-CHANCELLOR AS PROFESSOR

The new acting Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University Pandit Amar Nath Jha, has created a healthy innovation as he is continuing to take his M. A. class in English and other lectures while working as Vice-Chancellor in the University.

DR. M. S. KRISHNAN

Dr. M. S. Krishnan of the Geological Department has been appointed Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of India. He is the first Indian to be appointed to this post. Dr. Krishnan was a member of the Indian Coal Mining Committee in 1937.

DR. B. C. LAW'S GIFT

Dr. B. C. Law has offered an endowment of Rs. 16,700 for the establishment of a Vice-studentship in the Siftor Engineering College. The offer has been accepted by the Bengal Government. The beneficiary will be provided with free board and lodging in the College Hostel.

MR. SYAMA PRASAD MUKERJI

On the recommendation of the Syndicate, the Senate of the Calcutta University decided to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on Mr. Syama Prasad Mukerji, former Vice-Chancellor of the University.

LITIGATION AMONG VAISHNAVITES

Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, at the anniversary of Sri Vedanta Desika Bhakta Sabha, Madurai, deplored the idea of Vaishnavites going to the Law Courts to settle their religious disputes. He observed:

According to the ancient *Sastras* (scripts) relating to Vaishnavism, the Thengalies and the Vadagalies were one, having one Swaroopam (God) for worship in common. The sectarianism among the Vaishnavites was only a subsequent invention claiming superiority over other in the matter of Temple honours as to who was to get the first honours regarding the Holy water, *prasadhams* and *parivartams*.

The Vaishnavites, who often spoke Vedanta, forgot their philosophy and figured prominently in the judicial arena with unnecessary litigations, wasting large sums of money awaiting a decision from an outsider of the Hindu religion who happened to be a Judge in a Criminal or a Civil Court, as to whether a certain X or Y should receive the first honour. This was not only scandalous but unbecoming of Vaishnavites themselves.

Both these sects, viz., "Y" mark representing the Thengalies and the "U" mark representing the Vadagalies should pull together following the ancient scripts and keeping themselves alive to their noble ideals.

SIR B. NARASINGHA RAO

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve of the appointment of Sir B. Narasimha Rao, I.C.S., to be *Chief Justice* of the High Court of Judicature, Bengal, in succession to the Hon. Mr. Justice Jack with effect from 20th December, 1936.

THE DEBT RELIEF ACT

There is no doubt that the subject matter of legislation under Act 4 of 1938 (the Debt Relief Act) of the Madras Legislature can have no relation to, or in any way, affect debts due under promissory notes, bills of exchange, cheques or other like instruments, which expressly fall within the competency of the Federal Legislature under the Government of India Act, 1935, and which are expressly excluded from the scope of the powers of the provincial legislature.

Thus observed Mr. M. S. Narayanaswami Ayyar, Subordinate Judge at Kumbakonam in his judgement in a suit for the recovery of Rs. 487 and odd alleged to be due under a promissory note, dated January 28, 1932, executed by the defendant for Rs. 400.

The defendant, *inter alia*, contended that he was an agriculturist entitled to the benefits of the Madras Act IV of 1938 and so the amount fixed as due upon the suit note must be scaled down. He also pleaded partial discharge and calculated, as per the provisions of the Act, that the amount due on October 1, 1937, was Rs. 278.12, carrying interest at 6½ per cent. per annum up to the date of payment.

JUSTICE ARTHUR T. HARRIS

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Justice Arthur Trevor Harris, *Chief Justice* of the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad, as *Chief Justice* of the High Court of Judicature at Patna in the vacancy which has arisen consequent on the death of Sir Courtenay Ferrell, 10

SICKNESS INSURANCE FOR SEAMEN

It is learnt that the Government of India are exploring the possibilities of introducing some system of sickness insurance for a particular class of seamen at special centres.

The proposal in its restricted form is the result of the decision of the Central Government not to ratify the draft convention adopted by the 21st session of the International Labour Conference favouring the introduction of a compulsory system of sickness insurance for the benefit of all seamen. It has also been decided by the Government of India, in connection with the recommendations of the Labour Commission, that the starting of a sickness insurance scheme covering all classes of workers is not practicable for the time being.

In defence of their policy the Government of India contend that most Indian seamen are part-time agriculturists and also owing to prevailing illiteracy and unemployment among seamen, the establishment of a compulsory system of insurance based on the provisions of the convention is not feasible at present.

NEW LIFE BUSINESS IN U. S. A.

According to a report by the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, the new life insurance business written in U. S. A. during the first six months of the current year was 22.6 per cent. less than the figure for the corresponding period of 1937. The report relates to the new paid-for business—exclusive of revivals, increases and dividend additions—of 40 companies having 82 per cent. of the total life insurance outstanding in all United States legal reserve companies. The total new business of these companies for January to June, 1938, amounted to \$ 8,684,769,000 as against \$4,761,267,000 for the first six months of the last year.

DUTY OF INSURANCE COMPANIES

Opening a branch of the South Indian Co-operative Insurance Company at Rajahmundry, the Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour and Industries said that in foreign countries, insurance companies besides giving protection to their policyholders had been helping a great deal national advancement by starting several industries. Unfortunately in India insurance companies had not so far made any such endeavours to help the nation. They are content with offering a little protection to their policyholders. The Minister hoped that in the years to come insurance companies of India like those in the foreign countries would help to start new industries in India.

INDIAN DOCTORS IN CHINA

In the course of a letter to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. J. M. Cordeiro, Secretary of the Bombay Mutual Life Assurance Society, Ltd., offered certain insurance facilities for the five medical men constituting the Congress Medical Mission being sent to the Chinese War front. The Society proposed to cover risk on the life of each one of doctors for Rs. 1,000 without any payment to the Society for a period of one year, provided the medical men selected are between the ages of 20 and 50.

We understand the Congress President has accepted the offer of the "Bombay Mutual."

INDIAN TRADERS IN AFGHANISTAN

The removal of Indian traders' disabilities in Afghanistan by the starting of negotiations for a reciprocal trade treaty between the two countries is urged by the Committee of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a communication addressed to the Commerce Department, Government of India.

The Committee urge that definite and authentic information should be secured by the Government of India on the following restrictions, alleged to have been imposed by the Afghan Government:—

That Indian cars and Indian drivers are allowed to use only two roads—from Peshawar to Kabul and from Chaman to Khandahar;

That a motor driver is not allowed to stay in Afghan territory for more than five days;

That Indian traders and visitors are not allowed to stay for more than 15 days unless they have obtained special permission from the Afghan Foreign Minister, and even then such a stay cannot extend beyond a year.

That Indians cannot acquire any immovable property in Afghanistan;

That an Indian trader cannot start business in the country without a heavy security.

A number of Indian merchants, it is added, had already found themselves unable to recover advances, the outstanding balances against Afghan traders already amounting to approximately Rs. 27 lakhs. The recent decree of the Afghan Government controlling foreign exchange had created a further difficulty in the liquidating of these claims.

THE BUCKINGHAM & CARNATIC CO.

The report of the Directors of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills Co., Ltd., for the half-year ended June 30, 1938, states that after allowing Rs. 2,98,195-15-6 for depreciation, a profit of Rs. 5,24,612-2-7 was earned during the half-year which, with the unappropriated profit brought forward from the previous account, amounted to Rs. 6,71,759-8-11. The Directors have paid Rs. 8-12 per share on the 7½ per cent. Preference Shares for the half-year (Rs. 79,882-8-0) and propose to deal with the balance as follows: to pay an interim dividend of Rs. 5 per share on the Ordinary Shares for the half-year (Rs. 4,46,195), to transfer Rs. 85,000 to the Retiring Fund and to carry forward Rs. 1,10,682-0-11.



THE HON. SIA PHIROZE SETHNA, Kt.
Managing Director, Central Bank of India who died
in Bombay on September 16, 1938.

INDIAN WOMEN'S DEMANDS

After capturing administrative and other appointments in the different provinces and after being enrolled as police officials in U.P. and in other provinces, male monopoly, Indian women clamour for more powers.

The Bhartiya Yuvak Sangh under Mrs. W. D. Gauri Nilkanth's lead, made this demand at a public meeting at Ahmedabad on July 18.

Among the special qualifications of women for this responsibility, advanced by speakers at the meeting, which, of course, consisted entirely of women, were:

- (1) There was no disunion among women.
- (2) There was no jealousy among women.
- (3) They had no greed for power.

Speakers contrasted these qualifications with the failure of men in these respects. Men had been striving all these years for freedom and had failed. Men went to the Round Table Conference and raised communal questions instead of demanding Swaraj. Men had sought excessive self-interest and created jealousy.

If women were organised and united, they could save the world. And women must go to the forefront of the independence movement. They must lead a mass movement.

AB...
If...
Govt...
into the legislature a Bill providing for the abolition of the Devadasi system, under which girls are dedicated to temples. It is a very important detail of the subject.

PRINCESS NILLOFFER'S ADDRESS

Princess Nilloffer, President of the Women's Conference on August 30, under the auspices of the Aurangabad Branch of the Hyderabad Women's Association for educational and social advance, said:

The age through which we are passing is indeed an interesting one and we are in the course of a transition when ideas are still nebulous. I am sure we are glad to have been born at this time rather than at any other, for, despite its conflicts and dangers, our age has had many conquests of its own, has still many battles to win and dreams and hopes denied to any other. We have still within us the power to turn forces to their true purpose and harness them to the work that lies ahead of restoration and construction. In that task, the womanhood of the State has to play a great part to play. They can not only influence the workers of to-day and show, at this crossroad at which we stand, the road leading to a common destiny, they can bridge the ages and hand over their torch to the generations that are to follow.

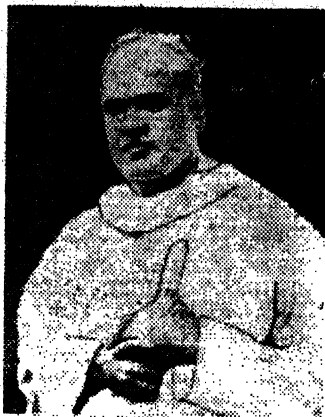
EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Women, to-day, are economically and socially dependent on men. They are treated from the employers' point of view, as cheap labour, writes Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton in the *Railway Service Journal*. They remain cheap mainly because they are not organised. Few are the adult women workers who have only themselves to think of and provide for.

Anyhow, our existing wages are not paid on that basis. If they have slowly but surely gained up their wages rates, the level at which they have arrived is that of the unorganised trade union. Women's rates will remain low until we learn that union is strength.

THE LATE MR. KAMATH

We regret the death of Mr. M. S. Kamath, Editor of the *Sunday Times*, Madras, at the comparatively early age of 48. Mr. Kamath had his early journalistic training



THE LATE MR. KAMATH

under the late Dr. Besant and has edited the *Sunday Times* these 10 years. He was an ardent Congressman and much interested in the life and teachings of the Maharishi of Thiruvannamalai, which endeavoured to popularise through a Weekly.

"THE DECCAN CHRONICLE"

The conductors of the *Deccan Chronicle*, published in Secunderabad, have issued a special Birthday number in honour of H. E. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad. It is an attractive number with many pictures and special articles on different phases of Hyderabad history. Representatives of various sections of the Nizam's subjects offer their loyal felicitations to H. E. Highness on this auspicious occasion. The poet, Tagore, sends the following message:—"I am happy to offer my felicitations as an artist and as a poet to a great ruler who has distinguished his rule by his noble patronage of learning and has won the gratitude of the whole of India by his protection and care of the great shrines of Indian Art."

THE LATE MR. P. KESAVA PILLAI

It is now five years since Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, C.I.E., passed away. Mr. Pillai was a much respected citizen.



Mr. P. KESAVA PILLAI

who took a prominent part in all public activities during his time. An appeal signed by several leading citizens has been issued calling for funds with the object of providing some memorial worthy of his services. The signatories add:

"It is time that the public should pay a deserving tribute to his memory by liberal donations which, when collected, will be spent in endowing scholarships for poor and deserving boys, publishing his biography that will give details of a well-spent life and preparing an oil painting to be hung up in the Gokhale Hall."

RAI BAHADUR H. P. BARUA

Rai Bahadur Heramba Prasad Barua (nominated) was elected President of the Assam Legislative Council on August 28, by defeating Mrs. Zeibida Akbar, Rahman by 12 votes to 6. Of the three candidates, Mr. Suresh Das withdrew his candidature at the last moment. After the election, the House congratulated the President who made a suitable reply.

MR. R. M. MAXWELL

The Hon. Mr. R. M. Maxwell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., at present a temporary member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, is appointed permanent Member of the Council vice Sir Henry Greak made Governor of the Punjab.

CONGRESS AMBULANCE UNIT

"There is no section of the Indian people which does not feel keenly and profoundly with the Chinese nation at present engaged in a life and death struggle for the sake of her national independence," declared



Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presiding over a public meeting in Bombay on August 31, called to give a send-off to the Congress Chinese Ambulance Unit. She added:

"The ambulance is only a gesture of India's solidarity in endorsing Chinese valour and her exemplary sacrifice in the hour of her trial. India's message to the struggling Chinese through the Ambulance Unit would be:

"We are among the fighters for the independence of the world. India's struggle for her independence is not for a narrow and selfish national independence but it is a fight for the vindication of the rights of humanity to live. Wherever any section is economically and socially or politically oppressed, the Indian National Congress will always give support to its independence. If the members of the Medical Unit die in the battle-fields of China, they would be bravely facing death."

Mrs. Naidu presented each member of the Unit with a tri-coloured badge as also the Congress standard.

A NEW CURE TO T. B.

A new method for treating pulmonary tuberculosis by the direct injection of a solution of carbolic acid into the infected area of the lung is being carried out in a tuberculosis clinic at Dewas.

VITAL STATISTICS

Of a total of nearly 8,400,000 deaths or 28 per mille in British India in the year, 1936, which is the latest year for which consolidated figures are available, approximately 160,000 or 0.6 per mille were, according to the Public Health Commissioner, from cholera, 105,000 or 0.4 per mille from small-pox, 13,000 or 0.05 per mille from plague, 3,600,000 or 12.7 per mille from fevers, 289,000 or 1.0 per mille from dysentery and diarrhoea, 490,000 or 1.8 per mille from respiratory diseases, and 1,790,000 or 6.1 per mille from other causes.

Deaths from plague during the year were the lowest on record since 1896 when plague first came into India. Of the provinces, the N.W.F.P., Delhi, Orissa, Assam and Ajmer-Merwara were completely free of the disease, the United Provinces was the worst affected recording about 56 per cent. of the total mortality in British India.

Cholera mortality also fell during the year by about 57,000. The decrease in incidence was common to most provinces, the important exception being Bengal where the mortality was 1.5 per mille or 25 per cent. higher than that of the previous year.

CASHEW FRUIT FOR HEALTH

A new source of vitamin C, cheap as well as plentiful, has now been discovered. It is the cashew fruit so abundantly found on the West Coast, and less sparsely in other parts of South India.

The discovery was made by Dr. K. M. Shenoy of Mangalore and has been corroborated by Dr. W. R. Akyroyd, Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor.

An analysis by the Research Institute has revealed the existence of about 876 m. gms. of vitamin C in 100 c.c. of the cashew juice in the sample of fruits sent by Dr. Shenoy.

DR. R. ADISSESHAN

Dr. R. Adiseshan has been appointed as Director of Public Health, Madras. He was formerly Port Health Officer for a number of years and was for some time Professor of Hygiene in the Madras Medical College.

SIR H. P. MODY

Sir H. P. Mody has been appointed as Chairman of the Central Bank of India in succession to the late Sir Phiroze Sethna.



SIR H. P. MODY

The note issued by the Central Bank of India in announcing this appointment says: "The Central Bank of India has suffered a grievous loss by the death of its Chairman, Sir Phiroze Sethna, who had directed its affairs with conspicuous ability and success and who had devoted himself whole-heartedly to its interests. The directors have appointed in his place Sir H. P. Mody who, for years past, was acting as Chairman during the absence of Sir Phiroze. The directors desire, on this occasion, to assure the public that they will do everything in their power to maintain the traditions of the Bank."

THE INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK

The Indo-Commercial Bank, Ltd., has been declared sound. The following communication was received by the Bank from Bombay:—

"After an investigation by an officer of the Reserve Bank deputed for the purpose, we are satisfied as to the soundness of the Indo-Commercial Bank, Ltd., Madras, and as to the safety of the depositors' money. We do not therefore feel that there is any occasion for panic or uneasiness about the position of the Bank, which appears to be well managed. We authorize you to make such use of this message as you wish."

INDIA TO IRAN BY RAIL

India will be linked with Iran by a regular railway when the three branches to the Trans-Iranian Railway are completed about the end of next year.

The Trans-Iranian Railway is the biggest railway project ever undertaken by the Government of Iran and the longest traffic route passing through almost all commercial and strategic stations in that country.

The construction of the main line is almost complete and it is reliably learnt that it will be officially opened by His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi some time in the beginning of next year when international journalists and statesmen will be invited to take part in the celebrations. The three branches which link Iran with British Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Turkey will be completed by the end of next year.

THE N. W. RAILWAY

An experimental extension of air-conditioned travel to sections of the North-Western Railway between Lahore and Karachi and Peshawar and Delhi is expected to take place next winter.

An attempt will be made to ascertain which of the two types of air-conditioning now adopted on Indian railways will suit these sections.

It is explained that the less costly type of air-conditioning in vogue on the B. B. C. I. Railway requires a daily minimum guarantee of three first class passengers, while the system adopted on the Calcutta-Bombay section of the G. I. P. Railway requires a much larger guarantee.

The authorities will first try to discover whether traffic on these two types will permit introduction of this facility.

S. BEHAR RAILWAY LINE

The Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, announces that the Government are ending the £80,000 annual lease to the South Behar Railway Line on June 30, 1933.

In terminating the contract, the Government pay the Company £334,500 being the capital expended on the undertaking.

The Company's issued capital is £575,500 and debentures £200,000.

INDIA'S BIGGEST STATUE

What is perhaps to rank as India's biggest statue will be that of His late Majesty King George V to be erected in New Delhi with the War Memorial Arch as its background.

The proposal for having such a memorial for the late King was hanging on for several years and only recently the Government of India have finally decided to take immediate steps to erect the statue for which tenders have been called by the Engineering staff of the Government of India.

The model of the statue was made by the late Mr. Charles Jagger. Rough drawings of it were sent for approval to England.

The statue will be in marble and its head will be four feet and two inches. The entire statue on the pedestal will be more than 58 feet.

MR. SATINDRANATH LAW

Under the presidency of Hon'ble Sir Mamotha Nath Mukerjee, Mr. Satindra Nath Law, M.A., son of Mr. Sashi Bhusan Law, was awarded several prizes by the Calcutta University Institute for his best art works in different mediums. The following is the list of his works:

(a) Best picture in Indian style in water colour; (b) best figure study in oil colour; (c) next best work in black and white pastel.

Besides these R. M. Tagore gold medal and S. M. Roy gold centred medal were also awarded to him.

AN INDIAN ARTIST

Master W. V. Karanjkar, a 14-year-old artist, has been awarded a bronze medal at the Royal Drawing Society's 48th annual exhibition held at the Guild Hall Art Gallery, London.

We are also informed that out of 1,000 drawings exhibited 40 were selected for recognition including Master Karanjkar's picture which will be on show at the Empire Exhibition to be held in Scotland under the patronage of Her Majesty the Queen. Master Karanjkar is a second year student in the Indore Art School.

DR. SUBBAROYAN'S TRIBUTE TO HUTTON

"We must take our hats off to Hutton for his glorious innings in the final Test Match," said the Hon. Dr. P. Subbaroyan, President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, in an interview to the Press at Bangalore on August 26. He said that the records made in the final Test Match would not easily be beaten.

In reply to a question, Dr. Subbaroyan said that though the participation of Bradman and Fingleton in the Australian innings would have made some difference to the Australians' total, it would certainly not have affected the result. Hutton might not be a spectacular batsman but his doggedness and patience in having stood at the wicket for 18 hours and 20 minutes against such bowling as O'Reilly's and Fleetwood-Smith's deserved the highest praise, concluded Dr. Subbaroyan.

JOHN COBB'S RECORD

John Cobb, driving a 2,500 horse power Railton, narrowly failed to break Capt. George Eyston's world record of 845'49 miles per hour when he averaged 842'52 miles per hour on September 12.

He averaged 848'80 miles per hour on the southward run and 841'60 miles per hour on the northward run.

Cobb told *Reuter* that he would certainly try again. The dampness of the Bonville Salt Flats, Utah, had certainly slowed up his car with which he was perfectly satisfied. Capt. Eyston declined to discuss his future plans but it seems he is staying awhile in case his record goes.

MR. GHASU MAHOMED

India won at the Lawn Tennis Championships of Belgium when Ghasu Mahomed, partnered by De Borman, won the Men's Doubles title. The Indian player also figured as runner-up in the Mixed Doubles event.

CHEAP RADIO SETS

The Madras Government have taken the lead in exploring the possibilities of manufacturing cheap radio sets suitable to Indian conditions. A scheme has been submitted to the Government by some industrial experts. According to the scheme, there will be a laboratory to manufacture cheap sets.

It is, however, too early to estimate the cost price of the cheap set. Experts are of opinion that it will not cost more than Rs. 50.

MATHEMATICS

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing the Presidency College Mathematics Association, said:

"Do not imagine that all the mathematics comes from England or Scotland. Do not imagine that all the mathematics you learn comes from other European countries. A large part of it went over from our own country and has come back to us. It is not mere national pride that should make you interested in knowing the achievements of our ancestors. It will give you confidence and help you to realise a new strength and to achieve new things."

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Judge, Federal Court, Delhi, has been elected President of the National Academy of Science, India.

The Council of the Academy has decided to award the Education Minister's gold medal for 1938 to the author of the best paper published in the proceedings of the Academy.

Mr. Usha Nath Chatterji has been elected a member of the Academy.

RESEARCHES IN BERLIN UNIVERSITY

Mr. S. S. Sarkar of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, has been awarded the Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship of the Berlin University to carry on researches in human genetics and racial sociology in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology in Berlin. He is working under Prof. Eugen Fischer, formerly Rector of Berlin University.

HORRORS OF WAR IN FILMS

With a view to bringing home to Indian people the horrors of the war in China as well as the determination of her people to win it, a committee called the "China Aid Progressive Film Committee" has been formed in Bombay in aid of the Congress Ambulance Unit.

The purpose of the Committee is to secure from Europe and America excellent documentary films on China which have been prepared, sometimes at great risk to the cameramen and to exhibit them in various parts of the country. All proceeds of the films thus exhibited will be handed over to the China Aid Fund started by the President of the Indian National Congress.

The Committee has been formed at the suggestion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and its office-bearers are: Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Chairman, Mrs. Krishna Hathesing and Mr. D. G. Tendulkar, Joint Secretaries; and Messrs. Vithaldas Sagar and G. H. Thakore, Treasurers.

MUSIC IN INDIAN FILMS

"You may import a pair of trousers, a social custom, or even a wife but not music, as music is the soul of the people and that you cannot import," said Sir Richard Temple in a broadcast talk on "Music for the Indian Film" on August 17, and said how inadvisable it would be to introduce European music into Indian films intended for the Indian market.

KIPLING'S "JUNGLE BOOK"

Alexander Korda announces that he has purchased the film rights in Rudyard Kipling's "Jungle Book", to be produced on his next year's programme with Sabu in the leading role. The story revolves around the boy, Mowgli, who is brought up by wolves and is able to talk to all the animals in the jungle.

RAI SAHEB CHURI LALL

Rai Saheb Churi Lall, General Manager of the Bombay Talkies Ltd., has been appointed by the Government of Bombay a member of the Bombay Board of Film Censorship to represent the Motion Picture Society of India from 1st August 1938.

LORD NUFFIELD'S THREAT

Lord Nuffield at a gathering of nearly two thousand Morris dealers made a vigorous attack on unfair foreign competition and threatened to walk out if the Government took any more from the motor trade.

"None of us minds fair competition," Lord Nuffield said. "I think we have stood up to that long enough already. But when a car—I will not mention its name—which sells in its own country for £198 is being sold in this country for £158. I do not see how we can be expected to compete. We cannot produce the labour and material at the price quite apart from anything else. We do our best to give the workmen a square deal. That cannot be said of some other countries."

"But if," he added, "they are going to take from us any more, then I for one will throw up my hands and walk out. If the Government will give us a square deal, they can rest assured that we will return the compliment."

MOTOR VEHICLES BILL

The Central Legislative Assembly has adopted an amendment to the Motor Vehicles Bill, according to which motor buses used by schools to convey children will not be required to obtain a permit from the regional authority.

Section 42 of the Bill, conferring on provincial governments powers to control road transport and fix the maximum and minimum fares and freight for State carriages and public carriers, came in for severe criticism.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

Plans for the promotion of the automobile industry in this country have been propounded by Sir M. Visweswarayya in a memorandum, which is now understood to be in circulation among Provincial Governments.

The Hon. Mr. Giri, Minister for Industries, has received an encouraging response from most of the Ministers in charge of industries. Some of the industrialists in Bombay are stated to be in correspondence with him on the subject.

AVIATION IN INDIA

Progress of aviation in India has not been quite as rapid as one could wish. But the fact that almost every Indian State of importance has shown interest in flying and established aerodromes within their boundaries is welcome evidence of the increasing air-mindedness of the country, says the *Hindustan Times*. "Quite apart from the Trans-Indian air services that convey mails to and from our country almost daily, we have had within the last year a Delhi-Bombay service and a Poindar-Bombay service. The Karachi-Colombo air-mail service connects Ceylon and Madras with the regular air mails from Karachi to London. More important, perhaps, than the conveyance of air-mails is the prospect of Indians equipping themselves as pilots. The interest that the Maharajas of Gwalior, Baroda and other States are taking in the matter can be depended on to popularize flying while the Gliding Institute can be expected to pave the way for the air force of the future."

GAS MASKS FOR LONDONERS

Purely as a precautionary measure and in relation only to Home Defence, the British Government have taken certain air defence measures including the recall of R. A. F. personnel on leave, calling up of the Observer Corps attached to the R. A. F. and institution of the air-raid warning system.

Instructions for speedy distribution of gas masks have been issued to a number of London and Provincial Centres. In some centres, the distribution has already begun.

MR. ROOP CHAND'S ACHIEVEMENT

Mr. Roop Chand, Hon. Secretary of the Northern India Flying Club, Lahore, who is an amateur pilot, flew from Lahore to Srinagar in his Percival Vega Gull, crossing the mountains en route at a height of 19,000 feet. He claims to be the first amateur pilot to achieve the distinction of flying over the high Himalayan ranges in a small machine though previously multi-engined machines have flown over them.

ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRIES

"The time has come when we in India must have a scientific plan and programme for organizing large, medium, and small-scale industries in a manner that suits the particular environments of this country of ours," observed Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour and Industries, Madras, in opening the Rajapalyam Textile Mills on September 5.

He said that the time had come for defining the boundaries for the textile mill, handloom and khaddar industries.

"I would appeal to the textile industry of the country to help the Government to devise ways and means for protecting Khadi and thus contributing to the economic uplift of the agriculturist and the rural population of the country.

The right to work and the right to live are fundamental rights which every civilized government must concede to all its citizens. Therefore, ways and means must be found to tackle this problem. Of course, India has got its potentialities, and if cottage industries can be started on a big scale, it ought to supply all its wants and make India self-contained.

While the cottage industry must be given its first place in India's planned economy, the medium and large-scale industries should not be forgotten. I do not believe in the mere starting of industries without thought. The key industries must be either State-owned or started with State aid or controlled by the State."

PROTECTION TO MILL INDUSTRY

The period of protection at present enjoyed by the textile industry in India will come to an end on March 31, 1939. The question whether the industry should continue to enjoy protection and, if so, for what period and at what level will have to be determined by a Tariff Board.

An A. P. I. message says that the personnel of the Tariff Board to be appointed to conduct this inquiry will be: Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Chairman; Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad and Mr. N. J. Boughton, Members. A junior I. C. S. officer is likely to be selected to act as the Secretary to the Board.

PATHWAYS TO VILLAGE UPLIFT

This book—"Pathways to Village Uplift"—with its suggestive title contains much valuable information which will be found useful by all those interested in the reshaping of Indian rural economy. The author Rai Sahab Hiralal Varma, B.A., M.B.E., of the C. P. Civil Service, Nagpur, has had ample opportunities both as a district officer and as an officer in the Secretariat, to acquire an intimate knowledge of Indian rural conditions, and it is evident that he has made excellent use of his rich experience from his comprehensive and scholarly study of the rural economy of his province in all its various aspects. The book (which is published by the Kayartha Pathasala Press, Allahabad at Rs. 2-8) covers a wide range and is written in simple language. The author will be rendering a distinct service if he were to publish it in the principal Indian languages as well.

KISANS IN CONFERENCE

A resolution condemning agreements—implicit or otherwise—made by Congress ministries in some provinces with zamindars regarding tenancy legislation was passed at a meeting of the All-India Kisan Committee held at Delhi on September 26. Swami Sahajanand presided.

By another resolution the Committee expressed disappointment at the failure of the Congress Governments to formulate any active policy or programme to replace the present iniquitous land tax, and viewing with concern the indifference of Congress and other ministries to relieve small holders from the burden of land revenue.

The Meeting supported the four agrarian Bills passed by the Punjab Assembly.

THE NEW COTTON EXCHANGE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel performed on August 31 the opening ceremony of the Trading Ring of the East India Cotton Traders' Association. The new Cotton Exchange built at a cost of eight lakhs of rupees is the tallest building in Bombay and one of the biggest of cotton exchanges in the world, perhaps second to Lancashire.

REDUCTION OF WORKING HOURS

Speaking at the 24th Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, Mr. S. Parulekar, Indian Workers' Delegate, said in the course of the discussion on the Report on General Reduction of Hours of Work:

Reduction of hours of work is something that is desirable in itself. It ensures leisure for the working class. It is not only a means to achieve the end of combating unemployment. Without sufficient leisure it is inconceivable that the working class can attain a high standard of education and can rise to a higher cultural life.

* * *

While we are discussing the possibility of reducing hours of work to 40 per week, it is necessary to bring to the notice of this Conference that the workers in organized industries in India have to work 54 hours per week. The daily hours of work of workers in unorganized undertakings vary between 12 and 16. It has become fashionable with the employers in India to argue that further reduction of hours of work would not be justified as economic conditions in India differ fundamentally from those that prevail in Western countries. They seem to argue on the assumption that the consequences of economic laws differ with countries. It is strange, however, that the peculiar economic conditions of India do not induce Indian employers to be satisfied with a rate of profit which can fit in with the peculiar Indian economic conditions. Their rates of profit have been found to soar higher than the rates of profit in the West. In the period of boom I know of instances in which they soared as high as 300 per cent.

Until 1934, hours of work per week in undertakings covered by the Indian Factories Act were 60. The reduction of hours of work to 54 per week was opposed by the employers when the question was before the Indian Legislature. They had predicted that the reduction of hours of work from 60 to 54 would result in serious calamity to the industry. I may, however, point out that the industry has not only survived but that it is in a state of prosperity in spite of that calamity. An immediate reduction of hours of work is more urgent for India than perhaps for any other country. The Indian worker is overworked, undernourished and half starved; he needs rest, leisure and education—and he can never have these unless hours of work are reduced.

WAGE INCREASE IN COIMBATORE

The Southern India Mill-owners' Association has issued a statement asking member mills to adopt the increased rates of wages recommended by Government in their recent communiques with effect from June, and to continue payment of these rates until such time as conditions necessitated a review and change.

TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO DR. BENES

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore cabled the following message to President Benes at Prague, on September 24:—

I can only offer profound sorrow and indignation on behalf of India and myself at a conspiracy of betrayal that has suddenly flung your country



DR. EDUARD BENES

into a tragic depth of isolation and I hope that this shock will kindle a new life into the heart of your nation, leading her to moral victory and unobstructed opportunity of perfect self-attainment.

President Benes replied:

I thank you most sincerely for your kind message and assure you that my country feels grateful for the sympathy from India which you have expressed.

TEA CONSUMPTION IN INDIA

The simple but extremely practical methods which the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board are employing to convert the vast population of India to tea drinking are undoubtedly yielding good results. In a brief survey of the propaganda operations in India during the six months from April to September 1937, Mr. W. H. Miles, Commissioner for India, Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, states:

"Our policy of establishing model tea stalls has been continued with considerable success. A very large number have been established in all the areas where our staff are working.

I do feel justified in saying that such statistics as are available at the present point conclusively to an all-round increase in the consumption of tea in these areas."

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REACTIONS IN THE CRISIS

BY SIR ROSS BARKER

SIX months ago only a small minority of the people of Great Britain had any knowledge of Czecho-Slovakia. It



SIR ROSS BARKER

would have puzzled many to find it on the map, and few had heard of the Sudeten Germans or their grievances. On the other hand all had heard of Hitler and the dislike both of his policy and his methods was almost universal. For years past the hope that the Great War was a war to end war had vanished; the Treaty of Versailles was utterly discredited and its provisions had been

repeatedly broken. The belief that war was sooner or later inevitable had settled like a miasma upon the spirits of the younger generation who regarded the future with despair and foresaw for themselves a short life destitute of any prospect of merriment. When in the early autumn, Hitler began to threaten Czecho-Slovakia, there was an outburst of passionate anger against him; and people championed the cause of that distressed country rather from a desire to espouse the cause of the oppressed than from any profound interest in the future of Middle Europe. The newspaper which at an early stage of the negotiations advocated a cession of the Sudeten areas to Germany evoked a disclaimer from the Government and a shocked condemnation by the public. It took some time before it was discovered that the newspaper was right. Self-determination is one of the most cherished principles of democracy. The Sudeten Germans or a majority of them clamoured feverishly for inclusion in Germany. The minority were silent or silenced. It was realised that the Treaty of Versailles had made a grievous error in including a very large and fairly compact Germanic area within the limits of a state governed by Czechs between whom and the Germans there has been an immemorial antipathy. It is said that that great statesman Masaryk recognised



the mistake and foresaw the disasters it would engender. From this point among political realists the question was not whether any territory should be ceded to Germany but how much and by what procedure. It was also recognised that if in the event of war Germany were decisively beaten, it would still be necessary in any settlement and in the interests of permanent peace to include in her territories the land she was now claiming. In other words there was nothing to be gained even by a successful war.

There remained, however, a considerable party composed rather curiously of right wing conservatives and left wing liberals who were desirous of settling accounts with Hitler, because the Hitler regime must for all time be a menace to the peace of Europe and its ideals represented a triumph of might over right, and brutal force over pacific negotiation. The political elements which generally stand for peace proved to be most warlike, and those who were most disinclined to shoulder arms most bellicose. Many of this party professed to believe that Hitler's threat of war was mere bluff and that he would give way if England openly espoused the cause of Czecho-Slovakia. They were certainly wrong. Others, though they were few, desired to submit to the supreme arbitrament of war. Throughout the delicate negotiations, which continued during the crisis, the war party were more vocal than powerful. Excited mobs thronged Whitehall waving banners inscribed with the legend "Stand by Czecho-Slovakia" or "Chamberlain must go". Downing Street had to be cleared again and again and the disorderly came into collision with the police. The noisiest were the Communists whose well-organised

processions invariably denouncing somebody or something have for months past disfigured the English Sunday. At this stage which ended about 25 September, an uninstructed observer might have thought that the British people were clamouring for a European war.

Both in England and France up to that date, the crisis was regarded with apprehension but with remarkable calm. I was in France for part of the time and even when mobilisation of part of the army was ordered, it was difficult to detect by any outward manifestation that anything unusual was on foot. France in fact entertained a surprising but well founded belief that Mr. Chamberlain would save the situation. In England there was a slightly increased exodus from London to places which were supposed to be out of reach of attack; and some housewives laid in an unusual store of food-stuffs but neither of these movements was at all extensive. The daily programme of events was continued, the *Queen Elizabeth* was launched with a heartening message from the Queen and arrangements for giving a banquet to 800 German ex-service men were completed. Business was very much as usual. In fact the vast majority thought it quite incredible that the world should be involved in a general war for the sake of the comparatively small issues which were then at stake, since the question was no longer one of ceding territory but of determining precisely how much should be ceded, and still more at what date it should be ceded, whether on October 1 or at some date a few weeks later. In fact, Mr. Chamberlain in a notable broadcast on 27 September indicated a doubt whether it was worth while fighting over these smaller issues though we were prepared

to fight on the larger issue whether in future the world was to be terrorized by brute force.

About the 25th of September the issue of gas masks became general. Many have doubted whether the issue was necessary since on technical grounds it is thought that an enemy attacking London would resort to incendiary and explosive bombs rather than to gas; but the issue did a great service in bringing home to every member of the population in this and other countries the horrors of war. England was now on a war footing. The fleet was mobilised; trenches were dug in public parks; air raid shelters were hastily completed and the shops were denuded in a search for the materials necessary to equip them; plans were announced for a general evacuation of London first by children of school age and afterwards by civilians who were to go practically without belongings to unknown destinations in the country. These measures filled every individual with the gloomiest anticipations and they were prosecuted with industry and patriotism but with a conspicuous lack of that enthusiasm which marked the outbreak of the war in 1914.

On 28 September, Parliament met, and Mr. Chamberlain in the course of his speech heard that he was invited to make a third visit to Germany on the following day. The announcement evoked a scene of unexampled enthusiasm in the House of Commons, which an unkind critic described as an exhibition of mass hysteria. But though the news represented a reprieve, it offered but a slender hope. If I may speak for myself I always thought that war would be averted till I heard the broadcast at 8.45 p.m. on 29 September, when the situation seemed so black that

for the first time I despaired. I went out in the streets half an hour later and the papers were prematurely announcing that a settlement had been reached though in fact it was not attained till some hours afterwards.

The scene in Whitehall and Downing Street shifted. The masses which had cried "Down with Chamberlain" disappeared. In their place here and outside Buckingham Palace was an ecstatic crowd which gave Mr. Chamberlain such an ovation as no British statesman has received in British history. The violence of the emotions which were excited, afforded eloquent testimony of the profundity of the dismay from which the populace had been relieved.

Such emotions are shortlived and with the meeting of Parliament on 8 October came reaction, doubts and questionings. These are easy when the immediate danger is past. It may be said with some confidence that if any of the critics had been capable of doing what Mr. Chamberlain did, he would have done what Mr. Chamberlain did; but that none of them could have achieved what Mr. Chamberlain had achieved. Either recklessly or blunderingly they would have involved Europe in war. The feeling, however, is general that the country has merely received a reprieve; and that the menace is not ended or even relegated to a distant future. In fact, after the nightmare through which we have passed, peace seems to many almost as incredible as war seemed, when war was threatened. The result is a renewed determination to make good the gaps in our defences and to render this country unassailable.

The crisis has taught us many lessons. Perhaps the first is the break-down of

old fashioned diplomacy. It is too ceremonious, too dilatory, and too reticent to deal with situations which required plain speech directly communicated to the sources of power. It brought us to the brink of the abyss and there is no reason to doubt that, if it had not somewhat roughly been pushed on one side, it would have precipitated us into the gulf. Many months and even years ago it must have been obvious to any instructed observer that substantial cessions of territory to Germany would be necessary in the interests not of peace but of justice; and we should have been saved most, if not all, of the crisis if that had been boldly stated at the outset.

Secondly, it has enabled the public to realize that a general war would mean the loss of many millions of lives, the partial destruction of most cities in Europe and an aftermath of calamities which would afflict the victor and the vanquished alike.

Thirdly, it has taught the rulers of Europe how utterly distasteful war is to

their subjects and that whatever docility is shown at the outset and whatever enthusiasm may be aroused under the stimulus of propaganda, a rapid reaction is certain to follow which will be equally disastrous to ruler and subject. He who takes the sword will perish by the sword.

Fourthly, it has enabled us to see that sooner or later civilisation, as we know it, is doomed unless some general agreement is reached for the purpose of mitigating the horrors of war by restricting armaments, limiting the use of aircraft, prohibiting the employment of gas and incendiary bombs and protecting the civil population.

Fifthly, we may have learnt that the generally advocated policy of calling an opponent's "bluff" is amusing in poker and some parlour games, but is almost certain to lead to catastrophe when the opponent is a ruthless dictator, and when the possible gains are infinitesimal while the losses in the event of failure are stupendous.

Ideological Conflicts in Indian Politics

BY MR. DIPCHAND VERMA, M.A.

OBVIOUSLY there is an ideological conflict in Indian politics. Hindu-Muslim problem is the most fundamental and unless this is tackled to the satisfaction of both parties, no system of self-government can successfully work. It would not be wise to ignore the cultural and social differences that have made these two communities like two nationalities in the same country.

The Congress-League pact of 1916 dealt with only the political problems of the day, the representation of the two

communities and the like, and left the fundamental problem of the cultural rapprochement of the two religions out of consideration, without which no unity can last. The All-Parties Conference of 1928 which appointed the Nehru Committee similarly dealt with the political problems mainly. Mahatma Gandhi's have been the only serious efforts on a national scale to tackle this problem, but the response from the two communities has not been adequate even in this case. This is due partly to the fact that the two communities are already separately organised religiously and

politically and when the two are brought together for mutual discussion, each is militant towards the other and each wants to strike the most profitable and diplomatic bargain.

If Gandhi's spirit were genuinely imbibed by those who pretend to represent the two communities, the Hindu-Muslim problem would be solved in no time. The Muslim communalists look upon the Mahatma as the spokesman of the Hindus, for the Congress itself is regarded by them as a mainly Hindu body in a nationalist garb. However deplorable and mistaken this attitude may be, the Congress has still to win over the sympathies of the bulk of the Muslim community, and this is possible only when the communalists out for some selfish gain are shown out by a policy of generosity and even-handed deal towards the minorities. Even small issues, like the attitude of the Madras speaker towards the 'Bande Mataram Song' and the efforts of the Madras Premier to propagate 'Hindi', even such matters, however well meaning may be their authors, contribute towards a further misunderstanding between the two communities and make rapprochement still more difficult. It is even more necessary for a Congress government to be careful about the feelings and sentiments of the various communities. The slightest suspicion of partiality in a Congress government would deprive it of the historical role that the Congress is likely to play as an All-India party.

Nor is the solution of the socialists or the left-wing Congressites any more helpful. Instead of narrowing the religious differences, they refuse to recognize that any such differences exist and hope that

the contact of the Congress with the masses of both the communities will automatically solve this problem. It is true that most of the communal trouble is fabricated by mischief mongers and some of the points of dispute are extremely trivial and meaningless. Ordinarily the question of music before a mosque or of cutting down a few branches of a Pipal tree would not lead to communal riots, but when political and social relations are already stressed, the slightest spark is enough to set the whole train afire.

A genuine Hindu-Muslim Unity can be established only when the two communities are culturally brought nearer to each other and each tries to understand and appreciate the cultural heritage of the other. The work of a few saints like Kabir and Nanak during the medieval times, which taught the doctrines of the Unity of God had so smoothened Hindu-Muslim relationship that the people of the two religions could live together most harmoniously and peacefully. Not one of the numerous foreign travellers that visited India during the medieval and Mughal times, has mentioned a Hindu-Muslim riot, which is such a common phenomenon to-day. Muslims, it must be remembered, were the rulers during all this period and they had injured the feelings of the Hindus by destroying many temples and by their proselytizing zeal. Once, however, the country was conquered, Muslims settled down peacefully and some of the Muslim rulers showed remarkable tolerance towards the Hindus. Even when the ruler was a bigot or a fanatic, the masses of the two communities lived most amicably. Why the two communities should be so intolerant of each other now when religion has ceased to be a force in politics

elsewhere, passes one's comprehension. Steps towards a cultural rapprochement of the two communities should be immediately taken and the false propaganda made by political opportunists should be exposed by advancing the economic programme of the Congress, which aims not at the percentage of jobs or seats in the legislatures but the reconstruction of the whole social life of the country and a replanning of the agricultural and industrial future of the country.

If the Muslims, as the most important minority, are once won over, other minorities would follow suit. For the depressed classes, no man has worked more selflessly than Mahatma Gandhi and he has already secured them important political concessions through the Poona Pact. The Indian Christians and the Parsis have already shown their high patriotic sense by taking a nationalist view of things and by not demanding separate rights for themselves. The Muslims in turn should inspire confidence in Hindu and Sikh minorities in provinces where they are in majority and this mutual give and take would pave our way to national liberation and freedom.

II

Religious differences, however, are not the only ones that have divided our country into numberless groups and factions with the consequence of weakening the nationalist front. Apart from the purely religious organizations, the Muslim League, the Hindu Sabha and the like, the Congress itself though outwardly one national organization, is really a patchwork of several conflicting ideologies, and in some respects the differences between the various wings are so fundamental that schism is only a matter of time. The

right, the centre and the left, the three are kept together for the present partly by the common anti-imperialist front and partly the co-operation of the two outstanding leaders, the Mahatma and Pandit Nehru, who symbolize two separate tendencies in Indian politics and stand for two distinct programmes. Socialism has now become a matter of more than academic interest and it is necessary to understand its full implications. There are people who sincerely believe that socialism of the Marxist brand is not suitable to Indian conditions, and of these Mahatma Gandhi himself is the foremost. He has propounded the parallel doctrine of 'trusteeship' which means that property in land and capital should be held by their respective owners but used exclusively in the interests of the poor. There is no doubt that judging from the Mahatma's own standard of truth and non-violence, such a happy result may be realizable if the Mahatma himself were followed as the ideal by each property owner. Applied to the actual world of grab and greed, the theory of trusteeship would only serve as a free pass for the 'haves' to further exploit the 'have-nots', without any fear of retaliation from their victims. Socialists in India have therefore treated this theory of 'trusteeship' with open scepticism and have regarded it as a subterfuge of the capitalists to put off the proletarian revolution. It is quite clear that a class war at the present stage of our political evolution would definitely be suicidal and the socialist leaders themselves have not insisted upon it. As a matter of fact, the foremost of these leaders, Nehru, Bose, Roy, all have been agitating for a common anti-imperialist front and the Congress organization provides the only

from which this struggle can be advantageously carried on. Instead of weakening the Congress, the socialists have only invigorated and energized it and in spite of their ideological differences with the bourgeoisie and the capitalist class, they have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with them under the dominating leadership of the Mahatma. The socialists, however, cannot and indeed should not give up their efforts to organize the peasants and the labourers with the ultimate objective of snatching all power from the 'vested-interests'. Once British Imperialism is liquidated, and judging from the international situation, India is likely within a short period to become a self-governing nation, labourers and peasants should have the due benefits of a genuine democracy that would then be established in India. If they are well organized, power would come to them automatically and India would be saved from an internecine struggle, such as is being waged in Spain today. A conflict between nationalism and socialism is all too likely when political power is passing from the hands of a few propertied classes to the masses at large. In European countries, the consequence has been the rise of either Fascism or Communism, according

to the proportional strength of the rightist or leftist forces. India would be saved from the problematical experiments of either of these extremes, if the masses are from the very start allowed to have their due place in the body-politic.

The present political atmosphere in India is full of conflicts and paradoxes. The storm-signals are so obvious that unless the leaders at the helm constantly keep the various forces balanced up and use the urge and the momentum supplied by the awakening of the masses towards the establishment of an equalitarian society in which exploitation by individuals or groups would be unknown, the whole structure may be thrown out of gear and the country let to drift to anarchy and confusion. Communalism, Nationalism and Socialism are the three forces working in three separate directions and the primary need of the time is to harmonize and adjust them in a single united structure. Nationalism, of course, would be the domination force in this reconstruction, but it would be an accommodative polity characteristic of Indian tradition and civilization, in which people of various communities and divergent economic interests will willingly combine and work for a happier, more prosperous and greater India.

THE STUDY OF POLITICS IN INDIA

BY MR. M. RUTHNASWAMY, M.A. (Cantab), BAR.-AT-LAW

(Member, Madras Services Commission)

WITH all the political activity that illuminates the life of modern India there has not been a proportionate development of political thought. The political ideas that prevail in the country are mostly taken from the West—Liberalism, Democracy, Nationalism, Self-determination and Independence. The only original contributions to political thought that modern India has made are Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of *satyagraha* and "non-violence". Not that there is not enough scope and opportunity for original political thinking. The political and social conditions and circumstances of India are so special—in fact so unique—that one would have

expected them to give birth to a crop of original political ideas and methods. And there are people that may be expected to see if not the begetters at least the midwives and nurses of such contributions to political literature. Almost every one of our universities or university colleges has a department of political science. Politics is a subject of study in the Pass as well as the Honours B. A. or M. A. courses. At least a thousand students a year must be going out of our universities who have gone through a course of political science. They have studied their text-books and recommended books and produced faithfully either in their examination

papers or on public platforms or in the press the ideas they have learnt from these books. There are also a respectable body of teachers that have done and are doing justice to their subject. They have also produced books on political science. But these all seem to be faithful reproductions of other people's thought. They are generally efficiently done. But they might have been written by people that had never been in India. Their merit is they are cheaply priced to bring them within the reach of our students.

To this class belong two books* that have been sent to this journal for review. The first is an "Introduction to Politics". The authors say they felt "there was room for an introductory work which would give to the Indian reader a clear grasp of the principles of politics. Was there with books like those of Leacock and Joad in the market? There might have been if the principles of politics had been explained by illustrations from Indian facts and experiences. The reference to Indian facts is rare—there is a quotation from Metcalf on the persistence of the village in India and the present system of local self-government is defined in a footnote which does not even describe it. The other book called the "First Principles of Politics" is a larger book and confines itself to the principles of politics and does not deal with the structure of government and constitutions as does the other. There is also much more reference to Indian conditions and circumstances. "We are Indians," says the author Mr. Ilya Ahmad, "and as such are interested in the study of our institutions." But as the book deals with principles rather than institutions, the Indian illustrations are not frequent. In his account of the origin of the state he might have found room for reference to the political incorporations of tribes in India, and he disposes of feudalism without a reference to the Rajputs and of society without an allusion to caste. And in discussing the grounds of political

obedience he might have made his treatment actual and interesting if he had dealt with the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. In the subsequent chapters on law, the church and the views of representative thinkers are explained.

The third book* I have been asked to review is a contrast to the other two. It is in pamphlet form, consists of articles contributed to the Press and is by a lecturer in philosophy. But there is more original thought in this book of 78 pages than in the other two books put together. The first essay is on Gandhi's political philosophy. The author's criticism is that it sets up asceticism as an end not a means of human progress, that "it pursues Reality, blind to appearance, that it tries to achieve Freedom at the expense of the values of this life". Freedom to Gandhi is the big *minus* not freedom *plus* the other values of life in the state like Culture, Civilization, Industry and Progress. Not that Mahatma Gandhi is totally blind to the other values of life. He shows that he is not blind, when he calls a halt to destructive propaganda. To similar critical treatment is subjected the revolt of youth, communism and the revolutionary temper. The popularity of modern Dictatorship is traced to belief in the power of the state rather than in the freedom of the individual.

Youth devotes itself to revolution and force because it believes that somehow the resurrection will take place, once destruction has taken place. Original also are the author's suggestions of remedy. For instance, to prevent the Indian from drifting on to Revolution and Communism he thinks it should be possible to organise and produce on an Indian wide scale a corps of social servants men and women who would live on a basis of sharing and experiment in simple living. Altogether, it is an interesting essay in politics. It is a sad commentary on the state of political study at our universities that this book should have come for the Department of Philosophy at Allahabad University.

* 1. "Introduction to Politics." By Lahiri and Banerji, Calcutta. Rs. 2.

2. "The First Principles of Politics." By Ilya Ahmad, Allahabad.

* 3. "The Revolutionary Mind in India To-day." By N. C. Mukerji, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION

BY DR. NUR M. MALIK, M.D.

CIVILIZED Europe, and the Americas, take an attitude of 'white superiority' towards Asia. Unthinkingly, they have dubbed the entire Orient inferior, coloured, and undesirable. That same Asia—the birthplace of mankind; the cradle of civilization; the home of the world's first great saints, conquerors, seers and sages; the fount of all religions—they call 'the superstitious East'. Unthinkingly they paint Asiatics as sensual, cunning, degenerate, hardly men, rather beasts.

There are certain rather demoralizing effects in these charges. Like the pious Pundit in the fable, the Oriental may eventually fall down and admit these false charges as truths. It is proclaimed from the house-tops that the Oriental is a strange man; that he is indolent, indifferent and lethargic. The white man, they say, is helpless before the colossal ignorance of the 'native'; helpless before his stubborn opposition to the forces at work about him. It has become the burden of the white race to lift the natives from their morass of inertia, and the efforts, seemingly, are often frustrated by the unwilling 'burden'.

Such statements would seem to indicate that the people of Asia are different from those of Europe or America. Let us examine the facts, however. Did the 'superior' white race, contrariwise, take kindly to each measure of progress as presented? Did they welcome and receive with open arms the 'blessings of civilization'? Or, did they, too, oppose progress—ignorantly and superstitiously—fighting tooth and nail, even being beaten into accepting that which was good for them? Let us record a few facts gleaned from history.

Columbus, we should know, was not the originator of the thought of a round earth. Centuries before him the Arabian Caliph of Baghdad had presented to a Christian prince a silver globe representing the earth, computing its circumference correct to within fifty miles of modern computations. One may add here that the story of Newton and the falling apple is a mere nursery tale similar to

that told of George Washington and his hatchet. It is a mere fragment of truth. What actually happened was not that he saw the apple fall and so present him with the theory of gravitation, but that he had stumbled upon something in his browsing, where an Arab had long ago recorded the interesting theory.

To return to Columbus, when he presented his case to the European courts, he was laughed at and turned down, first by one king, then another. He was thought to be insane. The earth was dangerously and irredeemably flat—they still believe it so in America. Isabella of Spain, finally was prevailed upon to aid the adventurer—perhaps not so much a matter of faith in the enterprise as charity toward the romantic. She persuaded her husband to fit the helpless Italians with ships. His crew was picked from forlorn and derelict humans, whose loss would not be of consequence; the ensuing voyage was anything but a hopeful journey to a new world. It was a disorderly affair. The ignorant and superstitious sailors, accustomed to hug the pillars of Hercules, believed the dark Atlantic to be inhabited by unseen ugly monsters. Day by day, as they sailed away, they believed that they were approaching the edge of the earth—and a frightfully unknown end. Their patience and courage gave way, a mutiny broke out, and Columbus was all but thrown overboard. One wonders, if this had happened, how many generations would have passed before another European would have embarked on such a venture.

He blundered into a small island near the new world, and thought he had reached India. He called the inhabitants Indians, he sought India, and his mistake still persists. He made three such voyages to this tiny island. The final reward for his undaunted courage was to be sent back to Spain in chains, like a common felon, to rot away in a dungeon, a tragic figure, a broken man, the object of pity and sorrow.

Europe lay in stygian darkness during the Middle Ages. The malignant Moslem it was, who lifted the clouds. The Moors in Spain introduced the torch of knowledge; through their universities all Europe became enlightened; at famed Cordova, Granada,

and Alhambra, the Christian students of Europe bent their knees before the turbaned Saracen—and were thoroughly persecuted for departure from darkness. For their desire for knowledge they were insulted, excommunicated and even burned at the stake. The Tennessee trial, a debate between Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan—or between progress and stagnation—is but a modern reverberation of those forgotten days. The great commoner's remark, that he was more concerned with the 'rock of ages' than with the age of rocks, throws a flood of light on the mental equipment of the dark ages.

So has the white race accepted progress. Inventors, philosophers and scientists with their creations have been sacrificed at the stake of ignorance. Galileo paid with his life for daring to oppose the accepted Ptolemaic solar system. The recent happenings in Germany take the German back again to the days of "The Cloister and the Hearth". The industrial revolution in England reflects the reaction of the Briton to the onward march of man. Instead of rejoicing over a step that was to make England a great Empire, the people were rebellious and suspicious of the looms, spinning jennys and other innovations. They looked upon the machine as a monster and as an instrument of death to their livelihood. In mob wrath they wrecked, plundered and looted the shops. Laws were passed to protect the manufacturer. Can Gandhi in India be condemned for clinging to the spinning wheel as a last vestige of Indian industrial, national independence?

They glibly state and gullibly believe that the Oriental is opposed to measures of sanitation, hygiene and public health, calculated to lower the appalling death rate of the East. They unthinkingly say that the Asiatic believes that plague, cholera and typhus are visitations of an enraged deity and not due to preventable infectious germs. Is that sort of superstition a peculiarity of the Orient?

For centuries the white race believed in hearsay. They taught and believed in medicine, only what was given them by the Arabs and the Greeks. To deny Galen, Avicenna, or Rhazi, was a blasphemy.

The gloomy monks in their dismal cells controlled the little learning existent. The sick were treated with charms, incantations and prayers—methods still existing in the new world as well as the old. Surgery was relegated to the barber—as an unclean work unworthy of the dignity of a learned profession. The red and blue stripe of the barber's pole, like the wig of English courts, has a far from complimentary source. The ancient Aryans, Egyptians, and Arabs dissected human bodies and yet it is taught throughout the West that the opening of the bodies was thought unclean and sacrilegious up to the time of Andre Vesalius.

Andre Vesalius was the first European to deny the authority of Galen and undertake to dissect human bodies. When he proposed that the internal organs of man differed from those of the lower animals, he was laughed at. His life was made so miserable as a result of his beliefs that he finally became the private physician to Charles V. burning his books in disgust. Later, when human dissection was deemed by a few to be right and essential, the bodies had to be stolen from grave-yards. The body-snatcher preceded the inspiring motto inscribed over the door of the Dissection Hall of a Western Medical College "Mortui vivos decet".

They say that Antoine Laurent Lavoisier, French chemist, laid the foundations of the modern science of chemistry. He busied himself in improving the social and hygienic conditions of the Parisians. The revolution broke out and heads fell—among them that of Lavoisier. He was guillotined by Marat, his crime being that he had stopped the circulation of air in the city of Paris!

Louis Pasteur, also French, though he escaped the fate of Lavoisier, was by no means heralded as the saviour of mankind. Precious years passed in endless wrangling against spontaneous generation. His demonstration of the anthrax bacillus of sheep was not an amusement show of a Madari, much as it may have seemed so to his sceptical observers.

How many futile incidents and vain quarrels traverse the life of a great man! Later on, we see only glory, apotheosis and statues in public places. The demigods

seem to have marched in triumph to a grateful posterity. How utterly otherwise is the truth!

Oliver Wendell Holmes, poet, philosopher and physician, in an address to a Boston Medical Society in 1848, stated that puerperal fever was carried from mother to physician and that the physician should 'use thorough ablution' to prevent self-infection and spread of the disease. He was mildly scoffed at and the matter did not go far through his instigation. It was Semmelweis in Europe, who had never heard of Holmes, but who reached the same conclusion four years later; it was Semmelweis who fought and suffered for the theory. The opposition to which he was inflicted was bitter—cruel. Contempt was heaped on him; he was forced to flee to Budapest, where the poisoned darts of the 'superiors' sank him into a silent grave. He died a martyr's death and in his life there was nothing to compensate for the suffering he endured.

Lister's principles of antiseptic surgery with carbolic spray were admitted slowly and grudgingly. The advent of anaesthesia was not hailed as a blessing to the dwellers in this 'vale of tears'. Sir James Simpson introduced chloroform to alleviate the pain of childbirth. The learned clergy of his native land denounced this new agent as 'ungodly'. They quoted scripture, "in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children". It was only the ingenuity of Sir James that finally quieted the clamour. Simpson pointed out that the Bible also admits God as an anaesthetist in His only operation—the creation of Eve. He quoted, "the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall on Adam".

Vaccination against small-pox had been practised in the Orient from earliest times. It was introduced into Europe by Lady Wortley Montague via the much abused Turk. It was considered for a long time a sinful interference with Nature to protect one's self against the ravages of this dread disease and early defenders were prosecuted. Among superstitions regarding this, it was rumoured that the victims of vaccinations often suffered distortions even to the extent that some acquired the head and horns of the cow—from whence came the vaccine. This was in Europe.

In June of 1721, the American newspapers learned about the new methods. The Reverend Cotton Mather, of Boston, decided to introduce the system of inoculation in America. He discussed the subject with the leading medical lights of the town and proposed its adoption by the profession. He was generously ridiculed. Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, his personal friend, was the only one to consent to its use. Boylston inoculated his own son, another boy, and two male servants with complete success.

But the storm of protest which befell Mather and Boylston is incredible. Almost every one joined in reproaching the practice and vilifying the personal character of those who advocated it. The clergy and the press took up the hue and cry. The courts and the legislature joined in the attempts toward suppression.

The Town House of Boston before His Majesty's Justices of Peace, and select men before the practitioners of Physic and Surgery, agreed that the inoculation caused death and distemper by infusing malignant filth into blood. The Reverend Mr. Walter, minister and nephew to Cotton Mather, was bombed while asleep in his uncle's home. The fuse became detached and a scurrilous message was found attached to the shell, which had failed to explode. Dr. Boylston was assaulted in the street and attempts were made to burn his home. Such methods of intimidation are still in use in America. Also there still are in the enlightened West people who oppose proven medical and hygienic measures—even vaccination.

Sir Patrick Manson is proclaimed as the father of modern tropical medicine. To digress a trifle, let us say that the 'white fathers' are really not more than ungrateful children of some distant, disclaimed Asian sire. Manson is proclaimed as the discoverer of filaria, the germ of elephantiasis. Unmentioned and unhonoured is the poor un-named Chinese assistant in far off Amoy, who was responsible for Manson's 'discovery' of the curious fact that the germs circulate in the peripheral blood after sunlight hours. Manson, when he divulged this fact to the medical

profession in England, was scoffed at, and the amused practitioners suggested to him that the germs, then, must carry watches also.

When Manson retired to England, he tried to enlist the sympathy of his advanced countrymen for the necessity of studying tropical diseases, especially for those who were to practice in the tropics. He argued that for their own sakes, if not for those they were sent to aid, it was imperative. It was a matter of years before the public and the medical profession could see the wisdom of his argument, nevertheless, he sowed the seed that matured into the now world-famous London School of Tropical Medicine.

Walter Reed is credited with the discovery that the mosquito is responsible for the spread of yellow fever. Carlos Finlay of Havana, Cuba, had preceded him with this information by nineteen years, but his voice was unheeded. Robert Koch, the German scientist and discoverer of tuberculous bacillus, working in India, discovered the causative organism of cholera. His discovery was not made use of for several years—not because the 'natives' were superstitious, but because English shipping would have suffered through disclosure of the facts.

Sir Ronald Ross' discovery of malarial parasite is the acme of achievement by mortals in wresting from Nature her secrets. Like most of the 'discoveries', it was really a rediscovery. The Indians, thousands of years before Christ, recorded that this particular fever was due to "flies". There are authentic documents in the monasteries at Ceylon to convince the sceptical. Ross first met the mosquito in Bangalore when attached to the Fourth Madras Pioneers for duty. Mosquitoes swarmed in bath-tubs, vases, flower-vases and anything holding water. He got rid of them by simply upsetting the containers. When he suggested a general rule to this effect to the Adjutant, the latter did not like the idea and said it was upsetting the order of Nature. Since mosquitoes were created for some purpose, man must bear with them. At another time, while capturing mosquitoes for study in the marshes near Imaalia, he was ordered by

another Englishman in command to stop his operations, for he did not wish any one to disturb his mosquitoes.

Ronald Ross' path for research was never a smooth one. Obstacles were continuously thrown in his way. He says plainly that the higher British officials in India purposely delayed his work—often by unnecessary and uncalled for transfers. In England, too, he pined away in neglect and poverty. His valuable library was offered for sale and brought not even a respectable sum.

The history of sanitary law is replete with instances of stubborn opposition to those who, throughout time, have worked for human good. In some cases physical force has been used to accomplish obedience to normal every-day habits of personal and community hygiene. Again, even today, examples are not rare of the most flagrant disregard of established hygienic facts in the civilised West. Witness the outbreak of typhoid fever following the wake of the great American circus as it passed through the country. The personnel of the circus was found to be carrying over a hundred cases of the disease. The results of the inquiry into their modes of handling milk, water and other food would make the most primitive of the darkest continent blush for them.

We must conclude that a nation's flaunted superiority is merely a passing phase of a larger human progress. Every vice and shortcoming laid at the door of the defenceless Orient has its counterpart in the racial make-up of the Occident. They are either hypocrites or fools who believe that any country or race is inherently inferior to any other. There is no superior race, only superior men.

We must learn to remember with Geoffrey Chaucer's "Wyt of Bath", Aesop's fable of the lion and the man and say:

Who payntede the leon, tel me who?

The sun is beginning to shine in the East. The clouds are lifting. Asia is awakening, perhaps to a new and glorious future. Then she, in turn, will paint the "leon", and the West will perhaps recall her days of glory.

INDIAN TROUBLES IN SOUTH AFRICA

By DOROTHEA RUDD

INDIANS in South Africa are unfairly treated in many ways and although the Cape Indian Congress and the British Indian Association in the Transvaal are constantly co-operating with the Agent-General in an attempt to better their condition, things do not seem to be getting much better. The old-age pension as applied to the Indian Community is simply useless. The scale of old-age pensions for all Europeans, regardless of what help their children may or may not be able to give them, is £8-10 per month for each man from the age of 65 and for each woman from the age of 60. Coloured men and women receive £1-10 each at 60 and 65 respectively, also regardless of any other sources of income which they may possess. The Indian man or woman can only obtain it if he or she can prove that he or she is absolutely penniless and then all they are allowed is 10/- per month. This would not pay the rent of an unfurnished tin room in a yard and yet it can only be obtained if the Indian can prove his age and to the majority of South African Indians this is impossible.

Another sore point is the hospitals. A non-paying Indian patient is put in a ward with natives, coloureds and other Indians. If he can pay he is put in a semi-private ward where there are three beds and as far as possible it is arranged that the Indians shall be put together in the semi-private wards, but it is not always possible and any coloured man who could pay would be put in with them.

In theory this applies to natives too but actually natives never go in paying wards. Consideration is shewn, however, to the Mahomedan Indians who can only eat food cooked in a special way and all the hospitals allow them to have their food cooked outside and brought in as long as it conforms to the doctor's orders.

The Union of South Africa is split into 4 provinces, the Transvaal, the Cape, Natal, and the Orange Free State. No Indian is allowed to live in the Orange Free State. Only one does live there and he settled there many years ago and has

been allowed to remain. An Indian may visit the Free State, but he cannot remain there longer than 24 hours and the few large hotels which employ Indian waiters there (about 100 such waiters exist in the whole Free State) have to get special permits for these men and, of course, they never become residents of the Free State.

Practically all European public entertainments are closed to the Indian. He cannot enter a white bioscope, concert hall or attend a public dramatic performance except in the case of Sunday night concerts given in most town halls in our larger towns. There are, of course, coloured bioscopes to which he can go, but there he must rub shoulders with natives and dirty Hottentots and this the average respectable Indian does not wish to do.

In the railway trains he cannot pay a first class fare and travel with Europeans. He can have a first or second class carriage but they are marked "Reserved" and are only used for non-European passengers. No Indian may enter a European restaurant, tea-room or bar.

The Indians' greatest South African grievance is the franchise question. In the Transvaal, the Free State and Natal, no Indian has any vote at all. In Natal, the Indians lost the parliamentary franchise in 1890 and the municipal vote was taken from them in 1926, just before Mr. Sastri was appointed as Agent-General to the Union.

Indians are amongst the Union's most law-abiding citizens and every thinking European should deplore the disabilities which are imposed upon them.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

By DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D.

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THE RIGHTS OF THE DAUGHTER

By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

(Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
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THE question of the daughter's right of inheritance is an important live issue. In 1986, an unsuccessful attempt was made in the Central Legislature to invest her with the right to a share in partition equal to that of a brother.* It is, however, almost certain that an attempt would be made once more in the future to amend the present law in the matter. It is, therefore, necessary that we should view the question in its proper historic perspective and find out what changes are necessary in the present law.

THE RIGHT OF THE BROTHERLESS DAUGHTER

We have seen* that there was a general prejudice against women-heirs in early times. In spite of it, however, the brotherless daughter could succeed in establishing her claim to her father's property as early as the Vedic period. The Rigveda expressly refers to a brotherless daughter being recognised as an heir to her father. In Buddhist literature, we often come across mothers trying to dissuade their daughters from entering nunnery by pointing out that as they had become heirs to their father's property, they should rather think of marriage and pleasure than of nunnery and penance. Later jurists like Narada and Brihaspati point out that the daughter springs from one's own body just like the son; how then can any one inherit the property when she is still alive? Hindu society has never put any obstacle in the way of a brotherless daughter in getting her patrimony. The law at present recognises this right and so the question is not of any importance. The only point at issue at present is whether the daughter should be regarded as a limited or as an absolute heir. The Bombay school of Hindu law has already stolen a march over the rest by making the daughter an absolute heir. It may be confidently hoped that not in the distant future both the daughter and the

widow would become absolute heirs. It will be shown in these articles that there is nothing wrong in this course being adopted.

UNMARRIED DAUGHTERS WITH BROTHERS

Opinion is at present sharply divided as to whether daughters should be allowed to be coheirs along with their brothers. Here again we have to distinguish between daughters who marry and those who do not marry. In the Vedic age there is definite evidence to show that the daughters, who would not or could not marry, were allowed to have a share in the patrimony (Rigveda II, 17, 7). In course of time marriage was made obligatory for all girls and so there remained no spinsters in society to claim a share in the patrimony. Later Smritis, therefore, have not provided for such old maids, and under the present Hindu law they can get no share in their patrimony.

In modern society, however, a class of educated women is fast coming into existence, who remain unmarried either out of necessity or of their own will. As they remain unmarried, they cannot, of course, get a share in the husband's property. Under the law as it exists, they cannot get a share in their patrimony also. This state of affairs must be put an end to. We should revert back to the Vedic practice and allow a share to such women. As these women would be leading single lives, their family responsibilities would be less than those of their married brothers; in majority of cases they would be also earning something by their own work. It would be, therefore, but fair to propose that their share in the patrimony should be equal to half that of their brothers. If a legislation for this limited right is introduced, it is not likely that it will meet with any opposition.

MARRIED DAUGHTERS WITH BROTHERS

The question of inheritance of married daughters with brothers is really a very thorny one. We find that in the past

[* This is the third article in the series "Proprietary Rights of Hindu Women". The first two on "Proprietary Rights during Coverture" and "The Right of Succession" appeared in the October number. — No. 1, 2.]

they were never recognised as co-heirs with their brothers. The Rigveda definitely advises a brother that he should never give his married sister a share in the patrimony (III, 81, 2). Later Smritis also do not amend the law in her favour. Sukraniti is the only exception. Sukracharya, the famous teacher of the Asuras, loved his daughter Devayani dearer than his life. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Smriti that is passing under his name should be the only work which should lay down that a person should allot his daughter a share equal to half that of his son if he proceeds to divide his property in his own lifetime. A 12th century inscription from Mysore shows that the opinion of Shukra was followed by some persons in society. On the whole, however, it has to be admitted that society as a whole was against the recognition of this right. No other Smriti was prepared to grant it. The argument that the daughter is as much a child of her parents as the son could secure a share in patrimony only to the brotherless daughter; it remained powerless to secure the right to the married one,

It is not, however, difficult to understand why no share was granted to the married daughter in the patrimony. From about the 3rd century B.C., marriage had become obligatory for girls in Hindu society. Hindu jurists, therefore, felt that parents should provide only for the marriage of the daughter and that she should get a proprietary right in the property of her husband. She becomes a member of her husband's family; her interests become progressively transferred to it; it is, therefore, but fair that she should have a claim on the property of her husband's family and not that of her father's. The father should only provide for the marriage. If he were dead, brothers were required to spend for a sister's marriage an amount which would be equal to a one-fourth share of their own. If this amount were small, they were required to part with further moiety in their shares. If, on the other hand, the reasonable expenses of a suitable match were less than the amount of a one-fourth share, the sister was not allowed to take away

the balance with her. Society felt that this arrangement was on the whole reasonable and satisfactory.

MARRIED DAUGHTERS AND PATRIMONY

Opinion is at present sharply divided as to whether a share should be given to a daughter who has been married. It is easy to present a plausible case for the concession of this right, but a little reflection will show that on the whole it will confer a right of very doubtful advantage and utility. The daughter will in the first place find it difficult to exercise it. Partitions usually take place after the death of the father, and a daughter married, say about 10 years before that event, will find it difficult to get a correct idea of the moveable property of the family. Her father's family may have financially deteriorated and sold away part of its jewelry. As such transactions are done secretly, she may not be knowing anything about them. If at the time of the partition, she finds that the moveable property produced is less than what she had expected it to be, she may suspect that her brothers have fraudulently concealed a portion of it. On the other hand, it will be easy for crafty brothers to deliberately conceal some jewelry in order to deprive their sisters of their lawful shares. There are very few families that keep their moveable property in the form of bank balances, and so misunderstandings and heartburnings will be difficult to avoid between brothers and sisters at the time of partition. Sisters will get or think they are getting, a smaller share in the moveable property than what they were entitled to.

Allotment of a share in immoveable property is also fraught with equal difficulties. Holdings of land in India are already very small and uneconomical; their size will be at once reduced to half if the daughter is given a share in the patrimony. This would be a national calamity. It would be argued that the rights of the weaker sex should not be sacrificed even for avoiding a national calamity. There is a force in this argument. But we would point out that there are further difficulties in the way. The daughter after her marriage will usually go away to a different village or town to stay with her husband; she will thus become an absentee

landlord. Her actual income from her share will be much less than that of her brother's share.

It has further to be admitted that the centre of interest and affection of the daughter naturally shifts to her new home. She becomes more and more immersed in her own family and children and has no opportunities as before, either of identifying herself with the interests of her parent's family, or even noticing its financial transactions. It would be, therefore, unfair to saddle her with any liabilities which her parent's family may have incurred as a consequence of certain steps taken after her marriage, about which she was not and could not be consulted. And this would be inevitable in practice, if the married daughter is assigned a share in the patrimony. To suggest that her consent should be previously obtained for such transactions is impracticable.

The present law is, however, very unfair to the woman. She can claim no share in the patrimony and her position becomes pitiable if her husband takes to a vicious life or embarks upon second marriage. The husband can escape his liability to maintain her on the plea that she refuses to stay with him. What woman of self-respect will consent to stay as an unwanted and unpaid maid servant in a house where she had formerly reigned as a queen?

THE REAL REMEDY

The best way to improve the lot of women in the above sorry predicament is, however, not to give them a share in the patrimony but to improve and enlarge their right in their husband's families. If it is proved that a wife is compelled to stay away from her husband because of his having contracted a second marriage or taken to a vicious life, the wife should be entitled to get, not a maintenance, but a share equal to that of a son. It is interesting to note that under similar circumstances Yajñavalkya allows the wife to claim a one-third share of her husband's property. She would not then have to depend upon her brothers, who may in course of time feel it a burden to maintain her. As marriages usually take place between families of approximately equal financial status, the share which a wife will get

from her husband's family will be about the same as she would have obtained from her father's family.

If the present law is amended on the above lines, it will not be necessary to complicate matters by giving a share in the patrimony to the daughter. As shown above, she would not be normally able to reap the full benefits of this right and it may sometimes even involve her in unnecessary financial liabilities. Normally speaking, about 90 per cent. couples can pull on well with each other, and there would be no necessity for the wife to demand a share in such cases from her husband. Unnecessary fragmentations of holdings, which would become inevitable if all daughters are given a share in their patrimony, will thus be avoided. In the few abnormal cases, where the position of women becomes unbearable on account of their having no share in the patrimony, they would obtain the necessary relief by getting new rights available even against the husband during coverture.

To conclude, the following changes are immediately called for as far as the daughter's proprietary rights are concerned:

1. The daughter should have a right to a share in patrimony equal to half that of her brother if she remains unmarried. She should forfeit this share on her marriage.
2. She should have the right to demand that an amount from her patrimony equal to one-half the share of her brother, and not equal to only one-fourth of such share as laid down by Smritis, should be spent on her education and marriage. When Smritis were written female education had come to an end, and so no amount had to be spent on that account by the father. The situation has now changed and so the daughter should get for her marriage and education twice the share which she was receiving formerly.
3. It should not be possible for a vicious or polygamous husband to institute a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights. If it is found by the court that a wife is compelled to live separately from her husband for sufficient reasons, she should be entitled to get not merely a maintenance, but a share equal to that of a son.

The Philosophy of Sir Mahomed Iqbal

BY PROF. SUNDAR DAS, M.A.

IN SPITE of his communal activities during the closing few years of his life, which I believe became inevitable under the political exigencies of the time,



SIR MAHOMED IQBAL

Iqbal's title to be called a poet of Humanity can be easily established. Like all great poets of Nature, he stirs up universal images of beauty and sublimity; but his real mission in life is to inspire men for deeds of valour and heroic self-sacrifice based upon a spiritual view of existence. In his *Shama aur Shair*, which by the way is a poem of rare charm and beauty, he envisages a philosophical conception of art hitherto unknown in the history of Urdu literature and it is here, if I understand them correctly, that his view of art approaches very near to the teachings of Rabindra Nath Tagore. Reality in the fullest sense, he believes, is inaccessible through knowledge and its true nature is revealed to man only under the spell and influence of Beauty. Every beautiful object: a star, a flower, or a landscape opens a window into the heart of truth by establishing a channel of

communication between mind and Reality. The function of true art is to reveal similar beauty in all other things, which are partial manifestations of that Divine Beauty which is permeating the whole universe.

Reveal to thy discontented eyes that Beauty, which is consuming the whole universe.

Dew is dropping in tears and moth is suffering excruciating pain on account of its partial glimpses.

Again.

Things appear to us as different and unrelated on account of our clouded vision. It is the same Beauty manifesting itself in all forms of existence. (Bang-i-Darra)

This overwhelming and divine attribute of the cosmos discoverable in all things when fully revealed awakens joyful emotions in the heart of man and lifts him above the sordid and mean occupations of life. Man forgets his worries only when he is transported out of himself through heart kindled with this vision.

Farhad for Shirin (thy love)! Thou art digging channels into the desert.

Inexhaustible treasures of Beauty are lying unexplored in thine own heart.

(Bang-i-Darra)

That Beauty which lights up the moon with this reconstructed vision is visible in every star; and every blade of grass becomes a personal communication from Reality. No wonder that in spite of his mighty theistic beliefs, pantheistic urge with him every now and then should become so irresistible.

My existence is only a tamasha of unity in diversity,

I am the lover, I am the beloved, I am also the pain of separation,

I am neither the wine nor the glass nor the intoxication,

In this wine-tavern of existence, I am the one reality behind all things.

Man is a spiritual being and the proper work of mind is to interpret the world according to this truth; only thus material objects are brought under subjection. Every man is spiritually potent; he only needs to open his eyes, either with or without the help of art, to see this vision of perfect Beauty. The function of a great poet is not only to release man from the bondage of commonplace routine by

arousing joyful emotions in his heart, but also to convey this metaphysical truth about the nature of Reality. This experiential knowledge of Reality as distinguished from abstract intellectualism is named Ishaq (Love) in his poetry.

This view of reality is a creative imaginative construction based upon faith and reverence, and Sir Mohommad Iqbal has made it a basis of attack against the degenerated forces of materialism, intellectualism and nationalism. But still more important with him is its ethical purpose.

Thus under the guise of an aesthetic and mystic philosopher is hidden the soul of a mighty prophet, restless with a unique moral fervour, preaching with titanic voice the ethics of heroic self-endeavour, whose dynamics of power is again supplied by the same artistic experience. This experience of Reality as supreme Beauty either in parts or in whole (called Ishaq or Love in the terminology of the poet) is the greatest releaser of impersonal energy in the heart of man and is the most potent of all moral influences. Will without the driving influence of emotions soon gets tired and exhausted.

It is only Love or Ishaq (experiential knowledge of Reality as Beauty) which by producing self-forgetfulness urges man to selfless activity for the achievement of impersonal ends and inspires him with a robust moral discipline by releasing in his soul infinite energy for self-renunciation—renunciation not born of indolence and indifference but characterised with bravery, courage and manhood. A heart infected with Ishaq (Love—experience of Reality as supreme Beauty) becomes powerful like an exploded atom capable of building or destroying the whole universe.

Heart is emancipated only when caught in the snare of love.

When struck with lightning does this plant sprout forth and fructify.

Ceremonialism, abstinence and flight from the world are the patent failures of history to achieve this end. But above all he preaches with unrestrained vigour the utter impotence of reason when compared with Love (Ishaq) to solve either the mystery of existence or to give a proper drive and direction to human soul. Completely distrusting reason, he is seen

running a tireless tirade against the impermanent and morally peurile truths of science and philosophy. "Thought without action," he asserts, "is a disease." A spiritually illumined will (through Love) is man's only true guide; mighty deeds are done by mighty convictions. Powerful ideas, when scientifically analysed, make man a cripple by leaving him blank and uninspired. Abstract reasoning presents a mechanical lifeless view of Reality, practically insignificant and morally uninspiring. *A book of philosophy not written with the blood of human heart is a worthless heap of papers.*

An ideal human being should never feel attracted towards the dry sands of metaphysics or other contemplative studies in preference to Love, which is a direct knowledge of Reality. He (an ideal man) is essentially a man of experience and action—action heroic and free from all personal considerations. Lifelong and incessant activity of this type can only be inspired with love. Reason lacks the driving power of personality, while Love is the great energy releaser. Sceptical thinkers are rarely men of action, while difficult tasks become simple and easy when will is kindled with faith, hope and imagination based upon Love. Cosmic faith in the reality of this experience (Love) is the greatest unifying principle in man's life. Love in this sense can be the only ultimate basis of heroic endeavour. The poet demonstrates this conclusion with great force and elegance of style in "Akal aur Dil".

Intelligence! Thy effort is to understand the secret of Existence.

I (Heart kindled with Love) have a straight and unobstructed view of this Reality.

In poem after poem he imprints this conclusion upon the mind of the reader with unending resourcefulness. Knowledge at best can give us power to deal with physical and social environment, but it can never give us strength and vitality for heroic self-endeavour. "The ideal of safe conduct," he asserts, "is abhorrent to valiant souls." By living always in danger zone, they acquire a distaste for safety and security. It was Karl Marx who insisted that Economics and Politics are essentially games of self-interest. Iqbal, though an

inveterate enemy of capitalism, has nothing but contempt and ridicule for such a philosophy.

The poet has consequently infinite disgust for the biological theories of Evolutionism, Utilitarianism, and Hedonism, because they all aim at the unheroic ideal of self-preservation induced by inferior instincts. This heroic activity is not one uniform monotonous dead course of conduct emanating from some one homogeneous principle, but infinitely various like colourful flowers in a vast garden. This he deduces from his doctrine of Khudi. Khudi (literally individuality) is his doctrine of self-realisation. Nowhere does he give a reasoned account or a logical explanation of this obscure concept, but his two books in Persian verse 'Isra-i-Khudi' and 'Rumuz-i-Bekhudi' on account of their infinite suggestibility leave some very clear impressions. Khudi is that distinctive moral (not biological) quality which distinguishes a man from his fellow-beings or from the mass of mankind. 'Man know thyself' is a precept for the discovery of this distinctive attribute. Self is only then completely realised when these powers, which individualise him from the rest of mankind, are fully appreciated and made more explicit. True art is the externalisation of this personal point of view. This is what distinguishes a great poet from a great mathematician.

Bring to light the hidden forces of thy soul;
then the spark of life will expand and
become an eternal conflagration.

Self-reliance and self-confidence mean the enlightenment of the soul with regard to its own powers. It is only through this enlightenment that man will become creative and acquire the potentiality of becoming a true hero in the sense of Carlyle. Every man has a clearly defined groove or channel of action consistent with Khudi or uniqueness of his individuality. "Having discovered thy powers and thy appointed task in life, live thy humanity to its fullest extent".—Iqbal. Thus a self-reliant individual who has discovered his own powers, never feels defeated at the hands of circumstances and never stretches his hand to accept other people's charities.

If thou art a self-reliant individual, beg not
for wine,

Right in the middle of the ocean, invert
thy bowl.*

Thus Love also means by corollary the power of being vitally, emotionally and creatively interested in something great and noble consistent with one's own gifts and powers. Life is a prosaic humdrum existence without such motivating interests and purposes. Man's nature under the influence of Love is completely transformed or spiritualised when he tries to excel in the realisation of some impersonal end consistent with his distinctive nature. It is only love which can effect such a complete metamorphosis of the human will, that man begins to regard with supreme contempt the deeds of the self.

The worth of all concepts: political, moral, social or religious is dependent upon this supreme test. Consequently the derisive principles of Patriotism and Nationalism, which also come in for bitter attack, do not escape his censure, contempt and ridicule. They are only deepened and intensified forms of self-interest and are the best killers of Love and mutual goodwill. These highly selfish movements always achieve their ignoble and inglorious purposes through murders, bloodshed and ravishment. Under their blighting influence has been destroyed the religious unity of Islamic States, and for the author of 'Bang-i-Darra' it is a story for unrestrained tears. Racial and patriotic organisations are the greatest enemies of the political and religious unity of Islam. These barriers have rendered the Mussalmans incapable of heroic deeds. It is around the religious nationalism of Islam that the most brilliant flashes of his poetic genius are prodigally lavished.

Beyond and away from the blue skies lies the
destination of the Mussalmans. Stars are
the dust particles raised on the wayside by
this caravan.

But the internal coherence of this 'caravan of eternity' is being disintegrated on account of the disruptive influences of nationalism and patriotism.

Do not be a serf tied to the soul, become a
citizen of the Islamic world.

* A bubble in water does appear like an inverted cup.

Country is one of the false gods that (Mussalmans) have created; garments that give it life are the shrouds for the carcase of religion.

Again,

One calls himself an Indian, another a Persian, a third an Osmanian. Digraeful limitations! Spring ye all Muslims and become one big tide by breaking these barriers.

It is here that the poet lays himself open to the charge of self-contradiction, Nationalism, whether political or religious, is everywhere a doctrine of exclusiveness. He seems to be giving to a party what he owes to humanity. It is also here that he has become an opener of new vistas of thought before the Muslim young men of the world and has permanently impressed upon the history of Muslim culture the stamp of his genius. His dream was a religious and political confederation of all the Muslim States.

His extreme disgust for Western type of civilisation whose chief manifestations are materialism and capitalism is also for the same reason infinite and undisguised. Its framework constructed for commercial and industrial efficiency putting premium upon low, cunning and selfish enterprises completely strangles uniqueness of individuality and Love which are the noblest passions for valiant deeds. Acquisition of wealth and power at the cost of Love is a selfish disreputable occupation for man, more especially for a Mussalman. Under its illusory fascination, 'glass beads are appearing as pearls'. This civilisation on account of its selfish pursuits and wicked ends contains seeds of its own destruction.

With its own weapons, this civilisation will destroy itself.

A nest built on delicate twigs can never prove lasting and durable.

This inhuman detachment from the fountains of life (Love) is bound to create boredom and neurosis. "Where hands are full, hearts must remain empty." The same hypothesis by the way is maintained and suggested by the author of "Inside Europe". Dictators and other European potentates have become neurotic individuals.

Under its baneful influence, intellects have become bright and souls have become dark.

Rich countries are suffering from the unmitigated brutalities of wealth and power. Nations incapable of action, on heroic level based upon love will sicken, disintegrate and perish. Money and power are the fictions of unheroic and inferior minds not acquainted with the charms of Love.

Remember, ye dwellers of Western countries, God's dwelling place is not a workhouse (where business is transacted), dross and base metals can never pass here for gold.

Indiscriminate pursuit of wealth and power is bound up with consciousness of inner defeat and selfishness is another name for fear and discouragement. Democracy in the sense of majority rule, based upon the competition of parties and determined by the counting of individual ballots, is according to the poet another unheroic institution of the West. In a vigorous mood he declares:

The so-called democratic organisation of the West is the same old organ whose cords can only be tuned for Imperialistic music.

Again,

What prate is this of rights, reforms and concessions:

Sweet medicines from West have only sporadic properties.

Long before the decline of parliamentary institutions in the West, he wrote: 'Intellect of man can never come out of the united thought of a hundred donkeys. The League of Nations, as constituted today only to safeguard the interests of the imperialistic nations, is another outstanding example of their selfish designs and machinations.'

It is nothing more than an organisation of thieves for the distribution of shrouds sitting in a grave-yard.

The League has always been known for its timid, unheroic and worldly-wise attitudes.

Mussalman priests are another class of men whose uncreative book-learning he holds up to unmeasured contempt and ridicule. By their pious sneaking imposition, they have led men away from truth and spontaneity of life. They are sticking to ritualism and ceremonialism like a swarm of flies on a bunch of grapes.

Their heads are swollen with wisdom and learning while the real secrets of life are hidden from their dark souls.

Again,

Learned men have become indifferent to the teachings of the Scriptures. Long bearded Sufis are blood-thirsty leopards.

Iqbal declares emphatically that a righteous community or individual is simply superior to the risks of life possessions and prestige. Considerations of profit and loss simply leave him unmoved and unaffected.

Only God knows what fire is burning in their hearts (righteous individuals). Hell they regard only a flatful cold ashes.

Though a lifelong opponent of Gandhi in the political field, occasionally he showers upon this brave and righteous individual his sincere and unstinted admiration.

The poet has discovered here a new basis for the time-old doctrine of non-attachment; at any rate he has presented its implications with new vigour and fresh significance. In a language of unwavering certainty, he makes his reader realise that in the final analysis there is no difference between joy and rectitude of conduct; Reality and values are not unrelated. In a higher synthesis, conflict between man and nature is lost. A spiritually restless soul is man's greatest asset. Happiness is an accident of good life and a quality of heroic behaviour.

Here is a unique system of Ethics based upon the true laws of human psychology. Will is only the handle of a wheel, which can only move under the agency of emotions. A kindled heart is its only prime mover. Analytical thought or abstract reasoning lacks this power to control the will. Mere good principles have no motive power. An experiential view of reality (Love) and reliance upon self (individuality) are the greatest regulators of human character. Individuality lies in being vitally interested in something great and noble. A selfish individual symbolised as vulture (Kargus) in his poetry, is only a slave of the belly without any self-respect and has to become a carrion-eater. He little knows that even earthly love will emancipate him from fear and depravity. A brave self-respecting soul having an individuality and a true sense of Reality symbolised as falcon (Shahin) in his poetry, soars high into the heaven far above this earth on account of an inner vision.

Iqbal's voice is like a trumpet-call to the lotus-eating nations of the world, instinct

with deep and vivid realisation of the meaning of life, ministering to the needs of vital experiences. Like the Hebrew prophets, he is inspired to declare the will of God to man. His is a message of great spiritual significance to the weaker individuals and declining races of the world, scrupulously declared with a unique poetic and mystic power, and the pages of his books are ringing with a passionate devotion for, and a remarkable faith in a simple living God. He never leaves you depressed and dejected. It was Shopenhauer, who once preached the conquest of pessimism through art. It is here that we feel that religion is a challenge addressed to a valiant soul. One reading of 'Bang-i-Darra' will stir your whole being and will leave its reader with the impression of a mind of extraordinary power animated with flames of urgency and vitality, and of a soul surging with emotions like a river overflowing its margins. Though a true son and interpreter of Islam, his spiritual ancestry can be easily traced to Bergson and Nietzsche.

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INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH INDIA

BY MR. C. H. DIVANJEE, A.I.B.

THOUGH plenty of raw material is available in South India, there is not that development of industry which must exist where there are such facilities. South India was the pioneer of glass and cement industries in India. But these pioneering attempts are reported to have failed, because of the fuel or the motive power which was not easily accessible. There was no coal available in the South which was very essential for industrial purposes in those days. With the development of Pykara and Mettur and such other electrical schemes in the South, the scope for development of industries has taken a different turn as the problem of fuel has been solved. During the last 10 to 15 years, we find the development of textile industry in Coimbatore district, hosiery industry in Malabar and Mysore, the recent cement industry in Coimbatore and Trichinopoly, and the Steel Rolling Mills of Negapatam. The famous tile industry of Mangalore was there for a long time. Even without this, South India has one of the biggest Spinning Mills and the largest Weaving Mills of the country. The scope for more industries proping up in the South has been so easy on account of coal being replaced by electricity.

The greatest problem for development of industries is always that of finance. The floatations of several companies and the resultant oversubscription thereof some time back proved that people have got money enough to subscribe for industrial development and that the question of finance will not be such a handicap as it is usually made out to be in South India. For the development of industries in the South, provincial jealousies should not come in the way in the sense that people from other provinces who come to this province should not be treated antagonistically by the people of the South but should be considered as real friends and benefactors of the land where they have come to sink a large portion of their wealth. South India must welcome such financiers and industrial enterprisers from other provinces and help them by allowing them to develop different industries for which there is large scope for expansion. For the development of industries we may

require a Southern India Industrial Bank with an influential Board consisting partly of local talents and partly of leading industrialists and financiers from other provinces. To develop industries we must have a vision which can enable the captains of such industries to look beyond the narrow horizon of provincial boundaries.

If the Government of the Province is seriously thinking of helping such industrial developments, particularly financially, they can as well start a semi-government Industrial and Financial Corporation that was suggested by Sir Pochkhanawalla Committee for the United Provinces. Before launching such a scheme the Government can appoint a Committee of Enquiry in which industrialists, economists and financiers from Bombay and Calcutta may be included and their deliberations and advice be acted upon for organizing finance for industrial development of the South.

The industries that can be developed in the South are many, but the following have a large scope:—

- (1) Machinery and tools manufacturing.
 - (2) Aluminium and brass manufacturing.
 - (3) Cycle manufacturing.
 - (4) Textile and hosiery.
 - (5) Leather goods manufacturing.
 - (6) Glasswares.
 - (7) Rubber goods manufacturing.
 - (8) Tobacco, i.e., cigars and cigarettes manufacturing.
 - (9) Wood manufactures, i.e., furniture, ready made doors, windows, plywood, etc.
 - (10) Production of raw cinema films as well as production of films on account of plenty of scenes and sceneries of all types available in natural forms.
 - (11) Development of mines and mining.
- Only a few have been mentioned here, but a warning need be given here that whenever either the Industrial Bank or Industrial and Financial Corporation is started, the South must benefit by the mistakes committed by the other Provinces and should not launch industries depending on short-term capital sunk in long-term investments.

NURSERY SCHOOLS IN INDIA

BY MARCIA DODWELL

THE Nursery School idea is gradually becoming popular in India. There are single Nursery Schools in a number of places as, for instance, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Kottayam (in Travancore) and Nagpur, and there is a large one run in connection with the Seagon Settlement in Bombay.

But Madras leads the way for systematic development work. In April 1935, a Nursery School was started as an experiment for six months. It had been found that many city mothers were out at work all day as teachers, nurses, ayahs, compounders and so on and that some form of pre-school care was badly needed for their tinies. The first school started for Tamil children was such a success that it was brought on to a permanent basis and a Nursery School Project started with the object "of establishing a chain of real Nursery Schools in Madras city and eventually throughout the Presidency".

Soon there were two more schools in the city, one for Telugu children and one for the children of poor Anglo-Indian parents run by the ladies of St. Andrew's Church (the Kirk). More recently a Nursery School was started by the local Branch of the Red Cross Society at Kumbakonam, and about a year ago one was started on a village settlement about 10 miles south of Madras. Until recently the people on this settlement were classed as a criminal tribe, but their children make a very jolly group.

The Madras Schools seek to combine the best aspects of English and American Nursery Schools and to build up institutions that are really fitted to the life of India. Happy freedom and simple informality are the dominant characteristics of the school programme. All children like a certain amount of simple routine in their lives and are soon willing to fall in with the scheme of regular hours for washing, toilet, meals, and sleep. The business-like way in which they go about these particular duties shows plainly that they will respond to the natural way of doing things without the necessity of formal commands and regimentation.

The school hours are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., but in practice it is found that these are not long enough to suit all the

mothers, and there is always one helper on duty to look after those children who have to be brought earlier or stay later. The first business of the day is to get into the Nursery School garment and present oneself for health inspection. Then there is play out of doors until it is time to come in for the 10 a.m. lunch. Most of the schools have a sand pit, some have a slide, climbing rails and see-saw. In one of the Madras Schools there are large sand trays as well as the pit. Often the sand in one of them is wet and presents quite a new experience to the tinies. At meal times the children get their own cups marked with their individual symbols. They cannot read or write, naturally, but they have no difficulty in distinguishing a cat from an elephant and remembering which picture belongs to them. The same picture will appear on a child's cup, towel, sleeping mat, comb and any other piece of personal apparatus.

The second part of the morning is generally spent indoors. There may be story-telling, painting, modelling or play with bricks, balls, skipping-ropes, etc. At 11-30 they are washed for the noon meal and after that they all sleep for an hour or more. Simple play and music continues until they have their last meal of milky congee at 3-30 p.m. and then they get ready to go home.

The staff keep in touch with the homes and do a certain amount of home-visiting as time allows. One Madras School runs a Mothers' Club. It meets once a month and any women who want to learn more about the up-bringing of their children are welcome. They have had simple talks on story-telling, hygiene, diets and similar subjects by people interested in the project.

With the growth of the project in Madras the need has been felt for trained teachers and, in 1936, a sub-committee was formed to supervise a simple course of training. Candidates are accepted who have studied up to the Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination and they are given a two-years' course. But success in practical work depends upon a personal aptitude for handling little children wisely.

MAHADJI SINDHIA

BY PROF. V. TYAGARAJAN, M.A.

THE years 1785-1794, usually slurred over by writers of Indian History, either because of the tangle of political confusion or the lack of definite historical knowledge, constitute the most important period in the making of British paramountcy in India. Nana Padnavis, the Machiavelli of Maratha politics, the Peshwa's-peshwa who made himself the real master of the Maratha State by his intriguing role in the contested succession to the Peshwaship and the consequent war with the English, diverted the regularly flowing stream of State correspondence from its usual course to Poona to his native village of Menavali in the Satara district and thereby deprived posterity of an important sheet-anchor of information for one of the most important epochs of North Indian History. Though this Menavali Daftar are now made available to the public by the indefatigable labours of Messrs. V. K. Rajwade, and D. P. Parasnis and the Satara Historical Research Society, by themselves they cannot be regarded as throwing sufficient light on the history of the period.

The Maratha central government, after the treaty of Salbai in 1782, had become an inglorious nonentity unable to cope up with the internecine quarrels, cobweb intrigues, below-stairs diplomacy in which the country was rife. The real political centre of gravity for the Marathas had shifted to Hindustan where the dominant Pan-Indian politician was Mahadji Sindhia.* It was he and none other that had brought the titular Emperor of Delhi under Maharatha tutelage with the Peshwa as the nominal and Sindhia as the real controller of the North Indian Government. Besides it was Sindhia who was asked to be the mutual guarantee of both parties to the terms of the treaty of Salbai. Enormous correspondence passed between this Maratha hero and his associates and the government of the E. I. Company and

its servants and these despatches and news-letters are placed within public reach in this, the Volume I of a series of five volumes which the Bombay Government under the eminent editorship of Sir Sarkar has decided to publish as English records of Maratha history as Poona Presidency correspondence.

The English records are more universal than the extant Maratha ones and give us an authentic account of the Delhi Empire from 1785 to 1794 of which the central figure is Mahadji Sindhia. It helps us to understand the administrative framework upon which the British system of government of Mount Stuart Elphinstone was built up in Bombay. It gives us clearly the character and policy of Mahadji Sindhia, the true statesman of the Maharathas who, like Runjit Singh, the Lion of Lahore, realised the inevitableness of British superiority in India and the value of their friendship. On the other side, it reveals the wisdom of the policy of Cornwallis, his instinctive realisation of the realities of Indian politics.

It is, therefore, not too much to say that students of Indian History are under a deep debt of gratitude to the Bombay Government, to Sir J. Sarkar and to Rao Sahib G. S. Sardesai, B.A., for making this book available to them. The heroism of this noble band is all the more vivid when we are told that they are editing the work as purely a labour of love with no remuneration, no honorarium, oftentimes spending their money for travelling expenses. The thanks of the public are also due to the Shivaji Memorial Fund for their liberal donation of Rs. 8,900 towards the compilation of this monumental document.

The period of study is so important and interesting, the light thrown on it so lucid and generating from such powerful plants as Sir Sarkar that no student of Indian History, no college, no public library can afford to be without a copy of this epoch-making volume.

* MAHADJI SINDHIA AND NORTH INDIAN AFFAIRS 1785-1794. Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.L.E., on behalf of the Bombay Government. Rs. 5-6 or 9 sh.

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TEMPLES IN AND AROUND MADRAS

MADRAS comprises two suburbs of sacred and ancient renown—Triplicane and Mylapore. The two figure in the East India Company's records as prosaic acquisitions—one from the Raja of Golconda

THE TEMPLE OF THE DIVINE CHARIOTEER:
PARTHASARATHI TEMPLE

Triplicane, like Mahabalipuram, represents the influence of the earliest wave of Vaishnavism that broke over South India



THE PARTHASARATHI TEMPLE, TRIPPLICANE

on an annual rental of Rs. 175 and the other from the Nawab of Arcot on condition of supplying him with men and money whenever required. They hail, however, from a very heavy past and have long figured in the pilgrim's itinerary.

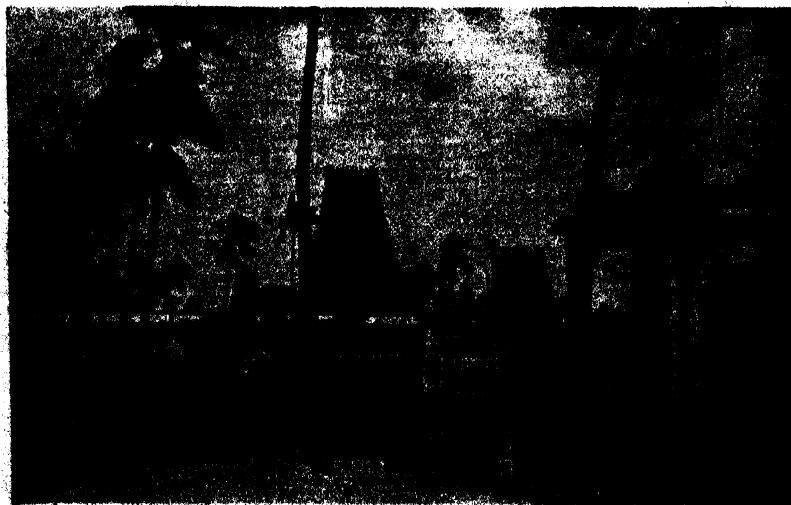
and contains a temple dedicated to Krishna as Divine Charioteer or *Parthasarathi*—the only one of its kind in Southern parts. There are several beautiful images in the temple including one of Krishna, in black metal, as charioteer bearing

scars of the wounds from arrows he received in the Epic battle. There is a tank in front of the temple in which, it is said, owing to a curse from a Rishi, fish cannot live. The temple was founded by a Pallava king—a fact spoken to by the Vaishnava poet, Tirumangai Alwar and corroborated by an inscription of the 8th century found in the temple.

THE TEMPLE OF KAPALISWARA

Mylapore contains a beautiful temple and tank dedicated to Siva under the name of Kapaliswara. The name of the town has

restored a cremated Chetti girl to life by singing a hymn in praise of the deity. The poetess-saint Avvayar's memory is commemorated by the peculiar representation of Ganesa in the temple, with his trunk uplifted, as he is said to have done when he raised the poetess to Heaven. A few yards to the north of the Kapaliswara temple is the shrine of Saint Tiruvalluvar, the author of the *Kural*, who spent his last days in Mylapore. The Vaishnava poet Peyalwar is said to have been born in a well in Mylapore.



THE KAPALISWARA TEMPLE, MYLAPORE

its origin in a legend according to which Goddess Parvati is said to have incarnated as a peacock (*mayeru*) and worshipped Siva here in order to obtain deliverance. The legend is commemorated in a fine sculpture in the north prakara of the temple.

A number of well known Tamil saints and poets are associated with this place. Sambhandar, of whom there is a fine image in the temple, is said to have

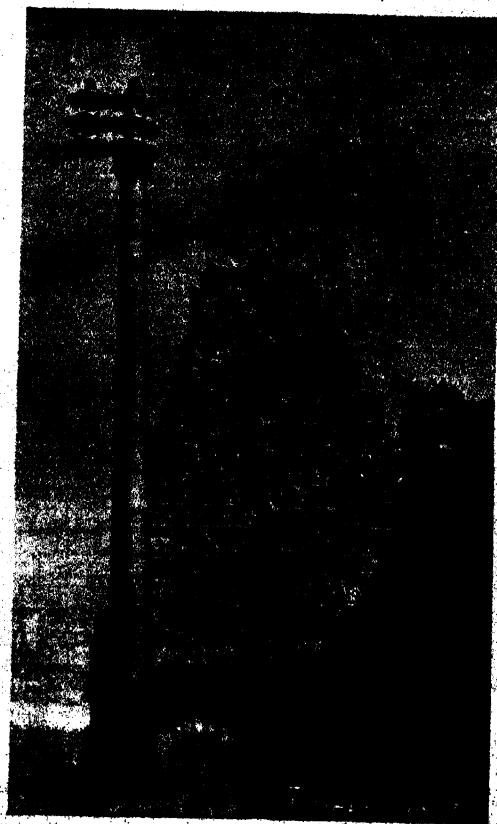
There are numerous other temples in the city, particularly in George Town, with traditions going back to centuries past. Flourishing in the busy part of the city they are well endowed and supported by the wealthy mercantile classes. Among such temples may be mentioned the Kundaswami temple dedicated to God Subramania, the Malleswar temple, the Kachelwar temple, etc., etc.

**TIRUVOTTYUR
AND THE MIRACLE OF PATTINATTAR**

Tiruvottiyur is a famous place of pilgrimage five miles to the north of Madras. The deity of the place is known as Adipuriawara and the linga in the temple is said to be in the form of an ant-hill.

in love with Sangli in this temple and accepted her hand in marriage.

The town and temple had great fame and importance in medieval times. Kings, ministers, princesses, merchants and others vied with each other in building shrines and making valuable gifts to them.



TIRUVOTTYUR TEMPLE

The place owes its celebrity and sacredness to the miracles wrought by the well-known Tamil poet and ascetic Pattinathu Pillayar, whose *sanadhi* still stands within the town. The place is also associated with the Tamil poet Sundarar, who met and fell

The main temple abounded with a number of *Muttas* or charitable institutions such as Rajendra Cholan Mutt, Kulottunga Cholan Mutt and others wherein devotees were fed every day, and with a number of colleges housed in open pavilions or

mantapas such as Vakkanikkum Mantapa where discourses (in Logic) were held; Vyakarnadana Vyakhyana Mantapa where grammar was presented and commented upon. Its festivals were attended by kings. The Chola king Rajadhiraja II attended in person a festival in the temple in the 9th year of his reign. His successor Kulottunga III was present at the Rajarajantirumantapam to witness the Ani festival and later held a durbar. Sankaracharya is said to have visited the temple which is corroborated by an image of his in the temple. The temple's greatness was such that a nobleman of the locality was entrusted with the office of acting as hereditary warden to the temple.

TIRUTTANI OR THE SHRINE OF THE BLISSFUL REPOSE

Tiruttani is a town in the Chittoor district, situate on the M. & S. M. Railway.

It is a picturesque sacred town like many others in South India surrounded by lovely hills and valleys. It has a shrine built on a hill, dedicated to Sri Subramanya and is famous throughout South India as a place of pilgrimage and worship.

The local legend says that it was at this place that Subramanya destroyed the Asura known as Sura Padmasura and others and that the chief of the gods Indra, on whose behalf he killed the demon, pleased with him, bestowed the hand of his daughter Devayana on him. Subramanya thereafter is said to have lived a life of blissful penance and meditation. Hence the name of this place Tiruttani or Blissful Repose. The path to the temple which is majestically built on the hill is by means of two flights of steps, one on the east and the other on the west of the hill.

There are a number of sacred pools or springs in and around the place in all of which the devout pilgrim bathes.

Distribution of food is considered very meritorious in this sacred shrine, and many pilgrims make it a point to feed the hungry and the destitute in fulfilment of their devotions at the shrine.

There are numerous choultries scattered all over the place—indeed one suburb, Matamgramam derives its name from a large collection of mutts and chatrams therein.

THE LEGEND OF KALAHASTI

Kalahasti is a town in the Chittoor district and a Railway Station on the Katpadi-Renigunta section of the M. & S. M. Railway.

Kalahasti has a great temple dedicated to Siva and is famous throughout South India as a sacred city and place of pilgrimage.

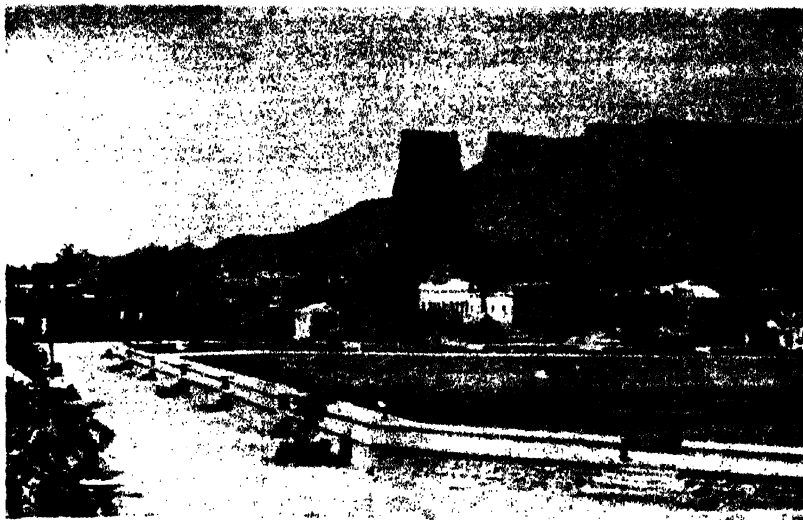
The Linga of Kalahasti is one of the five supreme Lingas, famous in South India as representing severally the Five Great Elements. The Linga at Kalahasti is said to represent Air or Vayu. The name of the Deity is said to be derived from a legend, that He was worshipped jointly by a spider, a cobra and an elephant (Sri—a spider, Kala—a serpent and Hasti—an elephant).

The town and temple are situate in beautiful natural surroundings. The river Swarnamuki flows on one side of the town which is on the other side bounded by hills. The temple is a huge and beautiful one, with magnificent gopuras. The temple, apart from the fame and sacredness of its Linga, is noted as the scene of the devout sacrifice and worship of the well known Tamil saint, Kannappar. Kannappar was a hunter by birth and daily offered to Siva

part of the game he killed during the day. One day while offering his devotions to the deity, he saw water welling out of one of the eyes of the deity. Finding other means useless, the saint plucked out one of his own eyes and inserted it into the deity's. The water ceased to flow, but some time after the other eye of the deity also manifested the same condition. And Kannappar, undaunted,

lasts for 10 days in February--March. The fifth day of the festival corresponds to the Sivaratri proper when the pilgrims bathe in the sacred river, pray and keep vigil all through night often fasting the entire day and night.

There is also a big festival on the third day after Sankranti in January when the Deity is taken in a palanquin round the Kalahasti hills—a circuit of 20 miles.



TIRUPATI TEMPLE

plucked out his remaining eye and substituted it for the deity's, rendering himself in the act totally blind. The deity, pleased with his heroic devotion, blessed him and gave him Salvation.

The goddess of this temple is reputed to possess curing powers in respect of women possessed of evil spirits.

The most important festival in this temple is that of Mahasivaratri which

TIRUPATI: THE GOD OF THE SEVEN HILLS

Tirupati lies in the midst of hills at a distance of seven miles from Tirupati East, a Railway Station on the M. & S. M. Railway.

It is the most sacred Vaishnava temple-city of South India. It has also a great reputation outside it on account of the great saving power of its Deity, cherished by North Indian pilgrims as Balajee.

The temple and town are sacred from very ancient times. According to legend, it is said to have been a very sacred place in all the four yugas— as Vrishabachala in the Krita Yuga, Anjanachala in the Treta Yuga, Seshachala in the Dwapara Yuga and Venkatachala in the present Kaliyuga. At one time there seems to have been some dispute as to the identity of this Deity. Ramanuja, the great Vaishnava Reformer of the 12th century, is said to have settled the dispute and established the worship of the Lord Srinivasa.

The temple is situate on one of a group of seven hills rising to an altitude of 2,500 feet. The path lies across six hills which all afford wonderful scenery. The temple is a beautiful one built by stone with a fine gopura and tower. Crossing the entrance gopura, one first sees the golden Dwajastambha (Flag-staff). After passing it, there is a thousand-pillared pavilion (mantapa) beyond which lies the Sanctum Sanctorum. The pillars are all well-wrought, adorned with sculptures and add greatly to the beauty of this hill temple.

Elaborate religious service is carried on in the temple every day. There are morning darshans of God, known as Shuddin, Tomala and Archana, followed by a free Darshan; these are again repeated in the evening ending in a free Darshan. Special services are performed on the payment of proper fees by pilgrims. There is an annual Brahmotsava festival also lasting for 10 days.

A number of temples in the neighbourhood are also held very sacred—Sri Govindarajasami's temple at Tirupati, Goddess Padmavati's temple at Tiruchanur, a village 8 miles from Tirupati.

There are a number of pools in the hills and below which are deemed sacred and which are resorted to by pilgrims—Sri Swami Pushkarani near the temple on the hill, Akasa Ganga four miles away on the hills containing a slender waterfall whose waters are daily taken to the temple for religious use, and Kapilathirtham, a sacred tank, a mile and half distant from the Tirupati town, where Siva is said to have blessed sage Kapila with a vision of Himself and his Divine Consort. In the last thirtha, ceremonies are often performed to please deceased relations, accompanied by gifts.



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Mechanisation of Agriculture in India

BY MR. N. SANKARAN NAIR, B.A.

INDIA is a predominantly agricultural country. Nearly 75 per cent. of the Indian population depends on agriculture. The result, therefore, is that land is divided among a great number of people. Agricultural holdings in India are, therefore, very small due to the excessive pressure of the population on land. This has further been promoted by the lack of alternative avenues of employment. Before the advent of the British, India was famous for its handicrafts and cottage industries. Each farmer had some sort of subsidiary employment which was an additional source of income to him. But such subsidiary industries perished due to the competition of cheap machine-made goods from outside. India has only begun to set her foot in the industrial sphere. She is known to other countries more as an agricultural country than as an industrial country, and the agricultural problem is, of all others, the most important.

One of the solutions suggested for the improvement of Indian agriculture is its mechanisation. By mechanisation is meant the introduction and the use of machinery in agricultural operations. In England and other countries, agriculture has been mechanised. But in India, the process has not yet taken place. Mechanisation of agriculture, especially in India, is not an easy thing. For it, first of all, the conditions making it possible have to be obtained. Mechanisation is possible in agriculture as in industries only when the agricultural or industrial operations are on a large scale. In a factory which produces only a very limited quantity of an article, mechanisation is almost impossible and useless. In like manner in agriculture, if machinery has to be introduced, farming should be conducted

on a large scale. In England, for example, land is owned by a few big landlords, and they undertake large-scale farming. Machinery is cheap and economical only in the case of large-scale farming and this accounts for the fact that English agriculture is mechanised.

In India, agricultural holdings are very small. There are very few economic holdings—a holding which enables one man and his family to live in decent comfort—in India. Lands have been sub-divided and fragmented. Several causes have led to sub-division and fragmentation of agricultural holdings. "Increase of population, lack of a corresponding expansion of industry, the dissolution of the joint family, and the growth of the individualistic spirit—all these assisted by the laws of inheritance and succession—must be regarded as the main causes of excessive sub-division and fragmentation of holdings. Thus small plots of land have been divided and sub-divided. The size of the individual holdings in India are very small, generally not more than two or three acres.

In addition to such sub-division, these holdings are fragmented also, that is, the holding of each man is split up into separate plots situated at a distance from each other. In Pimplasondagar, the holdings belonging to 156 owners have been fragmented into 729 separate plots, of which 463 are of less than one acre and 112 less than a quarter of an acre. In Konkhan and Gujarat, there are cases where a single holding of an acre in area is divided into 25 separate plots. Thus not only is one man's land very small in size, but it is distributed here and there. The result is waste of time and money.

Thus Indian agriculture is small-scale agriculture. Small agriculturists cannot

afford to buy expensive machinery. Even if machinery were available for hire, the presence of baulks presents another difficulty. The machine cannot easily move from one plot to another. Thus the introduction of machinery is almost impracticable. Furthermore, there is the conservative spirit among most of the agriculturists, an aversion or reluctance towards the introduction of new methods. Thus there are so many difficulties in introducing machinery into Indian agriculture and it is not easy of practice.

Now, let us examine how far it is desirable. Mechanisation of agriculture necessarily means large-scale farming which is very economic. There are economies of skill, labour, land and machinery. If by some arrangement between the land-owners, the baulks were removed, and machinery introduced, the great waste of money resulting from the uneconomic and expensive use of old implements and the loss resulting from old methods of cultivation could be prevented. Machinery, if properly used, is cheaper and better than old kinds of agricultural implements. The work of ploughing done by so many bullocks, ploughs and men can be done by a single machine within very little time. The expense is smaller, the work is better done, and very few hands are required to do the work, only one or two to tend the machine. Thus the use of machinery is certainly economical. Very much time and money can be saved. Cultivation will become more and more efficient and agriculture will prosper. Thus mechanisation of agriculture is very much desirable.

But it is not desirable when we look at it from another standpoint. There is excessive pressure of the population on land.

Mechanisation of agriculture means that the work done by men, is done by machinery. Therefore a very large number of labourers are thrown out of employment. India does not possess great many industrial factories and so the surplus labour cannot be absorbed therein. Mechanisation, therefore, means increase in the number of the unemployed which is so dangerous to the stability of the State and to the general economic welfare.

To conclude, therefore, we may say that mechanisation of Indian agriculture is desirable if the labour-force that may be thrown out can be absorbed elsewhere. But in India, it does not seem to be very much possible unless she becomes soon industrialised. It is very much impracticable because of the present state of agriculture in India. Mechanisation of agriculture, therefore, cannot be realised in the near future, unless a thorough and wholesale reform is effected in the system of farming, and that remains to be achieved long afterwards.

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INQUEST ON MUNICH

BY MR. V. K. N. MENON, M.A. (Oxon.)

(Department of Political Science, Lucknow University)

I

WHO killed Czech Robin ?

I am afraid that the true answer is not, merely, Neville Chamberlain.

His tragic weakness face to face with the aggressive determination of Herr Hitler; the concession after concession that he agreed to at each of the three interviews; the last desperate appeal to Signor Mussolini, aggressor-in-chief, begged to become peace-maker-extraordinary, and, now, poacher turned gamekeeper,—these need no recapitulation. In his House of Commons speech, defending the Munich Agreement, Mr. Chamberlain enumerated ten respects in which the latter was an improvement on the Godesberg ultimatum. It is significant that, if *Reuter* is to be believed, he gave up counting them after the fourth. For, I think, four or forty, ten or hundred, the improvements would not have made much difference. And the future historian, taking his meals, as Lord Acton said he should, in the kitchen, will ask whether, even if Herr Hitler had not made a single concession, Mr. Chamberlain would not have yielded, and asked Dr. Benes too to yield notwithstanding every insult to himself and every wrong to his country, in the interests of peace and civilisation. In other words, the final criticism of Mr. Chamberlain's policy is as likely as not to be, not that he did not make his intentions clear, as Mr. Duff-Cooper has complained, but that he had no intentions to clear at all, unless it was to avoid war at any cost; not that he compelled Czecho-Slovakia to agree to terms of a disastrous and humiliating character, but that, by the policy that he pursued, he compelled it, as Mr. Churchill has rightly pointed out, to accept terms far worse than what it could have got long ago but for his unfortunate, irresolute and misleading intervention. And that intervention, it will be remembered, began, in its active phase, much earlier than at Berschtesgaden. It began with the 'demarche' at Berlin

on May 20-21, and its next step had been the sending of the Runciman mission.

The Lord High Chancellor of England now says that such a State as Czecho-Slovakia should never have been created. And the Minister of Transport adds that nothing could have saved the Czechs if war had actually broken out. If it was the same mentality with which Mr. Chamberlain did what he did, he should have made it clear to Dr. Benes.

But, for all this, his Cabinet, except Mr. Duff-Cooper now, must also bear responsibility. Especially Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare, one, the man who let down China, and the other, he who let down Abyssinia; for they are the reputed, though indeed not very reputable, advisers who have stood closest to Mr. Chamberlain these days. That section of the Conservative Party compounded of the Cliveden group, including the *Times*, and of those Isolationist Press, Barons, Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook, have also theirs. But the latter, at any rate, had long ago advocated the scuttling from Europe. They at least never bragged now with the egregious Mr. Garvin, intoxicated with the exuberance of his own virtuosity, of dedicating "ourselves", utterly and to the last breath, to set bounds to open tyranny and be remembered for ever. Mr. James Louis Garvin, at any rate, will be remembered now for a few days at least.

* * * *

II

However, England had no definite commitments in the matter of Czecho-Slovakia. And Mr. Chamberlain clearly, if also a little indiscreetly, did say after Godesberg that England cannot afford to go to war only for the sake of little nations confronted by big and powerful neighbours, though Mr. Asquith did not think so in 1914. Great empires and little nations may go ill together. But France is not only a smaller empire, it had also a definite treaty to go to the aid of Czecho-Slovakia in case of aggression; and Russian help, according to the terms of

the Russo-Czech treaty, was counting on French assistance. Messrs. Daladier and Bonnet were bound to honour that signature. Indeed, they said all the time that they would do it. But they, and especially M. Bonnet, were equally, if not more, responsible for bringing this unexampled pressure to bear upon the unfortunate Czechs to agree to everything, even to that last humiliation of having to agree to their exclusion from the Munich Conference.

M. Daladier has stated in the Chamber of Deputies that it was the resolute attitude taken up by France that made success possible at Munich; in fact that, the moment he arrived in Munich, he felt the esteem of Germany for France.

Herr Hitler impressed by the firmness of Messrs Daladier and Bonnet! M. Daladier is a good man, and he has done some good work for rearmament, but it is also true that all that he has yet in common with Napoleon is only that both have ordered fire on Paris mobs, though Napoleon did it more successfully. And as for M. Bonnet, ambassador turned finance minister, and finance minister turned foreign minister, everybody knows him also to be weak, and nowhere near in ability to his recent predecessors like M. Yvon Delbos or M. Paul Boncour, only some also suspect his goodness.

But, even more than in the case of Mr. Chamberlain, to impute the whole responsibility to Messrs. Daladier and Bonnet is to give them more importance than is their due. In England, Mr. Chamberlain is at any rate the leader of a homogeneous Conservative party, (I say this with apologies to Sir John Simon and Mr. Malcolm Macdonald,) mustering 480 members in a House of 615, and an overwhelming and irreversible majority in the House of Lords. Mr. Daladier, on the other hand, is only the latest of those ephemeral phantoms which flit across the stage of French politics, here to-day, gone to-morrow, whom they politely call their Prime Ministers. His Cabinet of Radicals and some groups of the Centre, formed with the utmost difficulty during the Austrian crisis of April last, does not command—if the word is permissible—more than about 250 votes

in a Chamber of 618 members. Two of his colleagues in the Cabinet, Messrs. Chautemps and Sarraut, have been premiers already, and the former belongs to his own Radical party and is his rival for its leadership. And the Radicals themselves are only 117 in the Chamber. Thus he has no supremacy in his own party, his party has no supremacy in his coalition, and his coalition has no supremacy in the Chamber. The Cabinet's position is even weaker in the Senate, led nowadays by the embittered and implacable Joseph Caillaux, ex-convict and ex-premier.

M. Daladier, in short, is a pea poised on an elephant. And why is the situation such?

The Socialists, with their 156 members form the strongest single party in the Chamber. Next come the Radicals, with 117 seats and next the Communists, with 78. The remaining 272 seats are about equally divided between half a dozen groups of the Centre (some of which are in the present ministry, with the Radicals) and an equal number of the ultra-conservative Right. Now, the Socialists, the Radicals and the Communists have together a majority in the Chamber; but they have never been able to form a stable government owing to acute differences on financial policy—and the French Treasury is in a state of chronic bankruptcy. On the other hand, a combination of even the Radicals and the Centre with the Right, which would also give a majority, has not even been tried on account of even more acute differences on foreign policy.

* * * *

Without a strong and majority Government in France, the Anglo-French agreement after Berschtesgaden, and the Four-Power agreement at Munich, were inevitable. What is the object of an International Conference? a cynical statesman once asked. And he himself gave the answer. It is to invent a crime which it is to everybody's interest to commit. Munich has not belied him.

For the rest, when foreign relations are poor relations, heaven help them!

VEENA DHANAMMAL—A TRIBUTE

By MR. S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY, I.C.S.

ONCE in a while, the passing away of a great artist represents the passing away of a great tradition. With the death of Dhanam, a type of music has become extinct, which, apart from its individual excellence, mirrored a civilization that is fast receding into memory. While near in time, this age is far away for art. This was a period when the mechanical conveniences of the West and to a small extent changing intellectual pursuits had commenced to alter social life; but the grooves of artistic creation and appreciation had not changed. Patronage of the arts was associated with the landed aristocracy. A marriage in the houses of one of them was still the gathering ground for music lovers. "Sabhas" had not come into the picture. Entertainment by courtezans was part of the social amenities that the rich indulged in. It had not died out in response to the purblind puritanism of a later decade. Art itself had a different "tempo". It was not packed within a stringent time limit. Music for the audience as well as the artist was characterised by an unhurried and cultured leisure. Dhanam's music reflected and even exaggerated the roseate aspects of such an age. She recaptured it for her old admirers. For us, who are young and knew her only in her later days, she offered glimpses into the art and, through art, into the life of the period; often creating vain yearnings to have lived then rather than now.

All art, whether in colour or form or sound, is a search for physical beauty. Though often sublimated, there is an essential sensuousness in the enjoyment of it. The best in Indian music is the perfection of melody. Dhanam's music was a perpetual search for this physical perfection of sound and when she reached a particularly pleasing point of melody often, as it happened, at or near the top "Shadja" note, while playing on the Veena, she would stop for a split second before passing on. It reminded one of a connoisseur of vintage. She was a rare grammarian. Her knowledge of the fundamentals of each Raga was profound. But her music itself was super-grammatical.

She had little use for skirmishings and mere manipulations. These were taken for granted, like the routine subjects at a meeting, before the essential music began. There was, therefore, a misleading simplicity about her Veena playing and singing as many an imitator and pirate has found to his cost. A great feature of her music was the artistic completeness with which she endowed each Raga. Every Raga has a form. This form was for ever present in her mind, and whether she played for two minutes or twenty, she gave a complete picture of the Raga, not a maimed phase. So much so, she always left one with a feeling of fulfilment. Contrary to popular impression, the resources of her imagination were vast. The writer had the rare privilege of hearing her play on the Raga "Nattakurinji" for close on an hour, without having recourse to the least bit of repetition and sustaining a level of excellence and incisive purity that one associates with her shorter efforts. Contrary, again, to popular impression, was her mastery of "Madhyama Kala". It was sufficient to hear her play "Nennarunchinanu" in the Raga "Malavi" to be certain of it. Her sense of architecture was perfect. One could see the Raga gradually growing up like an edifice at her hands. Through every one of these aspects ran the thread of "essentialness". Each little part was utterly essential as she conceived the tune. No mere exercise or skilful manipulation, or padding would interfere to swell the Raga and make up the time. While other musicians led us through the outer courtyards, the innumerable "Prakaras" in the temple of "Nada Brahman", she took us by hand straight into the "Garbhagruha". Her repertoire was immense. Much of it has gone beyond recall. Her enunciation whether in Tamil or Telugu or Kanarese was always clear. She scorned to subordinate meaning to music or music to meaning, but would make one the complement of the other. This endowed her "Slokas" with a peculiar beauty. In her, South Indian music reached a classical fulness. May her soul rest in peace.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Gandhiji on Bengal Prisoners

THE negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and the Government of Bengal over the question of the release of political prisoners have broken down. The full text of the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Sir K. Nazimuddin, Home Minister with the Bengal Government, on the discharge of political prisoners now released to the public, shows how with a little more imagination on the part of the Government, one of the most vexing problems of Bengal and, indeed, of all India, could have been solved to satisfaction. The 15 letters which comprise the correspondence cover a period of 5 months from April 12 to September 18, and considering how little difference there is between the positions taken up by Gandhiji and the Home Member, one cannot but regret there should have been any break-down in the negotiations. In trying to bring about a settlement, Gandhiji seems evidently to have gone to the farthest limit of concession.

In the statement following the release of the correspondence, Gandhiji gratefully recognises the Bengal Government's endeavour to make an approach to his proposal contained in the letter of April last. Their final rejection of his proposal is, therefore, a severe disappointment to him. Both agreed that the prisoners suffering from serious illness should be forthwith discharged. This seems to have been done. As for others, Gandhiji suggested that all who had 18 months or less to serve should be discharged at the latest within three months. Sir K. Nazimuddin agreed that prisoners with such short terms yet to serve should be released as soon as possible, provided—and this was the important difference—that "they have not been convicted of offences involving the actual commission of murder and serious violence". In regard to others he would do nothing more than appoint an advisory committee to go into their cases and make recommendations on the merits, the final decision resting in the Government's hands. But Gandhiji wanted that all prisoners having more than 18 months to serve should also be released within one year at the most.

The number of persons over whose release there has been a difference of opinion is no more than 260 according to the Government *communiqué*. Government argue that the release of these men who have been found guilty of murder, conspiracy and offences involving violence would be a risky affair. But Gandhiji who gives no quarter to violence, is convinced that they have completely discarded their old ideology and that a general release of such prisoners will itself bring a better atmosphere in Bengal. The case is one for statesmanship, not for a court of law. And then who does not know that nothing untoward has happened in the Provinces where there has been wholesale jail delivery? In Bengal itself over 2,000 prisoners have been set at liberty with no evil consequences. In the circumstances Government may well launch on a liberal, even bold policy. Government will do well to give "due weight to the positive assurances of non-violence given by the prisoners which those who have been discharged seem to have carried out faithfully". Gandhiji, therefore, renews his appeal to the Bengal Government "to respond to his proposal and release all the prisoners by April 18, 1939".

Muslim League on Federation

One of the strangest resolutions adopted by any body of responsible men in India was the following passed at the Muslim League Conference at Karachi on October 10, under the guidance of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal:—

This Conference recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of Constitution under which Moslem majority provinces, Moslem Native States and areas inhabited by a majority of Moslems may attain full independence in the form of a federation of their own with permission to any other Moslem States beyond the Indian frontiers to join the Federation and with such safeguards for non-Moslem minorities as may be conceded to the Moslem minorities in the non-Moslem Federation of India.

It is difficult for Indian nationalists to understand Mr. Jinnah's new nationalism, which seeks to federate Muslim India with Muslim States beyond the frontiers of India!

Industrial Planning for India

While pride of place is given to Gandhiji's programme of rural reconstruction and the improvement of cottage industries in Congress Provinces, it is common knowledge that not all Congressmen are content with small scale production. It is felt that the demands of modern civilization and the competitive life of our times make it imperative that we should go ahead with rapid industrialization. Presiding over a meeting of the Ministers of Industries in Congress Provinces held at Delhi, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, President of the Congress, struck the right note in his address when he made it clear that in his view India's economic future cannot be assured by making her a land of mere peasants and spinners. He observed:

There is at the present day a lot of loose talk about schemes for bringing about industrial recovery in this land. To my mind the principal problem that we have to face is not industrial recovery but industrialization. India is still in the pre-industrial stage of evolution. No industrial advancement is possible until we pass through the throes of an industrial revolution. If the industrial revolution is an evil, it is a necessary evil. We can only try our best to mitigate the ills that have attended its advent in other countries. Furthermore, we have to determine whether this revolution will be a comparatively gradual one, as in Great Britain, or a forced march as in Soviet Russia. I am afraid that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world as it is constituted to-day, a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition.

The aim obviously is to stimulate India's progress towards industrialization. And the Conference very sensibly set up a Planning Committee which will soon be at work with headquarters at Bombay; its proposals, when given final form, will be put before an All-India National Planning Commission. The co-operation of non-Congress Government and Rulers of States is invited; for without them no All-India dimension can be given to these labours.

Travancore Amnesty

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, acting under the advice of his Dewan, has been graciously pleased to order the release of all political prisoners and to suspend the operation of all notifications under the Travancore Criminal Law Amendment Regulation. No birthday gift to the State people could be more welcome than this generous act of clemency on the occasion of His Highness' 27th birthday. For over five months, Travancore has been the scene of violence and disorder, and the relations between the State authorities and a section of the people have been strained. The result has been much suffering to the people and quite as much concern outside the State. We congratulate the Maharaja and his Dewan on this wise and courageous step which, it is hoped, will be received as a generous gesture of the Government's desire to restore happy relations.

A striking feature of the release and the suspension of the irksome notifications is that they are not encumbered by any conditions. The Proclamation simply expresses the "confident hope that those to whom this clemency has been extended will take a lesson from the recent manifestations of civil disobedience with their calamitous results and that, henceforth, the subjects of His Highness will confine themselves to peaceful activities".

This act of His Highness and the Dewan shows that they can rely on the innate good nature of the people, and we sincerely hope the State authorities will not be disappointed in their expectation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Aftermath of Munich

THE sense of relief and satisfaction—the immediate result of the Munich settlement—has naturally been followed by a reaction not altogether favourable to British self-complacency. There is praise for Mr. Chamberlain's dramatic move, his patience, his indefatigable energy in the pursuit of peace, but the feeling that England and France had succumbed to the threats of a bully and let down a brave, little people like the Czechs is also persistent. War has been averted somehow, but is peace established? The reaction in the different States of Europe is characteristic. Berlin, we are told, welcomes the agreement as a great diplomatic victory for Herr Hitler, and by implication as a great defeat for Britain and France. He has got what he wanted from the Czechs without war. Opinion in Rome also regards the Agreement as a resounding victory for the Berlin-Rome axis, though it is not at all clear that Italy has done much in the matter beyond announcing that it was ready to march with Germany.

The Russians can hardly regard the drastic concessions agreed at Munich as anything but a resounding diplomatic victory for Germany.

Dr. Benes' Resignation

The resignation of Dr. Benes, President of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, marks the end of a great era. That a statesman of his outstanding eminence and tried experience should have found it necessary to resign, throws a lurid light on the implications of the Munich Agreement. Through all the dark days of the Czech tragedy, Dr. Benes conducted himself with a dignity and courage rarely equalled by any contemporary statesman. But the times are out of joint. And he has wisely relinquished his high office in favour of General Sirovy with whom Herr Hitler seems better disposed.

We are afraid that Franco-British tactics have thrown the Czechs into the arms of Germany.

The Japanese Push

The Sino-Japanese War is now concentrated between Hankow and Canton, and reports say that Japanese have occupied both cities. China seems to have experienced serious reverses in the South. There has been merciless bombing in Hankow which has since fallen, and harrowing scenes are described. The Chinese armies, which could not stand up to this onslaught, are reported to have withdrawn to the West. According to a Tokyo report, the Commander-in-Chief of the Cantonese armies has surrendered to the Japanese. The Powers have been given a warning to leave Yangtse in the neighbourhood of Hankow. The former Chinese ex-Premier speaks of peace terms offered by Japanese and adds that China may accept them if they will not hamper China's national existence. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek is reported to be planning new ways of resisting the enemy by gorilla tactics.

German Demand for Colonies

Now that the Powers have acquiesced in what Herr Hitler described as his "last territorial demand in Europe", the German demand for Colonies is being worked up gradually, and the speech of Dr. Goebbels at a mass meeting at Hamburg to celebrate the return of the troops from Sudeten land, is clear and outspoken in this connection. His characteristic statement was: "We get what is ours or we draw our sword." He is confident that Britain will not fight. The opinion in France on the Colonial question is divided, the majority however feels that it will be a grave error of strategy if the Cameroons are ceded to Germany. Reports indicate the probability of a joint Franco-German declaration of peace if not resettlement.

The Polish Demands

The ink was hardly dry on the Munich Pact when the Poles claimed their share of the spoil. Poland's chief concern was to take a mean advantage of the difficulties of a fellow Slav State. There is at least an element of justice in the German demand for Sudeten territory though none can approve of the gangster methods employed by Hitler.

The people of German stock, originally subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, included within the boundaries of the new Czecho-Slovak State in 1919 number nearly 3½ millions, and thus for 20 years have constituted by far the largest racial minority in Central Europe. It was natural that Germany, especially after the accomplishment of the *Anschluss*, should take interest in their welfare and that many of them should desire inclusion of their homeland in the Reich. By contrast, the Polish minority in Czecho-Slovakia concentrated almost entirely in the Teschen region, amounts to a mere 80,000, less than one-fortieth the German minority; yet it was for the immediate cession of the proportionately minute territory occupied by these people that Poland essayed to put forward a species of ultimatum on one of the most fateful days in Czecho-Slovakia's history of September 29.

The Poles quietly slipped into Teschen on the 2nd October after the Czechs had been forced to capitulate to the German demands.

Hungary's Ultimatum

Hungary has followed Poland. Far-reaching demands, which are regarded in Prague as involving the disintegration of Czecho-Slovakia's remaining territory, have been made in a Hungarian Note to the Czech Government. The Note demands the immediate cession to Hungary of a strip of territory which includes the towns of Bratislava, Kosice, Nitra Uzhorod, Muchacevo, Rognigovic, and Kevime, a plebiscite for the rest of Slovakia and a separate plebiscite for Ruthenia. It is stated that the Hungarian demands deprive Slovakia of all her fertile plains, leaving only barren mountainous regions for a suggested plebiscite.

Mr. de Valera's Warning

An important declaration on the existing partition of Ireland was made by Mr. de Valera at Dublin in the course of an interview with the London correspondent of the *Evening Standard*. Mr. de Valera said that he had abandoned any idea of a plebiscite which, though giving Eire more territory, would perpetuate the partition and urged Britain to persuade the six Ulster countries to join in an All-Ireland Parliament. Mr. de Valera offered Ulster autonomy in local affairs, asking only for guarantees for the nationalist minority in her area. While the partition remained, Mr. de Valera warned England that the chances of Eire's co-operation with Britain in the event of a European war were very slight. Mr. de Valera added:

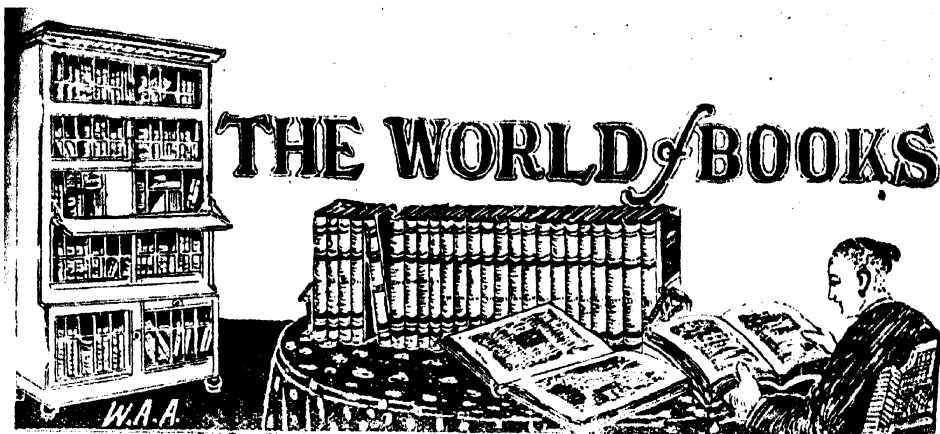
The present partition of Ireland is a dangerous anachronism which must be ended. These three hundred miles of artificial frontier separating the north from the rest of Eire is the deepest wound which the English people have inflicted on the Irish people—a wound which keeps alive the ancient antagonism between the English who are morally responsible for the existence of the division and an overwhelming majority of the Irish race. I believe the partition can be ended by peaceful negotiation and with due regard to the sentiments and susceptibilities of all sections.

Palestine

The situation in Palestine has gone from bad to worse during the last few weeks. The revolt seems to have been both severe and wide-spread. Civil rule has for the moment been suspended, and Military Commanders have replaced Commissioners throughout Palestine, where the situation is calmer now. The troops, however, continue to carry out searches. United States reiterates its assurance to do everything in its power to preserve Palestine as a National Home for Jews.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Oct. 1. German troops occupy the Sudeten territory according to the Munich Agreement.
- Oct. 2. Mr. S. C. Bose opens the Conference of Industries Ministers at New Delhi.
- Oct. 3. Congress Working Committee expels Dr. Khare, the ex-C. P. Premier, from the Congress.
- Oct. 4. Dr. Benes resigns: General Sirovy reconstitutes the Czech Cabinet.
- Oct. 5. Peshawar gives a rousing reception to Mahatma Gandhi.
- Oct. 6. The House of Commons approve the Munich Pact by 366 to 144 votes.
- Oct. 7. Italian Fascist Grand Council prohibits marriages between Italians and Jews and other non-Aryans.
- Oct. 8. Lord Mayor of London broadcasts an appeal for funds for the relief of refugees in Czecho-Slovakia.
- Oct. 9. Gen. Franco agrees to withdraw 80 per cent. of foreigners fighting on his side.
- Oct. 10. The Indian History Congress meets at Allahabad under the presidency of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.
- Oct. 11. Hungarian troops make a gesture of occupying the towns ceded by the Czechs.
- Oct. 12. Col. Muirhead, Under-Secretary of State for India, arrives at Bombay.
- Oct. 13. Sind Premier refuses to form a Muslim League Party of the Legislature even after Mr. Jinnah's persuasion.
- Oct. 14. Czech-Hungarian talks break down: Hungary appeals to the Parties to the Munich Pact to settle her claims.
- Oct. 15. Bombay Assembly carries the Forfeited Lands Bill.
- Oct. 16. Czech Foreign Minister assures Herr Hitler that Czecho-Slovakia would in future observe a loyal attitude towards Germany.
- Oct. 17. British Military chiefs take charge of the city of Jerusalem as an emergency measure in Palestine.
- Oct. 18. Nagpur citizens present an address of welcome to Mr. Subash Chandra Bose.
- Oct. 19. The C. P. Non-Brahmin Conference meets at Nagpur under the presidentship of Mr. K. M. Jedhe and decides to join the Indian National Congress.
- Oct. 20. The Japanese capture Tsenghering, 85 miles from Canton.
—British troops drive away all Arabs from old Jerusalem.
- Oct. 21. Canton falls; the Japanese troops enter the city and occupy it.
- Oct. 22. H. H. Maharajah of Travancore grants amnesty to political prisoners; all persons convicted under the Travancore Criminal Law Amendment Regulations are released unconditionally.
- Oct. 23. The Industrial Planning Committee of India meets at Bombay and decides to prepare a map of industrial possibilities of India.
- Oct. 24. Their Excellencies the Marquess of Linlithgow and the Marchioness of Linlithgow arrive in India.
- Oct. 25. Hungary informs Prague proposing immediate military occupation of Czech ceded areas.
- Oct. 26. Bulgarian National Assembly votes £9,000,000 for rearming.
—Select Committee on the Indian Income-tax Bill concludes its labours.
- Oct. 27. The Duke of Kent is appointed Governor-General of Australia.
- Oct. 28. Hankow has fallen; the Chinese retreat to the west.



THE "LAW RELATING TO PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND AMUSEMENT. By K. Venkoba Rao, M.L. Price Rs. 15. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras).

The book, as is evident from the title, deals with subjects that are mainly concerned with the leisure hour activities of the people. An excellent attempt has been made to elucidate the knotty and controversial points in law on which authority is either vague or silent. References to Indian and English authorities and even to American decisions have been made. The book, apart from its professional appeal to the people in the line, is extremely interesting in some sections even to the lay reader. The genesis and growth from the bill to the Law stage of the British Cinematograph Films Act are given exhaustive treatment. Among the other special features of its contents may be mentioned the Radio Act of America, the Australian Films Act, the Indian Law with reference to Statutes and decisions, a special chapter on the American Law and the Law pertaining to Indian States. A well arranged subject index facilitates easy and quick reference.

MODERN SWEDEN. Edited by Erik Nylander. Published by the General Export Association of Sweden, Stockholm.

This picture book of Sweden gives us a comprehensive idea of its people, its institutions, its natural resources and the growth of the country in its economic and social aspects during the past fifty years. Five decades back, Sweden was mainly a self-contained agricultural country. But during the period momentous changes have taken place. Powerful and diversified industries have been created. The value of Sweden's export trade has mounted up nearly seven hundred per cent. The leading events of the period include the establishment of engineering and electrical industries with ramifications abroad and markets in many countries; the building up of a competitive ship-building industry; the establishment of overseas shipping lines to most parts of the world; the inception and enormous growth of the wood-pulp and paper industries. The reorganisation of the erstwhile iron trade into a modern steel industry for the manufacture of finished steel products and the electrification of the country by harnessing of waterfalls are also important,

PRAYERS, PRAISES AND PSALMS. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. With a Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Re. 1.

This is a Companion Volume to the great triad—The Ramayana, Mahabharata and Srimad Bhagavata—already published by Natesans. It includes selections from The Vedas, Upanishads, Epics, Gita, Puranas, Agamas, Tantras, Kavyas and the writings of the Acharyas and others. The Volume thus covers the entire field of Sanskrit Literature from the Vedas down to the latest writers of devotional poetry. No sect has been ignored; no religious bias has prejudiced the selection, and the differing needs of persons on various levels of spiritual and religious development have been kept in view. Indeed, no effort has been spared to render this book representative, comprehensive, and up-to-date. The Prayers are rendered into easy and elegant English. The book is enriched with a Foreword from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi, who says:

The collection presented in this volume does enable one like me to know how our ancestors prayed to the One Supreme Lord of the Universe and in what words they derived solace in the hour of their trial or gave praise in the hour of their so-called triumph. May this collection help the reader to dispel his unbelief or strengthen his belief.

THIS CIVILISATION. By P. R. Kaikini. Published by the New Book Company, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.

The book is a strong indictment of several destructive tendencies in modern civilisation. An earnest practical minded poet looks out upon the every-day world of today and expresses his reactions. The poems deal with a variety of subjects ranging from slaughter-house to relativity.

WHERE THEOSOPHY AND SCIENCE MEET.

Edited by D. D. Kanga, I.E.S. (Retd.) Adyar Library Association, Madras.

The book under review is a collection of articles from scientifically minded and sincere theosophists. They are all striving to point out that the conclusions of theosophy as expressed in Madame Blavatsky are in keeping with the truths of modern science. The book is divided into four parts, the first part deals with the evolution from macrocosm to microcosm; (2) from Atom to Man; (3) from humanity to Divinity; and (4) deals with some practical applications. The book is interesting reading, but in some portions it is a bit recondite and its appeal is not universal. To a student of Vedanta the conclusions of theosophy have a charm all its own. The book is a fine attempt to bridge religion and science.

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF ZOROASTER. By Prof. A. R. Wadia. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. As. 12. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, 10 as.

This is the third Volume in the series of "World Teachers" which includes the life and teachings of Buddha and Mahomed already published, and of Krishna and Christ in preparation. In the six chapters that comprise the book, Prof. Wadia describes the historical background of the Founder of Zoroastrianism, traces the life and career of the great Prophet and discusses the Philosophy of Zoroaster and later Zoroastrianism.

The book will appeal not only to the followers of the Faith of Zoroaster but to men of other faiths anxious to obtain a proper knowledge and appreciation of the Great Teacher and Prophet of the Parsis.

SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM: An Essay in Synthesis. By C. N. Menon. Oxford University Press.

This is a remarkable book, fine in thought as well as expression, and quite unlike the familiar stuff about unities and plots. Dr. Menon shows how an Indian can appreciate Shakespeare.

Hamlet is in all of us; he is not a dead relic preserved in the British Museum. This indicates Dr. Menon's main thesis. It rests on the profound identity of human beings, of the passions and reactions in all ages and in all lands. Dr. Menon shows how Shakespeare's great art made the ephemeral transparent through imaginative identification and laid bare the eternal inner entities.

Dr. Menon's contribution is striking and original. He is an athlete in the writer's art; he probes into the inner core of Shakespeare's tragedies; and, with an economy of words, presents its objectivity so that it tells itself.

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE CIVILIZATION OF ANCIENT INDIA. By N. G. Choudary. W. Newman & Co., Ltd., 8, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.

This is a review of the finds at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, pertaining to the Indus Valley civilization from the point of view of agriculture. Both the Indus Valley Civilization and the Rigveda prove that from the earliest times India is an agricultural country.

AN ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL TOUR IN CEYLON. By H. L. Ludowyk. Published by the author, No. 1007, Perandeniya Road, Kandy, Ceylon. Rs. 5.

The author in his early years travelled all over Ceylon with his father, who was employed in the medical service and has recorded here his observations on a variety of topics. He gives descriptions of places and institutions and deals with many personalities in the sphere of education.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SEPARATE STAR. By Francis Foster. Victor Gollancz, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.

THE WAR AGAINST THE WEST. By Aurel Kolnai. Victor Gollancz, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London.

VEDANTAM: THE CLASH OF TRADITIONS: A novel by V. V. Chintamani. Heath Cranton, Ltd., Fleet Street, London, W.C. 4.

SRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA. By Bawa Jivan Singh. Navroz Printing Press, 30, Ezra Street, Calcutta.

BHAKTI AND PRAHLAD. By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Manoharlal Mehtani, Member, Divine Life Society, Mooltan City.

RAJA YOGA. By Swami Sivananda. Published by Swami Paramananda. Divine Life Society, Rikhikesh.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIVINE LIFE SOCIETY. Rikhikesh, Dehra Dun, Himalayas.

ROUTINE FOR BRANCHES OF THE DIVINE LIFE SOCIETY. Rikhikesh, District Dehra Dun, (Himalayas).

A NOTE ON THE INCOME-TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL. By Dr. M. S. Natarajan, M.A., Ph.D. Director, Dewan Chand Political Information Bureau, 30, Feroze Shah Road, New Delhi.

THE OILSEED TRADE OF INDIA. By J. C. Bahl. New Book Company, Bombay.

RADHA: A HINDU BELLE. By Innocent Sousa. New Book Company, Bombay.

INTERPRETATION OF A FEW PRAYERS FROM THE KHORDAH-AVESTA. By Lady Dastur. New Book Company, Bombay.

INTERPRETATION OF ZARATHUSTRA'S GATHAS. By Lady Dastur. New Book Company, Bombay.

SUFISM. Life of Saint Bachal Shah. By Dewan Lalchand Navalrai, M.L.A. Larkana.

THE GANDHI SUTRAS. By D. S. Sarma, M.A. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras) Rs. 1-8.

THE INDIAN STATES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935. By Sardar Ranbir Singh, Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

AVIATION IN HYDERABAD

H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have under consideration a scheme of internal aviation in the State. The largest transport co-ordination in India has been successfully attempted in Hyderabad State and the Government have taken up the expansion of airways in the State which, when completed, will provide ample facilities for internal aviation.

A scheme has been drafted and approved by the Advisory Committee by which the development of aviation had been divided into the technical and the non-technical branches. The technical side which includes the training of pilots and other staff, the selection of routes and landing grounds and their management will be under the N. S. Railway. The non-technical or the social side will be under the Army Secretariat and will be confined to the management of the Aero Club at Begumpet.

Osmanabad, a place on the Air Mail route between Karachi and Hyderabad, is selected as a forced landing ground. The Air Port building at Begumpet may be extended to suit the expanded scheme. Some technical staff who are already under training, may be absorbed into Government service, and some more trained. The Aero Club now owns four aeroplanes which will be sufficient for training the necessary staff.

THE NIZAM AS CHANCELLOR

The Nizam of Hyderabad was unanimously re-elected Chancellor of the Aligarh University, at a special meeting of the University Court held on September 24. Sir Mohamed Sulaiman presided.

Mysore

MYSORE ADMINISTRATION

Addressing the Mysore Representative Assembly on September 28, Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan, said that the accounts for 1937-38 showed an improvement of Rs. 8½ lakhs over the estimated revenue and savings of Rs. 2½ lakhs in expenditure. Excise revenue rose from Rs. 58,45,791 to Rs. 54,16,574 in spite of an increase in illicit distillation of liquor.

The Dewan made a survey of the activities of various departments of the administration during the year. The supply of electricity was considerably extended, 174 towns and villages having been electrified by the end of the year. Various irrigation works have been completed. There was great progress also in medical relief and child welfare. Fifteen maternity homes were opened during the year.

The Dewan announced that the Committee appointed by the Government to examine questions relating to the expansion of primary education had recommended the opening of 1,000 schools in four years, half the cost of the scheme being met by Government and half by local bodies.

DEWAN'S LUNCHEONS

Sir Mirza Ismail has established a healthy precedent during the session of the Mysore Representative Assembly.

Every day during the mid-day interval, he invites some two score members of varying political faith to lunch with him. This not only enables him to make valuable contacts with members but breaks down those barriers that are apt to grow between the administrative and non-official elements in the State.

Baroda

H. H. THE GAEKWAR'S SPEECHES

We welcome the fourth volume in the series—*Speeches and Addresses of H. H. The Maharaja of Baroda*—edited by C. E. Newham and specially printed at the Cambridge University Press. The present volume contains the speeches and addresses delivered by His Highness on various occasions during the years 1984-88. Some speeches, omitted from the previous volumes have been included in this. The task of preparing and editing of this volume was entrusted by the Maharaja to Mr. C. E. Newham. The handsome book, printed in feather-weight paper and attractively got up, is a worthy addition to the series.

MR. PARKINSON FOR BARODA

Mr. J. E. Parkinson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India who is shortly retiring from service, has been offered by the Baroda State an important post for reorganising education in the State. Mr. Parkinson is expected to proceed to Baroda next year.

Patiala

THE PATIALA CABINET

For nearly 15 years Nawab Sir Liaquat Hyat Khan, either as Home Minister, or as Prime Minister, has been the principal adviser of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and the Vice-President of the Cabinet. The following constitute His Highness's Ministry:—

Nawab Sir Liaquat Hyat Khan, Prime Minister.

Raja Hari Kishan Kaul, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.B., Revenue Minister.

Dewan Bahadur Pindi Das Sabherwal, Minister of Law and Justice.

Major K. M. Panikkar, Foreign and Education Minister.

Capt. M. N. Raina, Minister of Public Health and Legislation.

Mr. C. V. Dickon, C.S.G., Finance Minister.

Travancore

THE DEWAN'S STATEMENT

"If, following Mr. Gandhi's advice, the memorandum is unreservedly withdrawn and if that Civil Disobedience which demonstrably has led to violent manifestations is terminated, there can be no objection to the pursuit of normal political activities within the law and to the release of those now in jail for Civil Disobedience," says Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, in a statement to the Press. After recounting the various incidents of mob violence, the Dewan says:

The fair name of Travancore which has always been known for cultural and political progress, peaceful habits of life and sobriety of thought is being tarnished. The continuance of this atmosphere of violence will produce disastrous results.

At this juncture it is the duty of every citizen of Travancore to contribute his mite towards the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere in the land. This is the time when what is needed most is a situation wherein everyone concerned can think and act with coolness and deliberation. With a view to securing peace and harmony in the country, we make this fervent appeal to all who have the welfare and good name of Travancore at heart to discourage every act of violence and put a stop to all demonstrations and not indulge in or encourage any defiance.

May we also appeal to our friends outside Travancore to refrain from words or deeds which may have the effect of encouraging a spirit of defiance of constituted authority and of further complicating the situation?

It is our firm hope that as soon as the present excitement and tension disappear, Government will relinquish all those extraordinary powers which they assumed for the emergency and release of all political prisoners.

A PEACE COMMITTEE

A scheme for the formation of a Peace Committee in Travancore for the maintenance of peace and order and to carry on propaganda for non-violence, is announced by Dewan Bahadur V. S. Subramania Ayyar, retired Dewan of Travancore, Mr. S. Chattanatha Karayalar, Deputy President of the Travancore Legislative Assembly, and a number of other prominent citizens, in a statement issued on October 20.

Kashmir

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN KASHMIR

In the course of a debate in the State Assembly at Srinagar, Dewan Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, the Premier, said :

We have carried out a survey of cottage industries in Kashmir. It is my intention that a similar survey be conducted with regard to cottage industries in Jammu province. The Government has now under consideration a proposal for giving substantial help to the All-India Spinners' Association, which has done very good work in helping the cottage workers in Kashmir Valley and steps will be taken to see whether the activities of this Association can be extended to Jammu Province also.

The Government, the Prime Minister continued, had already increased the number of model farms and provided facilities to impart training to young men. Similarly young men will be trained in the Silk Weaving Factory. The Sports Factory had also decided to train 10 Hindus and 10 Muslims in bat-making industry. One of the prominent features in the Silk Weaving Factory would be that training would be given in the use of power-looms. The Government had already under consideration a scheme to send young men to places where methods regarding cottage industries were taught.

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

Leading Hindu and Sikh members of the Kashmir Assembly have issued a statement over the recent national demand. In laying before the public their considered opinion on the subject, they say that the so-called demand has been signed mostly by the members of the extremist Muslim party in the State, and as such, it should be viewed with great caution. They feel they owe a duty to the public to declare that this demand has not their support at present, since the acceptance of the demand would be an acceptance of the absolute rule of the Muslim majority, which would in no way be conducive to the development of nationalism in its true sense.

Cochin

COCHIN PORT

The Government of Cochin have concluded their negotiations with the Government of India in regard to the sale of 150 acres of reclaimed land on the Willingdon Island and the Government of India have agreed to grant a loan of Rs. 28,42,000 to the Cochin Port authorities to enable the latter to buy from the Cochin Government 150 acres of reclaimed land in the Willingdon island.

On payment of the above amount, the ownership of this 150 acres of land will be transferred to the Port authorities subject to the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Maharaja of Cochin.

General

CONGRESS AND STATES

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, presiding over the Mysore State Students' Conference on October 15th, observed :

The nationalism of the Indian National Congress is not of the narrow communal and sectional type. It would not rest satisfied with freedom from alien shackles alone. In its view the freedom in external relations must be completed and broadened by freedom within and equality of rights for all Indians.

Dealing with the question of the Indian States, Mr. Bose stated :

I would reiterate my belief that the introduction of the democratic form of government in them is inevitable sooner or later. But the extension of the Congress organisation to them presents problems of its own. The power and prestige of the Indian National Congress in British India and its network of organisation there have not been a quick growth. It took nearly 40 years of intense effort and untold sacrifice to make the Congress the premier political organisation in British India and this development was the result not of external but internal vitality. For the Congress to be robust in the States it must also follow the same principles and travel the same path.

We feel that the freedom movement is likely to be more spontaneous and have a broader basis if it draws its main strength from the people of the States.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

£25,000 FOR NATAL INDIANS

A sum of £25,000 collected originally by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894 and invested for political work on behalf of the Natal Indian community has been lying idle all these years. Information from Durban shows that a serious effort is to be made to gain control of this amount. The new Agent in South Africa, Mr. Rama Rao, has been approached to take steps, through legislation in the South African Parliament, to release the money from legal difficulties that surround it.

It is learnt that after the departure of Mahatma Gandhi in 1914 for India, an interdict was applied for an account of differences among officials of the Natal Congress. The funds and properties purchased in the Prince Edward Street and May Street in Durban were placed in the hands of a receiver. After some years in 1921, an application for funds was made to the Supreme Court which refused the request on the ground that the resuscitated Congress was not a legal successor of the 1894 Congress. Many Agents have in the past made attempts to free the money, and now Mr. Rama Rao has been approached to ensure the realisation of this amount.

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

The difficulties that Indians in general and Indian labour in particular are undergoing in the Malaya States are described by Sri K. A. Neelakandha Iyer, Honorary Secretary of the Central Indian Association of Malaya in his "Indian Problems in Malaya," published by the Indian Office, Kuala Lumpur. Can Indian labour ever organize itself and consolidate its position? The author says no.

"At their best, the Malay States are benevolent autocracies, and autocracies, though they may be attractive, picturesque and paternal are intolerant of criticism or of constitutional opposition." The author adds that if a group of employees wished to form a union, it could not be done under the existing Societies' Enactment. Even if the Enactment was amended any society so formed could be dissolved without any reasons being assigned.

"This is the general fate of an indigent wage-earning class—a landless proletariat whom India dumps on Malaya and whom Malaya utilises till they are able to render her services," sums up the author. "The stragglers who remain behind in Malaya become the tragic orphans—of whom India has well nigh forgotten and Malaya looks down upon with contempt—as worthless drags in a prosperous society."

Ceylon

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON

Despite the serious shortage of labour voiced by the Chairman of the Planters' Association of Ceylon, because of the increase in the quota allotted for 1939 and 1940 by the Rubber Regulation Committee, the Executive Committee of Labour have disagreed with the view of Sir Edward Jackson and have recommended to the Board of Ministers for introduction of only a controlled system of labour immigration from India.

This control, we are told, is to take the form of licences to be issued for specified forms of labour. The Government of India are closely watching the situation and feel that the stage for their making any representation through their Agent in Ceylon has not yet been reached.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Maulana Abdulla Misri, a member of the Burma delegation, in the course of a statement says: "There is not a single place in the entire length and breadth of Burma, where the lives of Indians are safe. In some places Indians are living like captives, while in others their condition is still worse. He points out that in Burma there is no Hindu-Muslim question, and Indians of all shades of opinion are working in close co-operation.

The Indians in Burma have sufficient reason to believe that the present disturbance in Burma is the result of a pre-meditated and organised conspiracy to drive them out of Burma. They are convinced that the only way open to them is to migrate from Burma and that is the reason that they are leaving Burma in thousands. The Burmese will not take rest until they see Burma completely freed of the Indian settlers."

America

INDIA AND AMERICA

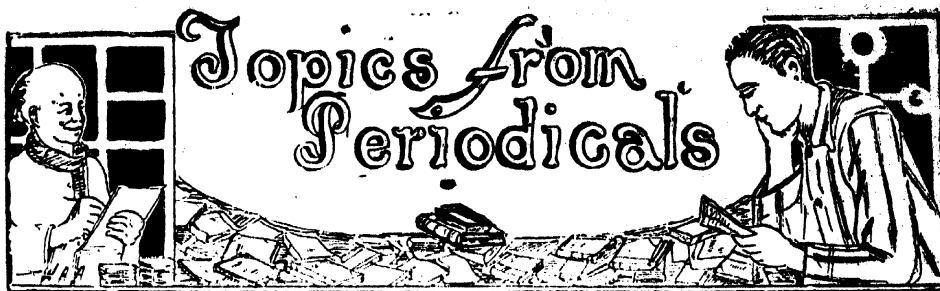
"For the promotion of healthy world peace and the expansion of human happiness the world over, it is a matter of paramount importance that America and India come closer together in cultural co-operation, direct trade agreements, and spiritual fraternity," says Mr. Basant Kumar Roy. The union of the two extremes, as represented by America and India, will help much in creating a perfect human society on this planet. It may be a good thing for India to remember, Mr. Roy continues, that America today needs India's trade more than ever before. She is fast losing her trade in China and Manchuria. Her Latin American trade is not growing very fast. And America's statesmen and leaders of business

know that a devastating war in Europe is inevitable, if not imminent. When that war starts, Britain's lion's share in India's trade will be considerably crippled, if not totally annihilated. And America is preparing to capture the trade of 375,000,000 people of India. America knows of India's great love for America. And good will is a mighty factor in the peaceful conquest of commerce. India's national statesmen, manufacturers and merchants must now learn how to play their cards wisely and well for the good of India. And in this international educational work, says Mr. Roy, the India Chamber of Commerce of America is destined to play a great role in the near future. "America's first duty at this juncture, however, is to place India's emigration to America on a quota basis. This will further foster America's trade with India."

General

"INDIANS OVERSEAS"

There are several thousands of Indians living overseas, most of them distributed as labourers, peasants and petty traders in Ceylon, Malaya, Kenya, South Africa, Zanzibar, Fiji, Mauritius and Trinidad. They are all miserably groaning under the weight of disabilities of various sorts. The Governments aim at a perpetuation of injustice to Indians by invidious legislation which, at every turn, checks the progress and peace of Indians. On top of everything the hydra-headed monster 'colour' plays his own havoc. Some attempts were earnestly made by savants like Gandhiji, Andrews, and Rt. Hon'ble Sastri to redress the wrongs. But they have not been fruitful. Mr. T. S. Rajagopalan's "Indians Overseas" (Santhepet, Mysore, Price. Re. 1) is just another cry in the wilderness, a cry over a grievance long remaining unredressed,



DEFENCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH

A writer in the *Round Table* gives a detailed consideration to the problem of strategy and power as it faces the nations of the British Commonwealth to-day. Two main points stand out:

The British Commonwealth for two reasons is much more vulnerable now than it was in 1914. The first reason is that whereas in 1914 it had only one hostile navy to consider if the anti-Comintern pact were to become a military *entente*, it might now have to face naval war on three fronts—the North Sea, Mediterranean and the Far East. Such an onset the British navy, at its present or its planned strength, could not by itself sustain. The French navy, however, is a strong support in the Mediterranean. Moreover, while the United States adheres to her policy of armed isolation, she seems to contemplate keeping a larger fleet than the Japanese in the Pacific, and this fact acts as a strong deterrent to any possible attempt by Japan to attack Singapore, or the Dutch Islands, or Australasia.

The second weakness of the British Commonwealth is the new vulnerability of Great Britain and of the communications of the Empire from the air. The proclaimed air standard for Britain is parity with the strongest near-by Continental Power. But parity must refer not only to quality and quantity of front line aeroplanes but also to the means of defending industrial cities and ports including the organisation, evacuation and provisioning of the civilian population of vast cities like London under the kind of constant aerial bombardment that modern air forces can inflict. Germany is said to be so organised that she can deal with 25,000 air-raid casualties per diem in the event of war. To-day, Great Britain has not more than half the aeroplanes, half the organised productive power and half the anti-aircraft organisation that Germany possesses, and France is alleged by an eminent French General that she does not possess more than a third of these.

That is the one of the main reasons for the recent decision to correlate the armaments of the two countries for defensive purposes.

DO STARS INFLUENCE HUMAN LIVES?

It is given to the Jewish nations in Jerusalem to believe in the mysterious powers of the stars and their influence on their lives. An Egyptian gentleman's question: "What do you think of palmistry, and other sciences like phrenology and astrology, and is it true that the newly born is influenced by his horoscope?" has provoked a reply from the Rev. J. Badean of the American University, Cairo, who avers in an article in the September issue of the *Orient and Occident* that stars certainly do not influence our lives and the belief that it does is nothing but a childish superstition that should long since have been outgrown. The writer concludes:

Astrology, palmistry, phrenology and the like are not only theoretically ridiculous, practically impossible, and scientifically discredited, but when seriously accepted may have very grave results on character. If astrology is true, man has no freedom whatever. The thief steals, not because he is hungry or envious of another's goods but because the stars make him do it. War overtakes the world and plunges the nations into blood, not because national greed and rivalry break their bonds but because the senseless stars of the sky happen to be in a certain position. The schoolboy fails in his examination, not because he was lazy during the first term but because he was born on the wrong day. To believe this cuts the nerve of all endeavour, commercial as well as moral. Why strive for success when the stars have already determined failure? Why seek to lead an honest and upright life when Jupiter and Venus are bent on making a thief of you? Utter fatalism at its worst with a complete loss of any meaning in life is the logical outcome of those who believe that men's lives are ordered by the stars above, or the lines on their hands, or the bumps on their heads. What is worse than all this, astrology makes a vital belief in God meaningless and practically impossible.

JAPAN AND CHINA

The Chinese war is dragging on and every day adds to the chances of Chiang Kai-Shek, whom hostilities surprised in the task of reorganising the army and country. The immense hinterland and the endless reserves of man power he can rely on, says the *New Review*, allow him to view with some equanimity the successive advances of the Japanese.

Every day, we are told, Chiang's troops are improving while the Japanese seem to deteriorate. Not that the Nippon soldier is any less bold or tough than his prototype of Port Arthur fame. What is degenerating is the Japanese command: a wave of indiscipline among officers gives the High Command cause for anxiety. It is true that with their craving for speed, "glorious performances are made and tremendous disasters are brought on".

Lightning advances of 70 miles in two days are recorded; rushes along railway lines overtake trains which have to wait for repairs as on the Tientsin-Tainan and the Peking-Hankow railways; river banks are reached in helter-skelter style. But the neighbouring districts are left in the possession of Chinese bands, who relish guerilla warfare, cutting lines of communications and surprising small observation posts.

These rushes are individualist feats, and individual regiments are 50 miles from the position assigned them on the headquarters' maps; units which had been detailed to march on Kaifeng overran the elbow of the Yellow River and finally met with disaster. Military regulations are thrown to the winds and selfish initiative leads to defeat. During the advance on the northern front which was stopped by floods, artillery men left their guns to go and fire rifles on the advanced positions; it was a brave deed, but foolish tactics. The leading principle of the Japanese seems to be not to destroy the live forces of the enemy but to rush ahead; this policy is well brought out in the capture of towns. Every time a city is to be taken, parleys are held and geographical objectives agreed on but the Chinese army is always left a safe line of retreat; the town is occupied and the enemy has escaped.

With such methods the war is giving Chiang Kai-Shek the breathing space he needs to train his new army.

AESTHETICS

The pleasure that one derives from Beauty, the expression of unity in creation has varying effects depending on the lines on which it is sought. One leaves us exhausted, satiated and even injured while the other leaves us ennobled, soothed and inspired. Sensual enjoyment in its very nature cannot last long. It is only aesthetic enjoyment that is lasting. Mr. Rameschandra Ghosh in the October issue of the *Calcutta Review* has written an instructive article on the subject under the title "Nature of our aesthetic faculty". Aesthetic pleasure, he says,

is a pure, spiritual, supersensuous pleasure without any personal desire for gross possession. Here the ego of man becomes submerged in the embrace of the eternal idea. Here one gets a glimpse of one's supermaterial nature, the unity of his being with the living soul of the universe which is ever romantic, never stale, perpetually beautiful though constantly changing forms. Aesthetic pleasure is quite different from hedonistic pleasure. It is something quite superficial and useless, yet vitally necessary for self-expression and self-realisation. We cannot dispense with it without rolling back to primitive barbarism. Aesthetic pleasure is the only pure joy which is not loaded with passion or greed, pain or grief. Aesthetics of pure beauty is the same thing as art or intuition or expression. It may be mystical and transcendental, spiritual or beatific, capturing imagination and producing thrills but it must be expressive and have subjective universality. The Beautiful is that which apart from concepts is represented as the object of a universal satisfaction.

Aesthetic pleasure is an end in itself, not instrumental to the satisfaction of other wants. It is not a prop to material enjoyment but it is a pure ethereal enjoyment, the 'release of the tension of the soul'. Artistic enjoyment gives us a noble, elevating pleasure whereas the sensual pleasure overwhelms us physically. A genius, a highly cultured man cannot live without aesthetic pleasure. It is as much a natural food for his sustenance and higher development as light, air and milk.

THE TECHNIQUE OF SATYAGRAHA

"The method of non-violent non-co-operation steps in as a really effective substitute for war. It does not propose to do away with war, it does not charm men away from the reality of worldly conflicts but it raises the quality of those very conflicts by bringing into operation a spirit of love and a sense of human brotherhood. Satyagraha is not a substitute for war; it is war itself shorn of many of its ugly features and guided by a purpose far nobler than what we generally associate with destruction. It is itself an intensely heroic and chivalrous form of war." In these words Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose summarises the philosophy and the technique of Satyagraha in the October number of the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. Writing of the qualifications of the true Satyagrahi, Mr. Bose says:—

The first article of faith with the Satyagrahi is the need of recognizing and of loving all mankind as one. The Satyagrahi also holds that love is never consistent with exploitation in any shape or form. Exclusive possession can never go together with love. If we have love in us, we can only possess when every one else can also possess the same thing if he needs it. In accordance with this fundamental belief, the Satyagrahi holds that whenever there is a conflict of interests in human society, there must be something wrong somewhere. And if we can look into the situation with patience enough, a way can surely be found to restore the sense of human unity and at the same time to serve the best interests of humanity taken as a whole. It will be a way illumined by love and one in which there would be no room for exploitation of any human being.

The Satyagrahi also believes that such a solution can be best arrived at if he himself and his adversary can somehow put their heads together. But the adversary can hardly be made to realize the injustice of his position by mere talking and argumentation. If we shoot him dead or cow him down by violence, it does not help the case very much. Fear demoralizes and raises fresh barriers to better understanding in the hearts of men in authority to-day. Pride and self-defence stiffen their back and make them less amenable to reason, justice and fair play. The Satyagrahi has, therefore, to devise some means of dealing with them effectively and it is through self-suffering that he proposes to do so.

Let us explain what the Satyagrahi exactly understands by self-suffering. It has already been said that the first law of the Satyagrahi is the law of love. The second law which follows from love is that the way to the adversary's head is not through the head but through the heart. He believes that it is only through suffering voluntarily and cheerfully endured that the way can be opened to better understanding and a due recognition on the part of the adversary of the injustice of his own position. The Satyagrahi knows that all systems of exploitation thrive in the world, because both the exploiter and the exploited co-operate in their maintenance. The exploited do so through fear but they co-operate with the exploiters all the same. It is just here that the Satyagrahi sees his best opportunity of voluntary suffering. He tries to wreck the system of exploitation by refusing to co-operate with it and thus draws upon his devoted head all the repression his adversary is capable of administering.

Thus, if a Satyagrahi stands unmoved through the shower of repression, his sufferings heroically endured are likely to touch the heart of the oppressor and thus pave the way for mutual discussion and a joint effort to build up a social system without the injustices of the present.

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Secretary.

FEDERALISM

The October issue of the *Aryan Path* has two articles on a subject of importance to Indians and Britishers. Mr. James Truslow Adams writes about the history of Federalism in the United States. Commenting on the successful working of the Federal Constitution in the last 150 years, Mr. Truslow says :

On the whole, perhaps, the three principles which have taken deepest root in the public mind, after a century and a half of experimenting with Federalism, have been that there must be a supreme and wholly independent court to maintain the constitution and our constitutional liberties; that the checks and balances of the three departments of the Federal Government must be maintained; and lastly that in spite of the necessarily increasing power of the Federal Government owing to modern conditions of life, the balance between that Government and the powers of the individual states must be maintained as far as possible.

... We are a comparatively new, and now a very mixed nation racially, yet I believe that a large part of the population would agree that the three principles mentioned in the preceding paragraph are those which we must cling to if we are to maintain our Federal and democratic way of government, and we cling to them not as the result of theorizing; but as the result of generations of experience.

Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, who follows it up with his valuable observations on Indian Federation, admits "that a federal form of Government of India may be looked upon as a retrograde step, but on the other hand it may also be considered to be the only way achieving some measure of unity over an area where great diversity of interests and lack of political homogeneity prevail". Is the principle of self-government safe under the proposed Federation for India? Mr. Subba Rao answers this question clearly in the following words :

This is the cardinal issue and the critics of the proposed Indian Federation object to it, not because of their reluctance to accept the federal principle but because under the federal form the old subjection to external control continues. The numerous safeguards and the special powers of

the Governor-General are both prominent factors in the situation. The people further want the constitution of the Central Government to be democratic and representative of the people, but indirect elections to the Federal Assembly and the system of nomination of their representatives by the rulers of the Indian States both detract from the representative character of the Federal Assembly. It is only by enlarging the field of popular control at the centre and by making the Federal Legislature more decisively representative of the people, that the new constitution can be made acceptable to the country.

These observations, says Mr. Subba Rao, are considerations not of direct relevance when we are discussing the federal principle, but they are of vital importance when we are discussing the operation of the Federal Constitution as contemplated by the Government of India Act of 1935.

MODERN OUTLOOK IN LITERATURE

Writing on literary criticism, Cyril Modak says in the *New Review* :

In impressionism the personality of the critic intrudes and projects itself to take the centre of the stage. In dogmatism extraneous rules and standards, principles and technique crowd the work of art out of sight. In historical criticism the details of the environment, the tendencies of the age, the heritage of the race and the characteristics of the school of the artist spread a fleecy cloud over the work of art. In psychological criticism the artist is psycho-analysed at length and the work of art is swallowed by the whale of technical terminology. The new criticism emphasizes interpretation. The business of the critic is to use all the material available to communicate to men in their language a beauty they have no eyes to see, a joy they have no sense to feel, a truth they have no insight to comprehend. So long as men are different in original endowment, training and degree of culture so long will critics be needed to mediate between those who create beauty and those who vaguely feel its power.

THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

Mahatma Gandhi, writing in a recent issue of the *Harijan*, refers to the European crisis and says that "Europe has sold her soul for the sake of seven days' earthly existence." The peace in Europe gained at Munich is a triumph for violence. It is also its defeat.

If England and France were sure of victory, they would certainly have fulfilled their duty of saving Czecho-Slovakia or of dying with it. But they quailed before the combined violence of Germany and Italy.

Mahatma Gandhi adds that the Czechs could not have done anything else when they found themselves deserted by their two powerful allies. If the Czechs had known the use of non-violence as a weapon for defence of national honour, they would have faced the whole might of Germany with that of Italy thrown in. They would have spared England and France the humiliation of suing for peace which was no peace, and to save their honour they would have died to a man without shedding the blood of the robber.

I must refuse to think that such heroism, or call it restraint, is beyond human nature. Human nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal. Though we have the human form, we still share the qualities of our remote reputed ancestor the orang-outang.

The Congress Working Committee, Mahatma Gandhi says, had almost come to the conclusion that it would deny itself the opportunity of striking a bargain with England, but would make its contribution to world peace, to the defence of Czecho-Slovakia and to India's freedom by declaring to the world by its action that the way to peace with honour did not lie through mutual slaughter of innocents but that it lay only and truly through the practice of non-violence unto death. I do not know what actually the Working Committee would have done if the war had come.

But the war is only postponed. During the breathing time, I present the way of non-violence for acceptance by the Czechs. They do not yet know what is in store for them. They can lose nothing by trying the way of non-violence. The fate of Republican Spain is hanging in the balance. So is that of China. If in the end, they all lose, they will do so, not because they are less skilled in the science of destruction or because they are undermanned. What would Republican Spain gain if it had Franco's resources, or China if she had Japan's skill in war, or the Czechs if they had the skill of Herr Hitler? I suggest that if it is brave, as it is, to die to a man fighting against odds, it is braver still to refuse to yield to the usurper. If death is a certainty in either case, is it not nobler to die with the breast bared to the enemy without malice against him within?

EDUCATING FOR LEISURE

Mr. Krishnappa, in his article "Educating for Leisure" in the current issue of *Triveni*, stresses upon an important function of education. Education should not only be a bread-winning device, but also a 'sail saving' one. Children should be prepared for a worthy role and made fit for a genuine contribution to the increase of human happiness. They should be trained to make a profitable use of their leisure time.

There are two outstanding things which the school can do to teach its pupils the proper use of leisure: (1) To set up standards and develop tastes which will help to determine the choice of proper forms of recreation, and (2) to develop habits and interests which will continue to provide enjoyment in leisure hours in later life. To realise these objects the school can and should press into service all its activities, curricular and extra curricular.

Courses in language, literature, history, sciences, and libraries are grouped under curricular activities. Under extra curricular activities are included school magazines, newspapers, literary and debating societies, drama and music clubs, excursions, scouting, etc. The value of interesting hobbies like stamp collecting, picture post-cards, photography, gardening, carpeting, etc., can never be exaggerated. In a country full of sorrow and suffering, misery and misfortune, the crying need for social service should not be ignored and children should be given ample scope in that direction.

CORRUPTION IN THE SERVICES

Mr. Vikram Jeet Singh, in the current issue of the *Modern Review*, tackles an serious problem that has baffled state-
manship for quite a long time—the problem of the eradication of corruption in the public services. Corruption, he says, exists in all departments of the Government, not excluding the beneficent departments of Medicine, Education and Public Health.

The forms and extent of corruption vary according to the particular individual. Who is the guilty among the two. The bribe-giver or the bribe-taker?

The bribe-giver knows that unless he greases the palm of an officer, subordinate or otherwise, the result is likely to be a turning down of the scales, wrongful confinement, loss of *izzat* or at least an extraordinary delay in the procedure of his case. Thus placed he is tempted to offer bribes to straighten out things for himself. The bribe-taker on the other hand knows that his relatives and friends, similarly placed accepted, bribes, built beautiful houses, bungalows and orchards with the tainted money. He knows too that they went scot-free. Thus circumstanced, it is no wonder that even a harmless hare develops a dog's or shark's sharp teeth.

An agency to detect corruption as a measure of eradicating the evil was contemplated by the Punjab Government, but it was immediately thrown out as they were unwilling to contemplate a system of espionage, which would be destructive of the morale and prestige of the Services and would create an atmosphere of fear and distrust.

The advent of the Congress Ministry in the Provinces promises the complete eradication of the pernicious evil. Mr. Singh advocates the appointment of an experienced whole-time officer, social and sociable, and enjoying, clean reputation in each district.

The heads of different departments should devote at least an hour on each Saturday to hear complaints about corruption. Petition boxes should be hung at convenient places in the

corridor of each office to facilitate matters. The special officer should keep himself in touch with all officers in his district as well as in touch with the people. He should also act as a coordinating authority between social community, schools, municipalities and organisations in his district on the one hand and the Civil Government on the other. It now remains to decide whether there should be a full-time Government officer in the Civil Secretariat also to co-ordinate further the work of the special officers in the districts.

INDIA AND THE FUTURE WAR

War has now been averted. But politicians and statesmen were speculating about India's part in the next world war. Writing in the Puja Number of the *Landholders' Journal*, just on the eve of the Munich Agreement, Mr. Ranjit K. Bose rightly points out that Great Britain can count on whole-hearted Indian support in case war should break out. But has India got the wherewithal? Mr. Bose says:

India has a good standing army, which when its mechanisation is completed would be no mean arm of defence. But she has no navy, and while her air force is more like an apology, she has virtually no anti-aircraft arrangements. Now on the outbreak of war, the Indian army might, as in 1914, be expected to go over to Europe to join the war there. But how far this would weaken the defence of India is a moot point; for the situation of 1914 was different from what it would now be. The question of air attack by Japan may not be thought likely but it is not altogether impossible for the Japanese navy to command the high seas beyond the Indian coast line. If it does so, it will not be difficult for her to bomb India by means of aeroplane-carrier ships. Further, in case of a naval attack by Japan, there will be positive danger if there is no adequate defence arrangements in India. For it will be now a forlorn hope to expect the British navy to come over to the Indian Ocean and thus expose Great Britain to enemy attacks across the North Sea. It is also too much to expect that U. S. A. fleet will operate against the Japanese, for that country would not join any war if she can avoid it. The aerial bases of Italy in the Red Sea and in Abyssinia are also threatening to India.

Under these circumstances, contends the writer, India would do well to provide for her adequate defence before going out to fight for Great Britain in the European soil.

IS HINDU PHILOSOPHY LIVING?

Under the above title, the *Prabuddha Bharata* for October publishes Monsieur Jean Herbert's dissertation (in French) translated into English by Mr. P. Sashadri Aiyar. Monsieur Herbert disproves the theory that Hindu philosophy has come to a standstill, saying that this notion is almost as naive as the thought that Descartes and Kant are the last European philosophers and after them we have had no original thinkers.

In fact, India from the philosophical view-point, is not dead. It lives with an infinitely intense life. This does not mean that modern Hindu philosophy refuses to go to the deep roots of classical Hindu philosophy. We ourselves have inherited most of the conceptions of Greek philosophy and the renaissance.

Western thinkers are accustomed to understand by philosophy "a system of ideas scaffolded in the abstract" an intellectual construction made by thinkers of genius, more or less great, who set up hypothesis, group suppositions and erect systems more or less consistent. In India, on the contrary, the notion of philosophy is quite different. M. Herbert says:

A philosophy is a conception which one has of life, not because one has read of it in such and such a book, or one has heard another speak about it, but because one has an internal conviction thereof, which guides his life in details as well as in broad outlines and which one seeks at the same time progressively and continually to verify by experiences of the same nature as those on which modern savants establish their propositions. The conception of philosophy, according to the Hindus, resembles more the conception of chemistry or of physics entertained by a modern chemist or physicist than the idea of philosophy as understood by the great philosophers of the West. Hindu philosophy is still full of life and continues to produce rich fruits, at the same time preserving intact the principles of classical Indian philosophy.

BRITAIN AND ITALY

A correspondent, writing to the *Round Table* on Britain and Italy, gives some useful suggestions for building the good between the two nations. He says that no crude religious or "ideological" conflict should result in the attempt. He says:

We may start then with trying to promote some mutual respect. The countries hear of each other chiefly through heated journalistic exchanges. Might not some British military and naval experts endeavour to give us an appraisal of the Italian armed forces—their recent achievements, their part in the great war and the lesser wars, their present preparedness—with an eye primarily to their organisation and efficiency and not to their all too obvious perilousness—in certain contingencies? Might not British trade unionists find it worth while to study wage-contracts, factory conditions, and price control in Italy, regardless of the uniform worn by officials of the corporations?

England and Italy can best approach an understanding by being quite clear that neither country plans to force upon the other, directly or indirectly, any form of political philosophy. Italians, and nobody else, must decide what sort of state they want; while we, having created for ourselves through the travails of the Reformation, a working compromise between religious authority and religious liberty, possess institutions which we shall not easily give up merely because countries with other histories have failed to adapt them to their own circumstances. In extending a natural sympathy to those Italians who find our institutions desirable, we must never let it be suspected that we wish such institutions to be thrust on nations where the guiding class does not demand them, or demands them under a different external form. Rid of such suspicions and subject to military precautions which neither country would renounce in a great hurry, the framers of economic policy in both countries might find prompt advantage in British co-operation in the equipment of the new Italian empire.

THE WORLD'S STRANGEST FILM

The story of the world's strangest 'wonder picture' is given in the *India Monthly* for October issue which provides interesting reading. Newton Perry is the proud producer and director of this stupendous picture which was produced at Florida, under 18 feet of crystal clear water, a marvel with no parallel in Film history. The title of this epoch-making film is "The Silver Fizz", a complete romantic story with courtship, marriage and honeymoon.

The camera man photographed the various scenes through a big plate-glass window, but all the players together with the director and other officials had to dive beneath the water during the shots. At the beginning of every scene, all these people expelled air from their lungs and only then submerged to carry out the actual playing.

When the scenery was placed under water, all the directors, workers, technicians and electricians had to swim down to the bottom of the tank to execute the actual screwings and hammerings. When, for instance, the wedding altar was placed and fastened under water to the bottom of the tank, the workers and directors had to submerge not less than 200 times till they properly finished the job. During the church ceremony, the wedding bells were constantly ringing although the whole scene was shot below the surface of the water.

Human beings can stay under water for about a minute at a time. So it is easy to realise how many thousand times had the whole cast to descend beneath the surface to complete their task. Every scene was first rehearsed on dry land before the cast submerged to execute the final "under water acting".

The honours for acting go to Florence Wimple, the famous American Beauty, and George Saltman, champion swimmer of the University of Florida, who were able to carry their expressions of sentiments even under water, although the buoyancy of their bodies made it almost impossible for them to stand upright and firm.

ART AND REALITY

Sir Hugh Walpole discusses the eternally intriguing problem of reality with reference to art and literature in a recent issue of *John O' London's Weekly* and sums up thus:

"It comes down to this: that universal reality of the arts is achieved only by real geniuses—Handel, Bach, Beethoven in music; Titian, Giorgione, Bellini, Rembrandt and a few more in painting; Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Tolstoy, Flaubert, Wordsworth and a few more in writing—these are the men to cling to, for their reality covers the world and is without time. They give one a long view and they make human nature something more glorious than a mere chemical product, more important than the little crawling black midget, surveyed by the league-swimming airman, more immortal than the accident of physical death."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

- LABOUR UNREST IN INDIA. By Prof. H. D. Mookerjee. [Modern Review, October 1938.]
- POLIGARS OF MYSORE AND THEIR CIVILIZATION. By P. B. Ramachandra Rao. [Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, October 1938.]
- PROHIBITION OF COW-SLAUGHTER IN INDIA. By D. G. Vinod. [The National Wealth, Aug.-Sept 1938.]
- INDIAN MUSIC AND WESTERN METHODS. By Tandra Devi. [Puja Number of Landholders' Journal, September 1938.]
- JOSIAH ROYCE AND INDIAN THOUGHT. By K. F. Leidecker, M.A., Ph.D. [Calcutta Review, October 1938.]
- INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA. By L. James. [The United Empire, September 1938.]
- HINDU LAW REFORM. By Sir Govind Madgaonkar. [The Indian World, September 1938.]
- RUSKIN AND MODERN INDIA. By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. [Scholar, August 1938.]
- BUDDHISM AND INDIA. By Sri Prakasa, M.L.A. [The Mahabodhi, October 1938.]
- THE STUDY OF INDIA IN AMERICA. By Prof. W. Norman Brown. [Prabuddha Bharata, October 1938.]
- MUNICIPALISM IN ANCIENT INDIA. By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. [The New Review, October 1938.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

INDUSTRIES MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

A Conference of the Industries Ministers of the Congress Provinces was held in Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, on October 2 and 3. The Conference concluded after passing the following resolutions :—

(1) This Conference of the Ministers of Industries is of the opinion that the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and of the economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialisation. As a step towards such industrialisation, a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated. This scheme should provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium-scale industries and cottage industries, keeping in view the national requirements, the resources of the country, and also the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the country. The scheme should provide for the establishment of new industries of all classes and also for the development of the existing ones.

(2) This Conference having considered the views of several Provincial Governments is of the opinion that, pending the submission and consideration of a comprehensive industrial plan for the whole of India, steps should be taken to start the following large scale industries of national importance on an All-India basis, and the efforts of all provinces and Indian States should, as far as possible, be co-ordinated to that end :—

(a) The manufacture of machinery and plant and tools of all kinds ;

(b) the manufacture of automobiles, motor boats, etc., and their accessories and other industries connected with transport and communication ;

(c) the manufacture of electrical plant and accessories ;

(d) the manufacture of heavy chemicals and fertilisers ;

(e) metal production ; and

(f) industries connected with power generation and power supply.

(3) With a view to doing preliminary work for giving effect to resolutions 1 and 2, this Conference appoints a Planning Committee.

To enable this Committee to commence work forthwith, the different Provincial Governments are requested to make suitable financial contributions. The Committee will submit its report to the Congress Working Committee and to the All-India

National Planning Commission provided for hereafter within 4 months of the commencement of its sitting.

(4) This Conference is further of opinion that a Commission fully representative of All-India, including the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States, should be appointed for the purpose of giving effect to resolutions 1 and 2 after due consideration of the recommendations of the Planning Committee. The Commission to be called the All-India Planning Commission shall consist of the following members with powers to co-opt : (a) One nominee of the Government of each Province or State co-operating in this work ; (b) four representatives of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce ; (c) a representative of the All-India Village Industries Association ; and (d) all members of the Planning Committee mentioned in number 3.

The formation of a central industrial bureau to study the conditions in the country and to draw up a plan for industrial development on an All-India basis was recommended by Dr. Syed Mahmud, Bihar Minister, in a memorandum to the Conference. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister from Madras, said that all the Provinces and States must present a united demand to the Central Government for help and protection for industrial development.

THE TRAVANCORE PROCLAMATION

The Travancore Government issued the following Press *communiqué* on October 22 releasing all political prisoners.

In commemoration of His Highness the Maharaja's birthday and in the confident hope that those to whom his clemency has been extended will take a lesson from the recent manifestations of civil disobedience with their calamitous results and that His Highness's subjects will henceforth confine themselves to peaceful activities. His Highness has been graciously pleased to order the release of prisoners sentenced under Travancore Criminal Law Amendment Regulation, and His Highness has been further pleased to suspend the operation of notifications thereunder. The releases will be effected during the birthday week.

Notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation mentioned earlier had declared the Travancore State Congress and all Travancore Youth League unlawful associations. These notifications have now been suspended.

THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

Replying to the Civic address presented to him by the Madras Corporation on October 8, Sir S. Radhakrishnan said:

I admit that due to the exertions of many eminent politicians, we have acquired forms of democracy but a more important thing is to acquire the spirit of democracy. This is much more difficult. We are living in an age when we are obsessed by political and economic considerations, in an age when words do duty for thoughts, when we repeat slogans and believe we are thinking—an age when our minds are moulded by propaganda right, left, and centre. We are film-fed and radio-trained. Our lives are more or less mechanical in their character. I shall not be wrong if I say that our individuality is being crushed. To me the highest religion and the highest politics are emphasis on the profound sense of the value of the individual. The individual is the final fact of life. Society is judged by its power to improve the qualities of the individual, to improve the chastity of mind and to improve his kindly disposition and power of understanding. To be kind, to be charitable is not to make the other man a copy of myself. He is different from myself. My mental clothes may not fit him. My spiritual diet may not feed him. He must be himself. He must suffer the anguish of his failures and he must enjoy the thrill of his victories. He must remain an individual unique, distinctive and different from all other individuals. That is the final fact of life.

Life begins with the individual and ends to a large extent with the individual. If you suppress the freedom of the individual, nothing great in this world is ever going to be achieved. If you take away one man's heroic vision, one man's creative power, one man's hold on the minds of his contemporaries, to that extent the flow of history will be different.

Talking about the Mission of India, Sir Sarvapalli said:

I believe in the mission of India. I may point out to you if there is any mission of this country it is not the mission in politics or economics. It is a mission with regard to philosophy and religion. The history of this country has for its land-marks not kings, emperors, battles and wars; but saints, scriptures, and holy lights. We have not adored statesmen, diplomats and military heroes. We have adored people who are great not by what they do but by what they are who stamp infinity on the thought and life of our country, people who are able to point out to us at a time when we are lost in the pursuit of power the call of the Unseen and the reality of the Spirit. It is these people who have given life to our country, who have enabled this country to endure and survive all these centuries of misrule, plague, pestilence, wars and other things and given it staying power of real vitality. It is essential in these distracted times to point out the necessity to emphasise the values of the spirit.

LORD ERSKINE'S TRIBUTE TO
MADRAS MINISTRY

H. E. the Governor of Madras, replying to the address presented by the citizens of Madura on October 24, observed:

The Government of the Presidency is carried on by a Council of Ministers fully responsible to the electorate and though the executive power is expressed by the constitution to be vested in the Governor in whose name all administrative acts are done, yet in fact those Ministers are responsible for practically the entire provincial administration, but I can assure you that the Governor continues to be in close touch with the routine of government. Nor, speaking for myself, has my interest in the general well-being of the people in any way abated. I would add that I have found my duties since the change in the constitution intensely interesting and they have been made very much easier owing to the cordial personal relations that have existed between myself and all my Ministers. I have always been firmly convinced that the new system of government framed for the provinces would be capable of success in operation. It is gratifying, therefore, to me to find that so far my expectations have been amply justified under the new regime. It is a regime in which reforms are proceeding at a rapidly accelerating pace and I sincerely hope that nothing will arise to impede the constitutional and social progress of the Madras Presidency.

MR. SARAT BOSE'S ADVICE TO YOUTH

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Assembly, made the following remarks presiding over the Mysore Students' Conference held in Mysore on October 15:—

The youth of India would be untrue to the universal religion of youth if they did not bring all the wealth of its idealism to the Freedom movement. Only youth has the priceless gift of spiritual vision and the courage to resist the faint-hearted and sluggard's dread of untrodden paths. Their vision and courage are necessary to spiritualise politics and give a new soul to our national movement. It is for these reasons that the Indian National Congress wants the co-operation of the youth of India just as everywhere else in the world—in China, Egypt, Soviet Russia, Italy, and Germany—great national organisations claim and get the co-operation of their own youth. On its own part, the Congress offers the youth of India an organization ready to hand, of a cohesion and discipline such as has never before been seen in India. Through it, youth can find a glorious outlet for its urge to action, its urge to creation and its burning eagerness to have a hand in building of the coming social order.

THE ANDHRAS IN CONFERENCE

Inaugurating the Andhra Maha Sabha on October 5, at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar emphasised the demand for a separate Province for the Andhras. The Madras Premier had said that if the Andhras desired to separate, none could stand in their way. Sir Alladi recalled the Premier's assurance of support and said:

With the true instinct of a statesman and with an insight into other people's feelings and aspirations, the Prime Minister of Madras, ably supported by the Congress colleagues in the Cabinet, has given his word to support the Andhra cause and I have no doubt that under the auspices of the present Madras Government, the Andhra Province will become an accomplished fact before long.

The twentieth session of the Conference met on October 8, with Sir S. Radhakrishnan in the chair. Mr. Vavilla Venkateswara Sastrulu, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao opened the Conference with an address in which he stressed that the demand for linguistic provinces is a symptom of the new nationalism and that when the idea fructifies, the Tamils and the Telugus equally stand to gain. Has not our Prime Minister, himself a distinguished son of the Tamil Nad, he added,

shown himself a warm and sincere friend of the cause? It was he who used the most expressive phrase that an Andhra Province is the birthright of the Andhras. It is an eloquent testimony of the fact that the Tamils and the Telugus stand shoulder to shoulder in this venture.

The President, in the course of his address, observed that the Andhra movement is not to be regarded as inconsistent with Indian nationalism any more than the freedom of India movement is to be regarded as inconsistent with the interests of humanity.

It is not motivated by any antipathy or ill-will to our Tamil neighbours. For centuries past, Andhras have lived in the Tamil land and Dravids have settled in the Telugu country and perfect understanding and fellowship have governed their mutual relations. Any sense of

irritation which may now and then be discerned is due to the unfortunate scramble for posts, and I am persuaded that with the formation of a separate Province, it will disappear altogether and the two communities will live in fraternity and friendship.

Referring to the location of the capital, he said Madras City seemed to be the most natural centre for the Andhra Province.

The Conference adopted a resolution thanking the Madras Legislative Assembly and the Madras Legislative Council for adopting the principle of formation of provinces on a linguistic basis, for which Andhras had been agitating for a number of years, and thanking the Madras Government for recommending to the Secretary of State for India to take immediate action in the matter of formation of such provinces. The resolution also requested the Secretary of State to take suitable steps in the matter.

SIND AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

Mr. Jinnah's attempt to form a League Ministry in Sind appears to have failed. Out of somewhat confused reports, the following picture of the negotiations as recorded by a contemporary may be read with interest:

Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh expressed his readiness to sign the League pledge, but insisted that he should remain Premier and choose his Cabinet, which should include Hindus. Mr. Jinnah and the League Working Committee, on the other hand, appear to have insisted that the Muslim League Members of the Sind Assembly should elect their leader or, if they failed to agree, that Mr. Jinnah should give his award and that after the election the new leader should form a Ministry including Hindus if he wished. Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh with his supporters in these circumstances refused to sign the League pledge and the Sind Muslim League has denounced them as traitors. Practical interest for the moment centres on the support which the Ministry is likely to receive in the legislature, which will meet early next month. Mr. Jinnah claims that 27 out of the 35 Muslim members of the Sind Assembly have signed the League pledge and adopted its programme. The Premier denies this, but his own statement gives him only 10 Muslim supporters. It is evident that if the Congress remained neutral, the Ministry would be defeated.

It is reported that the Congress Working Committee is contemplating a modification of its attitude.

INDIAN UNIVERSITY IDEALS

Speaking on the Founder's Day Anniversary at Annamalai University last month, Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao dwelt on the value of University ideals. Deploing the attempt to discount higher education, Sir. M. Venkatasubba Rao said :

There are three qualities which we through ages highly valued and which are needed to-day more than ever. The spirit of toleration was the keynote of our culture; religious wars were unknown in our country and persecution of science or truth did not blacken our history. To-day, in the clash of strife, let us practise the same tolerance, showing forbearance to others and judging them with charity. The second quality that distinguished us in that golden age is intellectual independence. We pursued knowledge with courage inspired by an unquenchable love of truth, shirking no conclusion, however opposed to accepted beliefs. One of the vital functions of a University is to carry on research and add to the sum total of knowledge. Let us hope India will rise in status through the labours of her scientists and thinkers and attain to pre-eminence. Thirdly, the voice that rings from the past is that of the great seers who believed more in ministering to the necessities of the soul than of the body; spiritual outlook was wrought into the very texture of our being. In the tortured world to-day, where rampant racialism is enthroned, hideous savagery prevails and spirituality is all but dead, India's mission is to spread the gospel of compassion, truth and justice. Thus if you would recapture the spirit of ancient India, these are the three qualities that must be developed.

TEACHER AND PUPIL

The Press in India has reported many cases of indiscipline among students. In view of this growing spirit of indiscipline among students, the following from the Burma Education Report is of interest:—

The relationship between teacher and pupil is not one of employer and employee. The importation of ideas associated with industrial strife into the educational world falsifies a relationship which is essentially one of co-operative learning and doing. It will go hard with the education system of the future if it is assumed that children and adolescents may dictate to their parents and tutors. It is self-evident that those who foment indiscipline among children and adolescents have sold their sense of responsibility for an expedient. Social order, no matter how organized, depends on individual and collective discipline. The state, kingdom or republic, autocracy or democracy, totalitarian or sectarian, must exercise over its children and adolescents enlightened discipline. Only sophistry can avoid this conclusion; right thinking abides it. But steps must be taken to sublimate in constructive study and work the sense of frustration that is the cause of indiscipline in present-day adolescents and youth.

HINDUSTANI IN SCHOOLS

The Government of Bombay have decided to introduce in the first instance Hindustani in all schools of the Province. Ultimately, the teaching of this language will become compulsory in all the recognised schools.

The attainment by the Province of its rightful place in the national life of India, says a Press Note issued by the Bombay Government, demands that our educated youth should possess a working knowledge of Hindustani, which is the most widely spoken language in India. In order to meet this demand, Hindustani will be introduced in all schools. The teaching of the language will be spread over three years in the upper primary standards. The commencement of the period of three years, over which the study of the language will extend, has been so fixed as to ensure that the child will have passed the early stages of school life when the study of a language other than the mother-tongue may tend to become a burden.

Provision will be made for teaching it in the two scripts, Devanagari and Urdu, option being given to the pupils to select either script at their choice. The attendance at the Hindustani classes will be compulsory, and pupils will, besides, have to show a certain degree of proficiency to be specified for every stage.

The Government desire at the same time to make it clear that the study of the mother-tongue, which will continue to be the medium of instruction in all schools, will be enforced as hitherto and will under no circumstances be replaced by the study of Hindustani where that language is not the mother-tongue of the pupil. A working knowledge of Hindustani will thus be an additional qualification.

JUSTICE AND CIVILIZATION

"Justice must be evenly balanced between individuals and between the Government and the individuals. A nation in which the institution of justice enjoys perfect freedom can be truly called civilised. If you swerve from the high ideal, the very foundation of civilisation is shaken," declared the Hon. Justice Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Judge of the Federal Court, addressing the students of the Poona Law College on the occasion of its first social gathering.

Continuing, Sir Maurice said: "To impart justice is to shift the truth from diverging facts and to decide conflicting points according to some fixed canons. To-day we see that the maxim "Might is right" is being used to decide disputes. A certain minister of justice has declared that to support the policy of the ministry is the duty of the Judges. This is a very dangerous principle. To substitute policies for principles is not at all fair. The misuse of democratic majority is as condemnable as the repression in a totalitarian State. Democracy with a got-up majority is another sort of dictatorship."

Giving a word of advice to his young law friends, Justice Gwyer said: "In legal profession there is no royal road to success. Efforts and exertions are very useful for legal success. To be a good advocate should not be the be-all and end-all of your life. You must acquire knowledge in other branches of arts as well. One of my colleagues in the Federal Court is a good Sanskrit scholar and musician, Hon. Mr. Justice Jayakar, while the other is a research student in Mathematics and Astronomy, Hon. Mr. Justice Suleman."

ABUSE AND INTIMIDATION

"It is a matter for serious consideration whether in such cases in the interests of the liberty of the Press, a sentence of imprisonment should be awarded. A fine alone is hardly any punishment to such persons," observed Mr. K. N. Singh, City Magistrate of Patna, sentencing to three months' simple imprisonment Maulvi Wall-ul-Haque under Section 448, I. P. C. According to the prosecution, the accused, who was the propaganda secretary of the Bihar Muslim Independent Party, led a procession of students to the office of the *Muslim*, an Urdu bi-weekly of Patna, and abused and intimidated the editor on the ground that the policy of the paper was pro-Congress. They are further stated to have damaged the property of the Press. The Judge further observed: "It is still more deplorable that such a hot-headed so-called leader should lead a band of inflammable young men from schools and colleges with such said purposes. The consequences of such actions may sometimes be serious enough."

TRIAL BY JURY

The U. P. Government have appointed an expert committee of Judges and Lawyers under the Chairmanship of Chaudhry Niamatullah, retired Judge, Allahabad High Court, who have special experience of the working of the system of trial by jury in six districts, where it is at present in force, to examine it in all its aspects.

TANDA FIRING

Mr. Justice Yorke, Judge, Chief Court of Oudh, Lucknow, has been appointed to conduct a judicial enquiry into the Tanda firing on the night of 21st August.

INSURANCE ACT

Certain changes which have necessitated a delay in the enforcement of the new Insurance Act are explained in a *communiqué* which states:

"Owing to the preliminary work necessary, it has been impracticable to bring the Act into force by October 1, 1938. By the Act deposits are required to be made according to a stated programme, and the date for the making of the second instalment is fixed as January 1, 1939. To correct this anomaly and to avoid the legal and technical difficulties which would otherwise result, it is intended to introduce an Amending Bill. Opportunity will be taken to make certain other amendments of a purely technical nature in the principal Act, which further critical scrutiny has shown to be necessary before the Act can be brought into force, such amendments consisting mainly of corrections of obvious errors in drafting.

As a consequence of this proposed further legislation, it is now anticipated that the Act will not be brought into force before April 1, 1939."

In the meantime, the rules under the Act are being prepared and a draft is expected to be published shortly.

INSURANCE AMALGAMATION

The amalgamation of the Modern India Life Assurance Company Limited with the Arya Insurance Company Limited has received the final sanction of the Hon'ble the High Court at Calcutta. The Arya Insurance Company, Limited, substantially strengthened by this amalgamation, now starts its new career with Statutory Security Deposits of Rs. 1,53,000, a Life Fund of Rs. 1,35,088 and a surplus of Rs. 52,989.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT

The report on the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1928, in Bombay for the year 1937, shows a further expansion in the activities of the office of the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bombay. It was during the year under review, for instance, that the payment of Wages Act, 1936, came into force in the province. There was also an increase in the total number of applications dealt with in connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act from 810 in the previous year to 982 during the year under review.

An analysis of the cases shows that of these 982 applications, 205 related to fatal accidents, 755 to non-fatal accidents resulting in permanent and temporary disablements, and the remaining to miscellaneous accidents.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

The Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Industries, and Labour Government of Madras, at an informal Conference with labour leaders at Bombay, foreshadowed the introduction by the Madras Government of a Bill providing for unemployment insurance for workers in the Presidency. It will be the first scheme of its kind to be introduced in the whole of India.

KASHMIR GOVERNMENT INSURANCE

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has sanctioned a Government Insurance Scheme. All Government servants and every one to whom the Government may extend its benefits are eligible to participate in the scheme.

CAPITAL FOR AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

"The capital required for the production of two types of Motor vehicles to begin with is about Rs. 90 lakhs for buildings, plant and machinery and Rs. 60 lakhs for working capital or a total of Rs. 150 lakhs," says the Memorandum prepared and submitted by Sir M. Visvesvaraya to the Industries Ministers' Conference, which met at New Delhi last month. The Memorandum says:—

In the beginning it is proposed to raise a sum of Rs. 150 lakhs in three classes of shares as under:—

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 10,00,000 Ordinary Shares | |
| of Rs. 10 each | ... Rs. 100 lakhs. |
| 80,000 Cumulative Preference | |
| Shares of Rs. 100 each... | Rs. 80 lakhs. |
| 2,000 Founders' Shares of | |
| Rs. 1,000 each | ... Rs. 20 lakhs. |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | ... Rs. 150 lakhs. |

In order to make the undertaking popular throughout the country, the capital may be obtained in smaller shares of Rs. 5 each if deemed necessary. The forms of share capital may be varied according to circumstances after the Company is constituted.

The following estimates will give a rough idea of the working costs and the probable profits from this factory. On a medium size power car in U. S. A. which it costs, say, Rs. 1,260 to manufacture, the freight to Bombay, insurance, import duty at 87½ per cent, Port Trust charges, clearing and delivery at the terminal port will together come to about Rs. 1,180.

The car is sold in Bombay for about Rs. 8,200 yielding to the Indian dealer a gross profit of Rs. 810. The consumer in Bombay, therefore, pays for the car in all

about 2½ times the actual production cost in America. This proportion between the cost price and the sale price is maintained in the case of automobiles exported from U. S. A. to several other countries also.

If the vehicles are manufactured in India, some of the special parts will have to be imported for a time at the commencement. The working costs will also be appreciably more. Assuming that on account of both these circumstances, the extra cost to the Indian factory would be 50 per cent. more than it is in U. S. A., the net saving after allowing the same gross profit of Rs. 810 to the dealer will be Rs. 500 per vehicle. Making a further deduction of 50 per cent. from such saving for other unforeseen contingencies such as trade competition, defective raw materials, etc., there will still be left a profit of Rs. 250 per vehicle. This will mean a gross profit of 80 lakhs on the works outlay of Rs. 150 lakhs or 20 per cent. on the estimated capital.

It will be seen from the figure given that if the present prices continue, there is a prospect of phenomenally high returns being obtained at least for the first few years.

TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

An All-India Trade Union Conference will be held in Lahore in the last week of November under the presidency of Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A. (Central), a member of the Governing body of the International Labour Conference, Geneva.

KHADI IN TAMIL NADU

Khadi sales in the A. I. S. A. Tamil Nadu Khadi Vastralaya for the month of September amount to Rs. 12,814-9-9 and the total sales since January up to 30th September, 1938 amount to Rs. 1,00,402-15-9, a marked increase over last year's sale during the same period.

WOMEN IN MINES

The Government of India have communicated through the India Office to the International Labour Office, Geneva, their decision prohibiting the employment of women in underground work in mines of all kinds in India.

This decision, which was taken by the Government of India some time ago, signifies the formal ratification of Convention No. 45 of the Washington International Labour Conference, 1935, to which India was a party.

The Government of India have also brought the Convention to the notice of those Indian States to which its provisions appear to be relevant.

It may be recalled that the employment of women underground was extensively practised in the past, and its prohibition gave rise to an acute controversy as it was argued that the elimination of women would very seriously curtail the small earnings of their families.

Though some hardships will no doubt be caused by the displacement of the women, the Government of India do not doubt that in the long run it is a salutary measure which tends to raise the general standard of civilised living among the mining population.

MRS. ROOSEVELT'S WORK

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President of the U. S. A., is one of the busiest women in America. According to a newspaper statistician, in the five years ending January 1st, 1937, Mrs. Roosevelt travelled 200,000 miles, delivered 100 speeches, wrote 10,000 personal letters, shook 16,650 hands in the White House and served tea to 22,858 persons.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Presiding over the South Kanara District Women's Conference, held at Mangalore on October 8, Sri Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya said:

We want to be free and be able to shape the destiny of our country. Women should not think that they have nothing to do with political that it is only the concern of menfolk. Women have made very valuable contribution to the national movement and will, I am confident, continue to do so.

"I have found through much bitter and long experience," Sri Kamaladevi continued, "that the many evils which militate against women in our society can only be remedied when our society has been completely overhauled and its present male domination destroyed and replaced by human comradeship between man and woman. Such a change involved not only a social revolution but an economic revolution as well. This was only possible when we had complete control over all our economic and political resources. This ultimately reduced itself to one fact, namely, the freedom of our country. Indeed all our other efforts at social reform would be imperfect and superficial unless and until the larger problem of the country was solved."

INDIAN WOMEN ORATORS

Mrs. Alfred Watt, at the recent session in London of the Associated Country-women of the world, paid a glowing tribute to our speakers. She said: "The woman of India is a born orator. She speaks beautiful English, has a liquid voice, and possesses a most remarkable advantage in her clothes." Referring to other nations, Mrs. Watt said: "The Englishwoman has the advantage of a rich tone; the Scandinavian woman, slow and forceful; the Balkan is romantic; the Irish can get away with anything; the German is well prepared and exhaustive."

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Before a distinguished gathering of scholars from all parts of India, the second session of the Indian History Congress was inaugurated at Allahabad on October 8, by Captain His Highness Maharaja Sir Aditya Narain Singh Bahadur of Benares.

Dr. Bhandarkar, in the course of his presidential address, discussed every aspect of the study of history. He emphasized that



DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR

Indian scholars themselves should prepare a history of India which should mean the 'unfolding of their physical and intellectual ancestry'.

A number of papers of historical interest were read at the Session by leading scholars from different universities. On the motion of Dewan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, it was resolved that a committee be appointed to examine the feasibility of preparing a scientific and comprehensive history of India. The next Congress will be held at Calcutta.

SOUTH INDIAN GANDHI

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, addressed the Old Boys' Association of Hindu High School, Triplicane. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, who was present, speaking in Tamil said:

The sacrifice made by Mr. Rajagopalachariar and others like him was very great. The Congress had decided long before it came to office, what reforms should be undertaken by it if it was in power. The Congress now was not sure how long it would continue in office. Therefore it selected a few important items on its programme and put them into effect. The salaries of Ministers had been reduced considerably and it would be difficult for future Ministers to alter it. Reforms calculated to help the poor had also been undertaken.

It was no use simply listening to the excellent advice given by the Premier. The student should attempt to practise the ideals of service and sacrifice. People in India went on pilgrimage to important places and bathed in dirty and muddy water to purify their souls. He would suggest to them that they could purify their souls better by having *dharsan* of men like Mahatma Gandhi. But Mahatma Gandhi was now in North-West Frontier province and it could not be said when he would visit South India. But in South India they had in the person of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar a 'South Indian Gandhi' and it would purify their souls if they had his *dharsan*.

HAR DAYAL

After 27 years of exile, Har Dayal has been permitted to return to India.

This permission has been granted by the Government of India, it is stated, in view of Har Dayal having given an undertaking not to participate, directly or indirectly, in any unconstitutional movement.

Har Dayal left India in 1911 and organised the Ghadr (mutiny) party in America, aimed, it is stated, at overthrowing the State by revolutionary and violent methods.

MR. ALTAF HOSSAIN

Mr. Altaf Hossain, Principal, Dacca Intermediate College, has been appointed the first Director of Information, Bengal. Mr. Hossain was formerly Professor of English at the Islamia College, Calcutta.

MR. C. A. HENDERSON

Mr. C. A. Henderson, I.C.S., First Member of the Board of Revenue, is appointed Agent to the Government of India in Burma.

COLLOIDS

Sir C. V. Raman delivered the inaugural address of the Stanley Medical College Students' Association, Royapuram, last month. The subject of his address was "Colloids". Dr. T. S. Thirumurthi, Principal, presided.

Sir C. V. Raman, after referring to the great pioneering work of Prof. Svedburg of Sweden in the field of colloids and the development of the ultra centrifuge, stressed the necessity for carrying on further investigation into colloids by optical methods. Krishnan effect, which had now gained general recognition, had opened up a new vista in the comparative study of the structure, shape and distribution of colloids. He hoped that a close study of the subject in the light of the experiments of Dr. K. S. Krishnan would lead them to take a greater interest in the study of colloidal solutions which would be of much use to medical students. The distinguished lecturer next explained by means of diagrams and figures the phenomena known as Krishnan effect and pointed out how Dr. Hans Mueller's theoretical investigation had confirmed Dr. Krishnan's conclusion.

INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS

At the second meeting of the C. P. and Berar Committee on Indigenous Systems of Medicine with the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the chair, it was resolved that a list of all institutions imparting training in indigenous systems of medicines should be prepared. The curricula and syllabuses obtained from various institutions were placed before the Committee, which agreed that their sufficiency would be considered at a time when the standard of qualification is established. The Committee discussed at great length the information received from the Mysore Government regarding practitioners of indigenous systems. The I.-G. of Civil Hospitals in his report drew the attention of members to the failure of the scheme for subsidising medical practitioners to settle in rural areas. After examining various suggestions, the Committee decided that the members should work out a scheme showing actual necessities, the costs of building and staff, recurring and non-recurring charges, etc.

EFFECTS OF NOISE ON HEALTH

Investigators studying the effects of noise on health and efficiency have ascertained that in noisy industries it is not uncommon for more than 50 per cent. of the workers to suffer from deafness. In many instances ear-drums actually thicken as a result of the incessant din. Here are some figures from recent examinations: smiths and machinists 75 examined, 30 per cent. normal hearing; copper-smiths 40 examined, 10 per cent. normal hearing; boiler-makers 100 examined, 9 per cent. normal hearing.

Scientists consider that hearing is more often impaired as a result of vibrations transmitted through the bony structures of the body than by vibrations borne in the air; that noise is more harmful in a confined space than in the open air; that high-pitched tones are worse than tones of a low pitch; and that continuous noise is less disturbing than discontinuous noise of the same type and degree of loudness.

CAUSES OF HEADACHE

A few common causes of headache are eyestrain, constipation, insufficient sleep, disease of the ear, indigestion, advanced kidney disease, breathing stuffy air, and tumour of the brain. Now, do not send to me for a headache powder, or I shall be cross with you, writes a Medical adviser in the *Madras Mail*. "How am I to know what to give you for a headache when I do not know whether you have a tumour on the brain or are merely constipated? And I have told you before not to take headache powders—they are poisonous; they deaden your sense for a short time and leave you worse afterwards. Remove the cause of the headache; do not rely on drugs."

INDIA'S POPULATION

Mr. Findlay Shirras, in the course of a lecture at Ahmedabad on September 17, estimated that the population of India at the next census would be between 890 millions and 400 millions and that, if the present rate of increase continued, it would be 584 millions by 1981 and 714,000,000 by 2001.

PUBLIC FINANCE

At a time like the present when problems of Provincial and Federal finance press for solution in India, the publication of this book by Prof. K. K. Sharma (*Public Finance: A Survey of Fundamental Principles and Their Application to Indian Problems* by Prof. Krishna Kumar Sharma. With a Foreword by Professor C. N. Vakil. Price Rs. 3) is very opportune. It is written to suit the needs of the general reader who is anxious to get an easy and intelligible exposition of the fundamentals of public finance in their application to Indian conditions. Prof. Sharma has divided the book into two parts. In the first part the principles of taxation, expenditure and public debt have been expounded in the light of the works of Western writers on the subject. The second part deals exhaustively with the Indian public finance and within the compass of a short book a wide range of questions is dealt with. On the subject of Federal finance in particular, the book contains a great deal of useful information. The report of Sir W. Layton, those of the Percy and Davidson Committees, the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and, finally, the recommendations of Sir Otto Niemeyer have all been summarised. A chapter on the financial implications of the separation of Burma and another on the problem of Railway finance add to the utility of the book. The academic student of public finance will, perhaps, be unable to find any unity in the treatment of the several subjects dealt with by the author. But despite this defect, there is no doubt that Prof. Sharma's *Public Finance* will be found to be a useful introduction to all those who seek an acquaintance with the principles of public finance in general and of Indian finance in particular.

THE INDIAN BANK

The report of the Directors of the Indian Bank, Limited, Madras, for the half-year ending 30th June 1938, states that the net profit for the half-year amounted to Rs. 1,45,604-7-8. The Directors have declared an interim dividend of 10 per cent. per annum free of income-tax for the past half-year.

FASTEST TRAIN IN EUROPE

What is claimed to be the fastest train in Europe made its first official run recently when a new express service between Rome and Naples was started by Signor Benni, the Minister of Communications. A speed of nearly 120 miles an hour was reached over short stretches, but there was remarkably little noise and no undue rocking or vibration. The outward run of 135 miles was made in 1 hour 24 minutes at an average speed of 96.48 miles an hour and the return journey took 1 hour 36 minutes.

There is to be one service a day in each direction and the run is timed to take an hour and a half. The train consists of three closely linked carriages of welded steel and has a total length of 195 ft. It weighs 117 tons loaded and is driven by six electric motors which develop 1,200 h.p.

INTERNATIONAL EXPRESSES

Three important trains cross Europe East to West. These are the Nord Express connecting Calais and Ostend with Brussels, Cologne, Hanover, Berlin and Warsaw; the Orient Express which takes a more southerly route connecting Calais, Strasberg, Stuttgart, Munich, Vienna, Budapest; and the Simplon-Orient Express which links France with Lausanne, Milan, Venice, Belgrade, Sofia, Istanbul and Budapest the capital of Hungary.

BHADAURA TRAIN ACCIDENT

It is understood that the Government railway police have instituted a case under Section 126 of the Railways Act against unknown persons for malicious tampering with rails with knowledge to endanger lives in connection with the accident to the 18 Down Punjab Express on the morning of October 16 near Bhadaura station, resulting in 8 deaths and 37 injuries.

A NEW BRITISH SPEED RECORD

A new British speed record was achieved by the North-Eastern stream-lined express "Mallard" when it reached 125 miles per hour between Grantham and Peterborough for 306 yards. Earlier in the run it sustained 120 miles an hour for three miles. The previous record was 114 miles an hour.

VEENAI DHANAM

The passing of Veenai Dhanam removes the last link with the Titans of old Carnatic music. Veenai Dhanam, who was aged 75 at the time of her death, held a pre-eminent place among South Indian artistes for over half a century. Musicians and music lovers in Madras still cherish the memory of those precious Friday evenings when the old lady used to play soulful melodies on the Veena. A great exponent of the Carnatic music, her death has left a void difficult to fill.

Dhanam belonged to a class apart—a class now becoming extinct with the advent of the jazz band and the microphone. She knew that her quiet tune, so dear to the heart of the aristocracy of "culture and leisure" would be drowned in the noise and tumult of these hectic times, and she wisely kept aloof from the mutations and unrest of the latter day megaphones. To the end she continued to be the Tan Sen of the elect and scorned the glare of publicity, content to please and to be pleased with the rapture of the few who preferred to share her exquisite thrills on the Veena in the privacy of her own apartment rather than court the applause of the multitude in the Music Halls. Her voice, then, quivering to the tune of her delicate instrument, rose like an exhalation and filled the house like a distilled perfume.

TELUGU ART AND CULTURE

"History pays its obeisance not to the austerity of Spartan discipline but to the manifold creative spirit of Athens that had produced Plato, Sophocles and Phidias, whose achievements are part of the common inheritance of all mankind," observed Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, inaugurating this year's Andhra Mahasabha Week at Gokhale Hall, Madras.

The Andhras need not be reminded of the example of Athens. The average Andhra, however meagre his resources, had his own share of aesthetic appreciation. While deprecating a narrow provincial spirit, Sir Alladi emphasised that each race and each community had evolved its own ways of expression. He saw in the Andhra devotion to their own art and letters, nothing to which exception should be taken.

SCOUT RALLY IN BANGALORE

In honour of the Nawab of Chhatari, Chief Scout Commissioner for India, the Bangalore Boy Scout Association held a rally at Bangalore on October 6 at their headquarters when over 700 scouts, cubs and scouters attended. The British Resident in Mysore and the Officer Commanding, Madras District, were present among others. The Nawab and the Resident were received by the Officers of the local Association and conducted to the headquarters building, opposite to which the Rally was held. After the saluting of the Union Jack, the Nawab inspected the troops and packs and had a kind word to say to them all. He was well impressed by the smart turn-out of all the troops and packs. The March Past was then held at which the Nawab took the salute. On behalf of the Association, an address of welcome, written on palm leaves in ancient Hindu style and bound with ivory clasps, was presented to the Nawab. The address praised the Nawab for his interest in the movement and expressed the Association's pleasure in his having honoured them by his presence during his first visit to Bangalore since he assumed the Chief Commissionership for India. Replying, the Nawab said the very smart turn-out of the record gathering of scouts and cubs only served to confirm the very good reports he had heard of the splendid work done by the Bangalore Scout Association.

A GREAT SPORTSMAN

"A great sportsman has passed away in the person of Lord Hawke," said Sir H. P. Mody, President of the Cricket Club of India, interviewed by the *Associated Press*, regarding Lord Hawke's death. He added:

"Many people in Bombay remember the enthusiasm when he brought his team to India. It did a great deal to stimulate interest in the game. If more of such teams had followed in regular succession, Indian cricket might have been on a higher plane than it is to-day. Lord Hawke's name will be cherished by cricketers all over the world."

ARTIFICIAL RADIUM

Far-reaching experiments in the therapeutic uses of artificial radium are being conducted in several London hospitals under the auspices of the Radium Beam Therapy Research Board.

One of the advantages of artificial radium is that it can be used in the form of an injection or as capsules swallowed by the patient.

Radium cannot be used in this way. It has a life of something like 1,690 years and ultimately would rot the bones of the patient. The activity of the artificial radium, on the other hand, is half wasted in 15 hours. Only one-fourth remains after 30 hours and one-eighth after 45 hours.

And unlike radium, artificial radium can be injected into the body without the fear of complications.

Artificial radium has been successfully employed in cases of malignant conditions of goitre, arthritis, skin diseases, cancer, and even thyroid complaints.

The price of radium at present is £5,000 a gramme. Artificial radium is considerably cheaper to prepare.

LORD RAYLEIGH

Lord Rayleigh defended scientists at the annual meeting of the British Association for the advancement of science held at Cambridge. *News Chronicle*, writing on Lord Rayleigh, says that he is a scientist by heredity and by profession. His father, the third baron, was Senior Wrangler, Smith's Prizeman, Cavendish Professor of Physics, President of Royal Society and of the British Association in 1884, when its meeting was held at Montreal, and author of 446 published scientific papers. The present Lord Rayleigh has written much on radium, is Emeritus Professor of Physics at Imperial College of Science and holds the coveted Rumford Medal of the Royal Society. The family's science has a practical side. His father was a pioneer in the use of nitrate of soda on his Essex estate; Lord Rayleigh has done much to improve the quality of milk in England.

INDIAN CINE INDUSTRY

A public meeting was held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on Sunday the 16th October to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Cinematograph Industry. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, presided.

Mr. H. M. Reddi, Chairman, of the Silver Jubilee Committee, traced the growth of the cinema industry in this country and paid a warm tribute to individuals and bodies who contributed to it. He replied to some of the criticisms of the Indian cinema and said it was no use comparing Indian industry with foreign industries, as the scope of the films in India was limited unless they produced films which would find markets in other countries.

Mr. Natesan, in his address, after referring to the loss sustained by the cinema world in the death of Sir Phiroze Sethna, said:

Since Mr. D. G. Phalke produced the first picture in 1913, much water has flown under the bridge. We have to-day, according to figures available, as many as 670 theatres of which 450 show exclusively Indian pictures. Nearly quarter of a lakh of people are employed in the industry. The capital invested is nearly Rs. 12 crores.

He then referred to some of the defects of our production system, particularly to the undue length of our pictures and to the absence of news reels and pictures dealing with industrial or agricultural and other subjects of educative value. He hoped that these defects would be rapidly remedied. He wound up by observing that the industry had suffered from want of active help from the Governments, particularly from the Central Government. It was sad to think that the Government of India had not as yet taken active steps to give effect to the recommendations of the Rangachariar Committee. If not complete abolition, surely substantial reduction in the duty on raw films should be effected.

The following message from H. E. Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras was then read:

The cinema has certainly given a stimulus to South Indian art, and there is no reason why it should not continue to do so to an increasing extent. The industry has developed considerably in recent years, but much yet remains to be done in the direction of improved technique in production. And I trust that every effort will be made to raise to an efficient level an industry which is likely to play an important part in Indian commercial life.

Rao Bahadur P. Sambanda Mudaliar, Mr. A. Narayanan and others took part in the proceedings.

SIR VISVESVARAYYA'S REPORT

The establishment of an automobile factory in Bombay will be the first outcome of the Industries Ministers' Conference held at Delhi last month. It is said that this will be the first key industry in the new scheme of planned economy for India. Sir M. Viswesvarayya who has made a detailed survey of this industry in different countries, placed before the Conference his final proposals contained in the following Memorandum:—

The factory should be located in a part of the country where raw and semi-raw materials and skilled labour required are readily available, and it should also be a centre place for marketing the vehicles produced in the factory. Unless any other city takes special responsibility under more favourable conditions, it is proposed to locate the automobile factory in Bombay. It is thought that motor parts and accessories can be more easily and cheaply imported into Bombay than to any interior station like Jamshedpur. There are a good number of factories in Bombay which can manufacture automobile parts. There are businessmen of proved capacity who could organise and maintain an effective control over this new industry. Suitable sites for the factory can be had in more than one quarter of Bombay city. As at present proposed, the maximum capacity of the plant to be installed will be 10,000 cars and 5,000 trucks. The actual yearly production of both vehicles may together number about 12,000. The factory may be expanded according to the growing demands of the market. It would probably be desirable to import 30 per cent. of the parts, chiefly special parts, from outside for the first few years so long as it is cheaper to do so than to manufacture them locally. To the extent that the local factories or workshops may come forward to take up the manufacture of parts, the parent company will be relieved of its capital cost.

In the early stages it is proposed to manufacture:

1. a medium power passenger car-like Ford V8, Chevrolet or Plymouth and
2. a commercial truck of $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons capacity.

The same engine may be used for both classes of vehicles. As soon as the manufacture of these two classes of vehicles is successfully provided for, arrangements will be made for the manufacture of a low power car like Austin 7, 10 or 12 or Hillman Minx or Baby Ford. The smaller cars may sell faster because of lower upkeep. It may take 18 months or two years to construct the factory. In the first year, a plant will be set up to be used chiefly for assembling imported parts. In the second year, some of the parts will be manufactured locally and the number of assembled vehicles may go up to 6,000. In the third year, the factory is expected to attain its full size and may turn out about 12,000 vehicles.

THE KARACHI AERO CLUB

The Aero Club of Karachi, in the course of a Note on the Club's activities for the present year, says that by dint of practising great economies, they have been able to offer to the members to hire aeroplanes at the low rate of Rs. 28 per hour, which compares favourably with many clubs in England. The Note concludes that, by possessing a fleet of seven various types of machines, the Karachi Aero Club is able to impart the additional experience of handling multi-engined aircraft to intending B pilots.

HUGE COST OF A. R. P.

Amounts spent in London for the recent air raid precautions are astounding. The bill submitted by the City of Westminster comes to over £64,000. Trench digging labour and transport cost £30,000, timber nearly £20,000, and picks, shovels, etc., £2,000. 100,000 persons were fitted with gas masks and 8,500 men dug trenches in parks and open spaces to accommodate 27,000 persons. The length of the trenches dug is over four miles.

QUICKEST AIR MAILS

Letters posted in London at 6 p.m. will be delivered in New York next morning through first delivery. Major R. H. Mayo, designer of the pick-a-back seaplane, predicts, says the *News Chronicle*, that a new land type composite machine, which he expects shortly to be built, will make this possible. It will be recalled that the pick-a-back seaplane Mercury flew from Ireland to Montreal on her first attempt in September in 18½ hours.

GERMANY'S NEW BOMBING PLANE

Several entirely new military machines were displayed for the first time at the Nuremberg Congress during the display of Germany's fighting forces.

Most striking of these was a completely new design of aeroplane which has been nicknamed "The aerial side-car". The single wing of this weird-looking machine incorporates a fuselage which carries the engine in front, and petrol and bombs behind.

LEATHER INDUSTRY

The importance of leather industry in national economy has been sufficiently emphasized by eminent authorities. "Leather Industry: Its Transport Problem" by Prof. R. D. Tiwari of the Khalsa College, Bombay (reprinted from the Journal of the University of Bombay) gives an account of the organization of Indian leather industry with special reference to railway rates. This industry supplies the most essential requirements of the people during the days of war and peace alike. Hence this key industry deserves to be fostered with the aid of science and other artificial devices. The author pleads for proper organization of the leather trade in India, if it is to stand the strain of modern economic policy of different countries.

GANDHI CAPS

The vow to sell four lakhs of Gandhi caps in Maharashtra in connection with the birthday celebration of Gandhiji, is being pursued with great fervour, and already Poona has sold 25,000 caps, Satara 8,000, Sholapur 6,000, Kolhapur 20,000, Sangli 9,000 and Nagpur 3,000, while there are yet a number of other districts in Maharashtra where Gandhi caps are being sold, but the figures of which are not yet available. The organisers of the Gandhi Cap Sale Movement are confident that before the end of the period of a month that they have set for themselves, they would be able to sell four lakhs of caps.

INDUSTRIES AND RESEARCH

Activities in connection with magnesite, magnesium and dry ice, artificial silk, paints, starch, hurricane lamps, dry cells, vegetable oils, calcium carbide, electric lamps, glass and glass materials and other industries are described in the annual report of the Industrial Research Bureau of the Government of India for the year 1937-38, published recently.

PROPOSED INDUSTRIAL SURVEY OF BENGAL

The Government of Bengal propose setting up a Committee for the purpose of an industrial survey of Bengal, and appointing Mr. J. N. Sen Gupta, M.A., M.B.E., Secretary, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, as Secretary to that Committee.

BEE-KEEPING: A FARMER'S INDUSTRY

Notwithstanding the fact that the bee-keeping is a farmer's industry all over the world, in India it is yet to be introduced in the villages, which will no doubt take some time. Bee research is necessary if we can expect the full benefits of bee-keeping. The unemployed educated young men should be taught how to make bee-keeping a profitable business and how to take every advantage of the latest scientific improvements that have been made in the industry. Those who pick up the essentials of bee-rearing should go into the villages and popularise it among the peasants; thereby they may partially solve the problem of unemployment and provide a subsidiary cottage industry to the poor villagers.

THE FARMER IN INDIA

The occupational statistics of India show that out of 85 crores of our people nearly 17 crores earn their living by doing some kind of work, the rest of 18 crores being dependants, which include of course children. And of those who work, 11 crores are farmers. The problems of the Indian farmers, who including their dependants form nearly 70 per cent. of our population, are therefore the common problems of the masses in India. Ignorance, poverty and disease are their lot from year's end to year's end.

PROVINCES INDEBTEDNESS POPULATION
RUPEES

| | | |
|----------------|------------|------------------------|
| Assam | 22 crores | 9,247,857 |
| Bengal | 100 crores | 50,122,550 |
| Bihar & Orissa | 155 crores | 37,590,856 |
| Bombay | 11 crores | 26,847,419 |
| C. P. | 86 crores | 17,951,147 |
| Madras | 150 crores | 53,508,048 |
| Punjab | 135 crores | 23,580,851 |
| | | (excluding the States) |
| U. P. | 124 crores | 49,614,888 |

LAND PROBLEMS OF INDIA

The land problems of India are as acute as they are complicated. The system varies in different provinces, but the result between the different provinces seems more or less similar so far as the position of the farmer is concerned. The economic position of the Indian farmer in the different provinces may be appreciated from their amount of indebtedness.

TRADE DISPUTES IN BRITISH INDIA

The statistics of industrial disputes in British India for the quarter ended March 31, 1938, show that there were three important strikes during the quarter. They were all in Madras—in the Papanasam Mills in Tinnevely District, in the Madura Mills at Madura, and among the silk hand-loom weavers in Peddapuram. The strikes, which were in progress at the end of the quarter, involved 6,800, 11,500 and 2,468 workers respectively, while the days lost totalled 478,800, 644,000 and 87,384.

Bombay Province led with 86 disputes, while in Bengal and Madras there were 89 and 19 disputes respectively. The number of workers involved in Bombay, however, was only 24,115 as compared with 81,786 in Bengal and 88,659 in Madras. The numbers of days lost were 149,707 in Bombay, as against 209,213 in Bengal and 1,168,405 in Madras.

A classification of the disputes by industries shows that 42 disputes occurred in cotton and woollen mills during the quarter as against eight in jute mills, five in engineering works and 47 in miscellaneous industries. The workers involved in the disputes in cotton and woollen mills were 67,868 and the days lost were 1,356,768.

MR. GIRI'S ADVICE TO LABOURERS

The Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour and Industries, addressing the Labour Union at Samalkot, advised the workers not to resort to hasty strikes. He said:

To have a strike is a loss. You are not able to understand the meaning of a strike. By a strike, there will be loss to the management and a loss to the workers. If the factory is shut for two months, imagine the difficulties you will be put to. The losses and gains on account of a strike are equal to both the management and the labour. Though you can have a strike under the law it is most inadvisable. Strike is the last recourse when all other possible means are exhausted. It can be compared to poison which is administered to a patient when all hopes of life are given up. You must clearly understand the meaning of a strike. You can threaten a man with a sword so long as it is in the sheath, but once it is taken out and put into use nobody will be afraid. The weapon of strike should therefore be kept aside. Strike is the extreme step for the workers and look-out for the employers, but these weapons should not be used.

WORLD'S POPULATION

The Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations for 1937-38 states that the world's population at the end of 1936 was about 2,116 millions. There has been in recent years a remarkable drop in mortality. The number of births, however, has fallen off sharply. We are now confronted with the prospect of fewer babies and more elderly people all over the world. The world's output of gold has doubled in the last 10 years, 1937 showing a record production. Air traffic has quadrupled between 1931 and 1936, whereas railway traffic remained almost stationary.

COWARDICE AND VIOLENCE

Romain Rolland, the great Frenchman of letters, quotes this passage from Gandhi in his recent book on "Europe":

Where the only choice is between cowardice and violence, I advise violence.

I am quietly cultivating the courage to die without killing. But I would like those who do not have this courage to cultivate the art of killing and be killed rather than shamefully flee from danger. For the person who flees commits a mental violence; he flees because he has not the courage to be killed while he is killing.

A thousand times I would rather risk violence than the emasculation of a whole race.

SIGNS OF RADIO'S PROGRESS

That the new stations of All-India Radio are causing an increase in the number of listeners is evident from the big increase in licences issued. Recently no fewer than 4,995 licences of which 2,161 were new, were sold. This is by far the largest number recorded for this period of the year and it is hoped that during the winter, when reception conditions are at their best, there will be a very substantial increase in the number of listeners.

TEA DRINKING IN INDIA

China and Japan consume their own tea. Why shouldn't India do the same, asks the *Statesman*? Obviously there are great potentialities in a people numbering 850 millions, who once they have taken the plunge find tea a grateful drink, not attended by the pains and penalties the most orthodox of their pandits suspect in it. Tea drinking has made great headway in India.



PRINCE SIDDHARTHA AND THE DANCERS

BY COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

S. N. Chankur

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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DEMOCRACY IN RETREAT

By DR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt.

IN the international no less than in the constitutional sphere the Czechoslovakian incident reveals the spectacle of British democracy in full retreat. The supreme merit of the peace settlement of 1919 was declared contemporaneously to be the establishment throughout Europe of the rule of law based on the will of democratic States. The destruction of autocracy in the States of Europe seemed in itself to be worth the enormous sacrifices entailed by the contest, and it was assumed that the peoples thus liberated would be determined never again to fall under the control of leaders who regarded war as a just means of national aggrandisement. This assumption has proved to be utterly erroneous and to rest on a false psychology, which ignores the historic tendency of such peoples as the Germans and Italians to welcome organisation and domination from above if it results in the promotion of national sovereignty. That the minor and less highly civilised States should follow their example is in the highest degree natural.

In face of this phenomenon, the attitude of the European democracies has become one of continuous retreat. The fatal impetus to this movement was first given by Britain when Sir John Simon deliberately cold-shouldered the suggestion of joint action, in accord with American

opinion, to counter Japanese aggression in Manchuria. But from this error recovery was possible when the Ethiopian issue arose, for the danger of action in the Far East was much greater than that of efforts in Europe, and the fact that the Suez Canal was the necessary route by which Italy could carry war to Ethiopia afforded an easy means of meeting aggression. But the whole position had been undermined by the treachery of France. Unwilling to surrender to Italy any of her vast colonial territory, France had accorded to Italy a free hand in Ethiopia, and M. Laval's disgraceful pact paralysed the efficiency of the League. Had sanctions been promptly and effectively applied, and had the transit through the Suez Canal been blocked, Italy must have accepted an honourable solution of the Ethiopian issue. But the action of the British Government was motivated, not only by French reluctance to honour the terms of the League Covenant, but also by the wide sympathy for Fascism among members of the Ministry. Their attitude was completely undemocratic and politically dishonest; for the victory at the election of 1935 had been won by the giving of profuse assurances of the determination of the Ministry to base its foreign policy on whole-hearted support of the League. The decision to abandon sanctions

in July 1936 unquestionably marked a decisive defeat for the principles of law and democracy, and the rout thus led by Britain has steadily increased in momentum. The outbreak of the rebellion in Spain was followed by the determined effort of the Ministry to aid the rebel cause without creating too great domestic difficulties for itself. It realised that the country was disturbed by the spectacle of a Military rising, supported by a decadent and authoritarian Church, and resting on the employment of Moorish troops against Europeans, and that public opinion felt that a victory for Militarism in Spain through Italian support would menace Gibraltar and the position alike of France and Britain in the Mediterranean. Despite, therefore, its Fascist sympathies the Ministry had to proceed with caution, and the non-intervention plan was eagerly adopted as a mode by which Italy and Germany could afford effective support to the insurgents, while Britain and France cut off the Spanish Government from the possibility of obtaining arms. It was hoped that, deprived of the means of defence, Spain would follow the fate of Ethiopia, and there is no doubt of the disappointment of the Ministry that the Spanish Government has not yet succumbed to its enemies. Not a single expression of sympathy has been given to it, while the Prime Minister has been in the closest touch with Signor Mussolini.

The attitude of the British Government in the affair of Czechoslovakia was equally hostile to democracy. The danger to that State after March 1938 was patent to all, and, as Lord Halifax has frankly admitted, was fully realised by the Ministry. It was, therefore, under a categorical obligation to use the breathing space after the

annexation of Austria to determine on a policy of honouring its obligations under the League Covenant to maintain against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of Czechoslovakia as a member of the League under Article 10 of the League Covenant. Failing readiness to do so, it should have forthwith warned Czechoslovakia that it would not keep faith. No such warning was ever given, and the Prime Minister gave what was regarded widely as a distinct warning to Germany that, if France became involved in war through carrying out the obligation undertaken by her towards Czechoslovakia under the Locarno treaty of 1925, Britain would intervene in her favour. The Czechoslovakian Government at the instance of Britain and France prepared to make extensive concessions to the Sudeten Germans to secure a peaceful outcome, while France repeatedly gave assurances that she would honour the obligations of the Locarno treaty. The rest is well known. When Herr Hitler was ready to move, he found that France was perturbed, and at the critical moment the personal intervention of the British Prime Minister resulted in a definite refusal at the last hour by France to keep faith. Czechoslovakia was thus forced by the dictation of Britain and France to surrender not merely territory but political independence to Germany, as the sole means of preserving the slightest element of freedom. Germany thus attained complete predominance in Europe, indeed so completely as to cause deep perturbation to Italy which thus lent its support to demands by Hungary and Poland for the constitution of a common frontier between them at the cost of Czechoslovakia, with the idea of constituting a barrier to the obvious

desire of Germany to prepare for advance towards her ideal of the creation of a Ukraine State dependent upon her.

This surrender of the one democratic State in Eastern Europe was rendered acceptable to the British democracy by singularly dangerous methods. The Prime Minister made a spectacular appeal by his aeroplane journey to Berchtesgaden to discuss issues with Herr Hitler, and under pressure from that strong willed man accepted terms which involved the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Approval for these conditions, which utterly denied the obligations of the League Covenant, was obtained from the Cabinet which had no choice but to agree or to face an appeal to the electorate under the most disadvantageous conditions, for the Prime Minister would have dissolved rather than change his own policy. The assent of France to the betrayal of Czechoslovakia was then obtained, and, only when Czechoslovakia had been compelled to agree, was the British public informed of what had been done in the name of the country. The House of Commons was not even summoned to homologate the vital decisions taken, and it was only when Herr Hitler laid down at Godesberg conditions more stringent than those of Berchtesgaden that the Prime Minister was driven to allow Parliament to meet. At this meeting of September 28, his strategy was perfect; for he impressed so completely his audience with the imminence of war that, when he announced his intention to meet Herr Hitler once more at Munich, he received an ovation, and the leaders of the Labour and Liberal parties maintained silence instead of delivering a strong criticism of the utter surrender of British obligations

and the failure to allow Parliament to decide so vital an issue.

Mr. Chamberlain's strategy on his return was even better conceived. His dramatic return with an announcement that he brought back peace with honour for our time, and that he had signed an accord with Herr Hitler, resulted in mob enthusiasm and in his being hailed throughout the world as the saviour of peace. It was not until October 1, that he admitted in Parliament that his peace was a momentary respite, and that to secure it rearmament must be hastily pushed on, and even then he denied that his claim to have won an honourable peace was contradicted by the fact the peace had been won merely by the complete sacrifice of Czechoslovakia contrary to treaty obligations. Nothing is more unfortunate than his categorical assertion that Britain "had no treaty obligations and no legal obligations to Czechoslovakia". The statement is absolutely inexcusable; for the terms of Article 10 of the Covenant are categorical, nor is there any excuse for the falsehood; for Viscount Cecil had in the Lords categorically refuted a like allegation by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Yet the harm has been done; it is natural for the public to believe assertions made and reported on every hand by the Prime Minister and the Primate—men whose word the public should be able to trust. Equally misleading has been the assertion that a British guarantee would be given to the Czechoslovak State. Much stress was laid on this by the Government, though it is obvious to those familiar with the issue that it would be utterly impossible to give any effect to such a guarantee. If Britain and France were unable to aid Czechoslovakia when in

possession of her vast fortifications and a defensible boundary, they could do nothing for the new dismembered and feeble State. The Ministry was perfectly well aware that they were driving Czechoslovakia into the status of a German Protectorate and that their assertions to the contrary were remote from truth. But they realised the enormous force of their slogan that the Prime Minister had saved Britain from war.

It must be recognised that the new procedure reveals the grave danger to democracy of secret diplomacy conducted by the Prime Minister in person. The theory of the constitution demands that foreign policy should be conducted in accordance with the will of the Parliamentary majority based on the principles asserted during the last general election through the Foreign Secretary under the control of the Cabinet and subject to the approval of the Crown. The action of the Prime Minister deprived the country of all safeguards. He went to Berchtesgaden without any policy of surrender and returned thence to confront the Cabinet with his own advice that surrender was essential. Neither the King nor the Commons was given any opportunity to consider the wisdom of the policy. This is no doubt the procedure suitable for Fascist regimes; it runs counter to every British principle. His deliberate imitation of Lord Beaconsfield's proud boast on his return from the Berlin Conference in 1878 was singularly unhappy; for as Mr. Buckle has justly pointed out, the essential feature of that statesman's work was that "it was a victory for free institutions in a continent which had been drifting for some years towards autocracy". Mr. Chamberlain's victory was over the democracy of Czechoslovakia, and his mission enormously strengthened the position of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini in their own countries, while it extinguished the renaissance of Liberalism in Yugoslavia. It is significant that its immediate sequel was the announcement of the early

bringing into force of the Anglo-Italian agreement recognising the conquest of Ethiopia though that destroys the solemn promises of Britain.

For India, the recent events have a grave warning to those who believe in democracy. It is made clear once more that it is to force only that Britain will yield justice; contemporaneously, the Arabs of Palestine are crushed by Military violence and unjust reprisals, not because their claim to self-determination is unjust, but because they are weak and the Ministry is deeply responsive to Zionist influences and Jewish financial interests. It is also clear that the Ministry is deeply sympathetic with Fascism and Nazism, and that their desire to bring about the operation of the federal constitution is dictated by the purpose of curbing, through the representation of the autocratic Indian States, the efforts at democracy shown in the provinces. In Britain itself liberty is being insidiously undermined. Every effort is being made to moderate press criticism under the plea that it may evoke unfortunate reactions in foreign countries, and plans of national preparation for defence are being matured which would gradually regiment the whole population and undermine its liberties. The danger is the greater, because it is cloaked by the specious assurance that sacrifices of freedom are being demanded in the interests of peace, and criticisms of the Government are being met by insistent declarations that critics are warmongers. It is plainly intended to appeal to the electorate at a propitious moment on this cry and to obtain a free hand to control the country by an appeal to mass psychology in favour of peace. It must be remembered that the people has had full demonstration in the recent crisis of the lack of preparations for protection in war, and that the larger number of electors are women who can confidently be counted upon to respond uncritically to any party which accuses its opponents of favouring war. How dangerous the position is can be seen from the confused and uneasy utterances of the Labour leader, who shows an uncomfortable consciousness that whatever he says may easily be twisted into propaganda for war.

LEGISLATION FOR HINDU WOMEN

BY DR. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

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ONE result of the enfranchisement of women, the enlargement of the legislatures and the growth of the



SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR

women's movement is the increasing interest taken in the legal position of women and an effort for the removal of the disabilities affecting Hindu women and for the improvement of their legal and social status. This is only natural and must be welcomed by all interested in social reform. The entry of women into the Central and local legislatures has given a great impetus to the movement for legislation for the amelioration of the position of Hindu women. There is now a heavy spate of bills in the Central legislature for the improvement of the status of Hindu women. It were much to be wished that the sponsors of these bills bestowed far more care and thought on their legislative proposals than

is evident in their bills. The sponsors of some of these bills do not sufficiently realise their own responsibility in the matter. Their knowledge and equipment are not adequate to the tasks they undertake. In illustration of my remarks I may refer to the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act which was passed in 1937 at the initiative of Dr. Deshmukh. It was soon found necessary to amend it, and an amending bill was passed last year at the instance of the Law Member. The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Motilal has now introduced in the Council of State a bill for further amendment of the Act. The objects of this bill are to enlarge the quantum of the interest in property coming to a Hindu woman by inheritance, succession or partition and to simplify the order of succession to the property of women dying intestate. While I am in sympathy with the objects of the bill, I think that in one respect the bill is not in accordance with Hindu sentiment. Where a Hindu widow has got a daughter or a step-daughter or a daughter's son, Hindu sentiment would be in favour of giving a restricted estate to the widow. This is the view taken by the Mysore legislature also in the Hindu Law Women's Rights Regulation passed in 1933. Under Section 10 (2) g of this Regulation, property taken by inheritance by a female from her husband or son or from a male relative connected by blood is comprised in the definition of Stridhanam, except when there is a daughter or daughter's son of the propositus alive at the time the property was so inherited. The Mysore Regulation is a most comprehensive and advanced piece

of legislation on the rights of women under Hindu Law, and it is to be regretted that this Regulation has not attracted the attention it deserves from legislators in British India.

It may be suggested that the conferment of an absolute estate on the widow would not destroy the ties of love and affection between her and her daughter and lead to any abuse of her rights to the prejudice of her daughter. This need not necessarily be the case, especially in cases where the daughter is a step-daughter.

It may also be said, in favour of giving an absolute estate to the widow, that the provision will have the effect of abolishing the claims of reversioners and the insecurity of title caused by the existence of reversioners. Here again I would point out that provisions like those embodied in Sections 17 to 21 of the Mysore Regulation will obviate the evils that may be ascribed to the creation of life estates.

There are three bills now pending before the Central legislature affecting the marriage relations of Hindus. The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Motilal has introduced a bill to declare illegal polygamous marriages among Hindus. The Hon'ble Mr. S. K. Chowdhury has brought forward a bill to regulate polygamy in British India. Mrs. Radhabhai Subbaroyan has also sponsored a bill for the prevention of Hindu polygamous marriages. The objects of these bills are more or less similar. They all seek to penalise the second marriage of a Hindu during the subsistence of a valid marriage with another person. The Hon'ble Mr. Chowdhury, who represents the orthodox view, would allow a second marriage in certain exceptional cases with the permission of the District Judge. The

Hon'ble Mr. Motilal would not permit a second marriage at all, unless the first marriage has been dissolved by law or custom or by a competent authority, and he wishes to apply the prohibition to a Hindu even after his conversion to another religion. Mrs. Subbaroyan would penalise a second marriage, unless the previous marriage has been dissolved under the provisions of her bill or otherwise. Of the three bills, the one introduced by Mrs. Subbaroyan is comparatively the best. Though she has provided for the dissolution of marriages as well as for the prevention of polygamy, she feels shy about calling her bill one for prevention of polygamy and for providing for dissolution of marriages. She is afraid that the introduction of the term 'divorce' in the title of the bill may create a prejudice against it. Though the Hon'ble Mr. Motilal recognises the dissolution of a marriage as a ground for exemption from the penalty proposed in Clause 2 of his bill, he wishes to make it appear that the primary object of his bill is the prevention of polygamy. The Hon'ble Mr. Chowdhury does not wish to make any provision for the dissolution of marriages. He wishes to prohibit a second marriage by the husband, subject to certain exceptions.

The question of divorce has to be squarely faced and dealt with instead of being treated as being merely subsidiary to the issue of prevention of polygamy. If a marriage is legally dissolved, it follows as a logical consequence that a subsequent marriage would be perfectly legal. The subject of divorce should be dealt with first and it may then be declared that a second marriage contracted during the subsistence of a valid prior marriage without the consent of the first wife is void. That there are cases

where a second marriage during the lifetime of a wife or husband should be permitted must be recognised by all reasonable people. The ancient Hindu law-givers provided for such cases, but the provision was one-sided and in favour of the husband alone. The changes which are fast taking place in economic conditions, the growth of education, the infiltration of Western ideas and the emancipation of women render it necessary that there should be a change in the existing Hindu law of marriage. But the change should be not in the direction of imposing restrictions upon the remedies provided by the existing Hindu law, but of securing equality of rights for women. The demand of women for equality of rights is becoming more and more pronounced and has found expression in the utterances and resolutions of educated women in the conferences of the women's associations and elsewhere. This demand is bound to grow and has to be met. There can be no doubt that in the view of the ancient Hindu law-givers marriage was a sacrament and was treated as indissoluble. The Hindu law-givers provided a remedy in favour of the husband by allowing the supersession of an existing wife in certain cases. "A wife who is a drunkard, afflicted with chronic disease, quarrelsome, barren, wasteful, uses harsh and unpleasant language towards her husband, produces only female offspring or hates her husband and always seeks to injure him may be superseded; but she should be maintained." (Yajnavalkya, Acharadhyaya, verse 78). This supersession, however, did not operate as a severance of the marriage tie. In some respects the views of Yajnavalkya are more in accord with the latest trend of thought in sociology. Procreation is at least one of the chief objects of marriage

in all societies, and the procreation of male offspring was an especial object of marriage and a duty to society under the Hindu Dharmasastra. Where a marriage has proved unfruitful for a number of years, say, 15 years after consummation, there is nothing unreasonable in recognising it as a ground for dissolution with the liberty of re-marriage.

The subject has to be considered from a rational point of view and needs careful and thorough examination in all its aspects by a commission or committee to be appointed by the Central Government. Dissolution of marriage or divorce is a most complicated and thorny subject and the various consequences to the individuals concerned and to society must be fully and patiently examined not merely in the light of reason, but also with due regard to public opinion. Proposals to cut the Gordian knot by the adoption of the remedy of divorce by mutual consent, as in Russia or practically so in Malabar, will be considered as going too far in the present state of Hindu society. There have been two forthright utterances by highly educated ladies within the last few days, one by Begum Amiruddin, the President of the Madras Constituent Conference of the All-India Women's Conference, and the other by Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Bombay Premier. Monogamy with the safeguard of divorce available to both parties and with due provision for the consequences of dissolution is what is necessary. The law of divorce was in a most unsatisfactory condition even in England and a Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes was appointed in 1909. The reform of the law of divorce was carried out only by the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1987.

A suitable law of divorce must not merely specify the grounds on which a divorce may be claimed, but also make provision for all the matters which have to be taken into consideration either in granting the relief or dealing with the consequences of the divorce to the parties and their children. Where dissolution is claimed on the ground of adultery, condonation, connivance or other extenuating circumstances will have to be taken into consideration. The grounds on which a divorce may be claimed under Clause 4 of Mrs. Subbaroyan's bill are too restricted. The provisions of the English Matrimonial Causes Act of 1937 and the Baroda Hindu Divorce Act of 1931 may be usefully consulted. One of the grounds mentioned in Mrs. Subbaroyan's bill is habitual adultery, a term of very indefinite and elastic import. Other grounds may be justly added to those specified in Mrs. Subbaroyan's bill either as being in accordance with the Hindu law of supersession, or the requirements of modern legislation, such as lunacy, habitual drunkenness, unfruitfulness of the marriage for a period of fifteen years after consummation, wilful refusal to consummate the marriage, conversion to another religion, Sanyasa or renunciation of the world, or the disappearance of the husband or wife for a period sufficient to give rise to the presumption of death. The pronouncement of a final decree for dissolution should be postponed for some months, so as to give an opportunity to the parties for reconciliation. A law of divorce should be so framed as to avoid the rigour of the English law on the one hand and the laxity of the American law on the other which have given rise to a situation described as a marriage crisis.

The stability of the matrimonial relations is a matter of vital concern to society just as much as the removal of grievous hardships to individuals.

It must be remembered that a law of divorce is only a permissive measure, giving a remedy to parties who wish to avail themselves of it.

There is no evidence of any increase of polygamy in Hindu society and the existence of the evil has been greatly exaggerated by the reformers. Economic as well as other reasons prevent people from the practice of polygamy. As stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Chowdhury, the percentage of polygamous marriages is very small, but the possibility that the husband can marry again during the lifetime of the wife without any reasonable or probable cause lowers the status of women in this country. It was this legal possibility that stood in the way of the recognition of the right of the present Lord Sinha to sit in the House of Lords.

In several cases the marriage of a second wife has taken place with the consent of the first wife who is equally anxious with her husband to secure offspring and to provide for religious ceremonies for their spiritual benefit. Bigamy should not therefore be penalised in cases where the husband has taken a second wife with the permission of the first.

The defectiveness which I have commented upon in the bills introduced by Mrs. Subbaroyan and the Hon'ble Mr. Motilal is far more conspicuous in Dr. Deshmukh's bill for divorce.

It is gratifying to learn that Mrs. Lilavati Munshi proposes to introduce in the Bombay Legislative Assembly a bill to prohibit persons over the age of 45 from marrying girls below the age of majority. It deserves the whole-hearted support of the Hindu community.

BARBARITY AND PROTEST

BY THE RT. REV. DR. E. H. M. WALLER, M.A., D.D.

(*Lord Bishop of Madras*)

IN the last few weeks the world has been appalled by accounts of barbarities said to have been perpetrated against the Jews in different parts of the world. Not long before that, the bombing of open towns in China and Spain occupied our thoughts and horrified us. And one would go back and recount other horrors against which we have reacted similarly. It looks as if the whole world was slipping back into barbarism.

The perpetual call to protest by resolutions and public meetings may prove a most dangerous remedy. Though it effects nothing, it may give us a comfortable feeling of righteousness, because we, at least, are not guilty of such wickedness; or it may render us altogether callous because we are treated to such a surfeit of horrors that our tired nerves and our finer feelings are blunted and refuse to work normally.

But the real remedy for all these ills is much more difficult and much more painful. The only remedy is to remove the root-cause of these horrors first in ourselves and our own immediate neighbourhood; to spread such an atmosphere of unselfishness and service throughout the world that such horrors will not be able to happen.

We have by our horror at these things acknowledged a standard of decent behaviour. On what is it founded? Obviously on the fact that there is an eternal standard and a real eternal ruler of the world and the only thing we have to do is to try to carry out His plans and to work for His ideals for men. We are resolutely to face the facts first in

our own behaviour and in our own country. It is worth while to consider everything which is wrong in our own lives, our own conduct and our own countries and to work to put that right. We are horrified that the Germans should determine that only 'Aryans' should be allowed to live and work in Germany; and that all 'non-Aryans' should be ruthlessly excluded or reduced to beggary and servitude, and we shall think of communities near us or living among ourselves who are deprived of their ordinary human rights. We are horrified if the Germans try to impose one State religion on all their people. So we shall stand for perfect freedom of conscience for every community in our own land; and so on. My point is that when we are all striving for the ideals of freedom and righteousness in our own land and when we are all united in our endeavour to uphold and strengthen the ideals and purposes of righteousness and of God—then only shall we be in a position to protest and entitled without any kind of smugness and hypocrisy to censure barbarities in other nations and other places.

Our protest then will take the form of a rigid self-examination and a determined effort to drive away from ourselves and from our own surroundings any beginnings of the spirit which in all its nakedness we recoil from others. We shall strive to drive out race feeling, caste feeling and the exploiting of the poor in any form from ourselves. We shall respect the religious convictions of others and live at peace with our neighbours. We shall fight against selfishness and all attempts to enrich ourselves at the expense of others. When we are doing these things, we shall be entitled to protest against others if we want to, and what is much more important we shall contribute something of lasting value to our own people and to the world.

EDUCATION FOR A NEW CULTURE

BY PROF. K. G. SAIYIDAIN

(Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State)

EDUCATION in India is passing through a very interesting and critical stage at the moment and various educational schemes and experiments are being tried with the object of bringing it nearer to the needs and ideals of the people. Educationists of all shades of opinion are dissatisfied with the existing system; those who are directly responsible for the system speak in somewhat moderate and diplomatic terms; the others indulge in undisguised and undiluted criticism of its method, technique, and ideology. I do not propose in this short article to deal with all the criticisms or all the suggestions for reforms which have been made by various committees and educational organisations but to confine myself to one issue only which has been brought into striking prominence by Mahatma Gandhi's lead and the report of the Zakir Husain Committee, namely, the place of practical work and crafts in education. By restricting the discussion to one aspect of the problem, it will be possible to obtain a more lucid and helpful view of the issues involved. It is a matter of common knowledge and criticism that our education has become divorced from the realities of life, that it does not prepare the large majority of students for the kind of life that they will be required to lead, that it tends to give them a distorted view of the duties and ideals of citizenship. Life, for the large majority of human beings, is neither a leisured picnic nor clerical occupation in an office, it is—or should be—a matter of hard, practical work on the land or in the workshop or in the form of manual labour. But our education seems to

be on the naive, if not, vicious, assumption that a large majority, if not all of the students, will be able to lead their lives without soiling their hands with any kind of physical labour or constructive work and craftsmanship. So long as education was confined to a small class of people, most of whom were likely to be absorbed in services, clerical work or learned professions, the existing system was at least feasible, though not socially and psychologically sound. But the moment one thinks of mass education—of education given to the labourer, the craftsman, the cultivator, to the thirty odd crores of people living in villages, the absurdity of the existing educational practice becomes obvious. How can one imagine this "schooling" to be effective and adequate education for these people when it gives them no opportunity to come into contact with, or actually perform, the kind of work in which they will be engaged all their life? How can we expect education to develop in them the requisite attitudes and ideals? That is not to belittle or decry the value of culture and cultural education; it is giving a new and more fruitful interpretation to that most abused term "culture". We do not suggest that education should train the pupils only in the practical activities of their later life; that will be to deprive the rich concept of education of some of its most valuable implications. But we are equally opposed to the narrow, superficial and false conception of culture which dominates modern educational theory and practice which identifies culture with book knowledge and confuses it with the passive assimilation of other people's ideas at second

hand. Culture in the modern world must be acquired through one's own hard and honest work, through coming into active and educative personal contact with men and materials. It is not that we want to stop at manual work as an end, though even as an end, it will have less anti-social consequences than the pursuit of superficial academic culture has had for present-day society. We want to make it an instrument for the acquisition of that genuine culture which comes through intelligent, humane, and co-operative experience gained by working with natural resources and materials in association with our fellow-men. "The education of the worker," said the great German educationist, Kerschensteiner, "is the door to the education of men," which means that distinctively human or liberal or cultural education is impossible unless we teach the child to respect his constructive powers and capacities and teach him to take joy in expressing them through various kinds of productive or craft work. Incidentally such work will provide far greater scope for co-operative work which is the essence of real culture and which, in our present schools, is conspicuous by its absence. I was present a few days ago at the inauguration ceremony of the new Basic Training School at Srinagar, Kashmir, which is one of the first institutions to be established in accordance with the ideology of the Basic Education, with the object of imparting academic and craft education in integral relationship with each other. Groups of teachers, newly admitted, were working at wood-work, spinning and weaving, preparation of jams, jellies and sauces, polishing of furniture, printing of cloth and fretwork, and attending side by side classes where the theoretical

background of their work was discussed and elucidated. It appeared to me as I watched their interested and absorbed work—and there were amongst them the twice-born Kashmiri Pandits and the super-Sherif Syeds!—that with each stroke of the axe and the hammer or the brush and the loom-handle, they were attacking the citadel of orthodox culture which had for ages disdained all manual work and workers. And as they delivered their lusty strokes, I wished more power to their elbows! For, this disdain and contempt of manual labour has been the most powerful instrument in corrupting our social ideology, and dividing the people into groups which have neither community of interests nor community of culture. It would be absurd to suggest that these teachers will be worse exponents of culture than their fellows who can only teach the books theoretically.

Critics who have attacked this new ideology, like the Bengal Premier, have not grasped the essential bases of this idea. They are afraid, for instance, that the new schools, transformed into factories, will not produce great intellectuals like Iqbal or Tagore. In the first place, it would be journalistic commonplace to affirm the truth that Iqbal or Tagore are what they are, not because of this educational system but in spite of it, and they and others like them have never hesitated in saying so. Genius achieves self-expression often in the face of the most adverse circumstances and not the least adverse of these has been our mechanical education which Iqbal himself has impeached in these words: "From the school and the cloister alike, I went out with a heavy heart. They give neither life nor love, nor vision nor intuition."

Secondly, and apart from this point, the critics have failed to realise the elementary psychological truth that even from the point of view of intellectual development, it is a help and not a hindrance to do manual work and thereby gain concrete concepts and experiences and develop the sensory system properly. And, if manual work is conducted intelligently and in close relationship with academic work, both are greatly enriched and contribute to the development of a balanced and clear thinking personality. Barring a few specially gifted children, who have a predominantly academic mind, children generally learn much better and think better with their hands and, in the interest of this large majority, it is essential that their education should be conducted through some suitable form of craft or practical work. They will thus not only acquire knowledge more actively and intelligently but also gain what is far more important the right kind of social and human attitudes. And even in the case of the highly gifted children it is all to the good—ethically, socially, and intellectually—that they should have the opportunity to work productively

and co-operatively with their fellow-students and learn practically something of the hard but honourable work which sustains the life of the world. I have no patience whatever with the delicate, sensitive, super-refined and, often decadent votary of culture who wants to shun the hard disagreeable realities of life and seek refuge in his own selfish literary or artistic pursuits. Advocates of this conception are welcome to their sneering condemnation of the new scheme. But those who long for the dissemination of a vigorous cultural life in the country must surely welcome an educational ideology which aims at combating this "unlovely individualism" and cutting across the social stratifications which have disfigured our society for centuries, and training up instead a generation which will be wedded to the ideals of labour and social service, and honour all work which is done with earnestness and integrity. I have deliberately said "aims at" these objectives; for at present these are really aspirations and time alone will show how far the teachers have the capacity, the enthusiasm, and the idealism to translate them into practice.

THE CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTION TO INDIA

BY THE RT. REV. DR. V. S. AZARIAH, LL.D.

(*Bishop of Dornakal*)

CERTAIN utterances by responsible Indian leaders have created a suspicion in the minds of many Indian Christians that the place of Christians in the national life of the country is not, perhaps, clearly understood by our countrymen. This article is intended to remind them of the contribution the Christian Movement has made to India's past and present and to show how unjust is a

hostile attitude towards an agency that has played a great part in building up modern India.

1. A community of six million Indian Christians has come into existence, five sixths of whom may be said to be either converts or descendants of converts of under-privileged classes. The process of conversion has been going on for nearly four hundred years. During these many

years has been built up this community, owning allegiance to a religion whose high standards in worship and conduct will be universally acknowledged. These religious ideals have in their turn brought the community such enlightenment of mind and such wholesome conditions of physical life that in spite of much that may still be defective, the community as a whole will be recognized to be a miracle of social and moral regeneration. The Christian religion has undoubtedly brought to these aboriginals, criminals, outcasts and under-privileged peoples the blessings of a new human and divine life.

The Census Superintendent of the Mysore State thirty years ago gave this testimony regarding the work of Christian Missions among the backward classes :

The enlightening influence of Christianity is patent in the higher standard of comfort of the converts and their sober disciplined and busy lives.

Speaking of the work among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, a Calcutta writer says :

The most careless observer can tell the house of a Christian convert of some years' standing from that of his non-Christian fellow-tribesman by the greater cleanliness of the Christian's house and the general neatness and orderliness of everything about it.

One could go on multiplying the testimony of impartial observers to the reforming, civilizing and regenerating influence exercised by the Christian religion upon these long neglected classes. There is no doubt that the religion of Jesus Christ by winning these millions to the Christian way of life has done a service to India that ought to win the appreciation and admiration of every true patriot.

2. Another contribution no less in importance is in the sphere of education. It is good to remember that the first newspaper, the first public library and the first English school were all organized by Christian Missionaries. Here in South

India, it is well known that Missions have been the pioneers in the sphere of women's higher education. The first University College, the first Medical School, and the first Training College for Women were all under the auspices of Missions. Christians were everywhere the first to break the shackles and set women free to know and understand their world as their brothers were able to do.* Twenty years ago it could be said that twenty-eight per cent. of the Collegiate education and ten per cent. of Secondary education in India were through Christian institutions.

Christian Missions were pioneers in the field of vocational education too. Rural and agricultural schools for boys and the Industrial and Manual Training Institutions for boys, girls and women were ushered into the country by Christian Missions. The Fraser Commission on Village Education, the Lindsay Commission on Colleges, the Rural Uplift Survey by Butterfield, the Physical Training College at Saidapet and the Agricultural Institute in Allahabad give the lead to practical education long before the Wardha Scheme came to be talked about. The last mentioned Institute has sent out into the Provinces and States, over 500 students during the last quarter of a century, and of these only 76 were Christians. It has at present 150 students in residence and has an annual budget of Rs. 74,000. Is this a service we can afford to ignore?

There are about 15,000 elementary schools under Christian management, where over half a million pupils are receiving instructions in the three R's. There are also, under Christian auspices 417 Middle

* "World Community", Paton, p. 101.

Schools with 90,000 pupils, and 801 Secondary Schools with 76,000 pupils, and thirty-seven Colleges of the University and Intermediate grade with 13,180 students scattered throughout the country.

As a result of all this Educational work, eighteen per cent. of the Indian Christians are literate. What the India Census Commissioner of 1911 said is still true:

Although Indian converts to Christianity are recruited mainly from the aboriginal tribes and the lowest Hindu castes who are almost wholly illiterate, they have in proportion to their numbers three times as many literate persons as the Hindu and more than four times as the Muhammadans. In Bihar and Orissa the Indian Christians rank second in literacy only to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, having seventy-six per thousand able to read and write. The corresponding figure for the tribes from whom the religion of Christ has mainly drawn its converts is five.

Christian Indians have not used this educational advantage for themselves. They are to-day furnishing a large proportion of the school masters and school mistresses in South India. Whereas Christians constitute only about one and a half per cent. of the population, seven per cent. of those engaged in the teaching profession belong to this community. There is probably no other community that has such a large proportion of its educated men and women engaged in the work of imparting primary education. And these men and women teachers may be seen almost everywhere, in Government, Municipal, and District Board Schools educating young India. The service rendered to India through this one channel alone ought to justify the claim of the Indian Church to be a factor in our country's uplift.

8. Another equally important contribution to the motherland made by the Christian Church is the number of men and women it has given to public service.

His religion has given the Christian citizen of India obvious advantages which ought to be of peculiar service to the country. His comparative freedom from caste prejudice and favouritism and the fact that he may be depended upon to hold the balance between conflicting religious and communal interests make him peculiarly valuable in public service. The Church has "contributed an ever-increasing number of able officers to the public service and also given a large percentage of good and able men to other professions". The fact that several large cities have had as Commissioners Indian Christian officials, and several Estates and Samasthans have had Indian Christian Dewans at the helm of the States prove the value to India of officials who are Christians. Can India afford to lose such capable officers?

4. No less in importance is the service rendered to the care of the sick, the infirm, and the defectives. The first School for the Blind, the first Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, the first (and even now the largest) Sanatorium for Tuberculosis patients were all started under Christian auspices. There are in British India about 500 Hospitals with 57,700 beds—fully a third of these are in Christian Hospitals. These were served by 299 Indian and 806 missionary doctors and by 800 Indian and 290 missionary nurses. Is this a service that can be lightly ignored or set at naught?

5. More than all these is the contribution the religion of Christ has made to the enrichment of moral and spiritual values. Respect to personality, equality of all before God, sublimity of service, power of self-sacrifice for the redemption of humanity—these which are now universally recognized as axioms have surely been

derived from the religion of the Incarnation and the Cross. These contributions that belong to the heavenly sphere are no less important than those earthly factors we have already considered.

Many of our countrymen genuinely appreciate the service rendered in material and spiritual spheres, but violently object to conversions. Those who think thus do not, perhaps, realize that all the activities undertaken, lessons conveyed and the successes won are directly due to the spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ, and that to ask us to engage in all these activities without demanding obedience to Christ, is to ask railways to run without engines, and electric installations to be effected without the power-house. It is the worship of the living Christ that has brought about the results so far achieved, and to desire the results without Him is to kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

Indian Christians are part of India's nation and we have an inherent right to have a place in its life and in its programme of uplift. No plan for the reconstruction of our dear motherland will ultimately succeed that ignores the leverage that religion affords. No sect, party nor individual that loves India and genuinely longs for its advancement can afford to ignore, discourage or oppose these citizens of India who desire to serve her through the religion of Jesus Christ.

In view of certain disquieting events in recent political thought, I should like to make a plea for a new attitude towards Indian Christians and their religion.

1. We would earnestly plead with responsible leaders of all parties that they should avoid giving utterance to any sentiment or opinion that would be likely to create religious animosity.

2. Those responsible for the Government of the country must remember that strict religious neutrality is the only principle on which any successful Government will be possible in any country where the subjects belong to various religious groups. Queen Victoria's proclamation is rightly recognized as the Magna Charta of Indian liberties—not because it was promulgated by a Christian ruler, but because it states a truth of universal application. No civil authority that desires the co-operation of peoples following different faiths can afford to ignore this truth.

3. Those responsible for legislation and administration must see to it that nothing is done to hurt or restrict the work that is being done by Christian agencies. A harm done to such a work is harm done to India itself. It is possible to introduce Educational rules that may compel Christian agencies to withdraw from this useful field of service. New conditions of State grants in aid to Institutions may be imposed that may lead us to refuse such grants and proportionately restrict our field of service. We appeal to our countrymen not to hurt India, by hurting us.

In short, we plead that at a time when the sons of India are on the threshold of taking as complete responsibility for the Government of the land as possible, it is important that our statesmen and leaders should exhibit an attitude of genuine appreciation towards all who in the past have contributed to bring India to this stage, practical sympathy with the problems of all communities, and impartial tolerance towards all religious groups who are serving mother India. Christianity has had an important share in imparting to India's millions the light of knowledge, the love of freedom and self-respect, the value of personality, the spirit of self-sacrificing service to all and the highest ideals of character in home and society. And we have a right to live and serve our motherland.

A. R. P. AT CAMBRIDGE

BY SIR HUBERT SAMS

YOU in happier India probably do not even know what these mystic letters 'A. R. P.' stand for. To us in England, who are near enough to possible enemy



SIR HUBERT SAMS

bombers to wish we were further away, these letters are now all too familiar. They shout at us from every hoarding.

Some people regard Air Raid Precautions as something too obscene to touch. Others, until the Black Week of September, regarded War as something too remote to worry about. So, they did not worry. Others, more wise, took the advice and instructions of the Home Office seriously and began to prepare. After all, they thought or said, in all ages man has protected himself against possible raiders, by dykes or banks, or walled cities or castles, by armed forces and men-of-war. Now, the third element has come into the picture and man must protect himself, in this imperfect world, from raiders of the air. It is only common sense.

As a Councillor of the Borough of Cambridge, I was (and am) on the A. R. P. Committee and thus was in the know. I knew how many volunteers for A. R. P.

were required, how many were enrolled and how many—a good few—were still hanging back, until an enemy bomb or, as actually happened the growl of war, should wake them from their apathy. We on that Committee were anxious. The Chief Constable started an Anti-Gas course for Councillors, which only a few of us attended, learning, from a properly trained police-sergeant, who amusingly combined technical jargon with breezy colloquialisms, about 'persistent' and 'non-persistent' gas, mustard gas, incendiary bombs; what to do, what not to do; how to pretend not to be scared so as to give confidence to those, who could not pretend. At the end of the course we went up to the Rifle Range and waited, fearfully, outside a shed, as if we were criminals waiting to be bumped off. Inside, we know, tear gas was being made. Under the guidance of our police-sergeant instructor we slunk into the gas chamber. Then we realised the use of respirators. We found that the 'respirators' really did protect us. But for them, we shall all have emerged with streaming eyes and noses, blinded and groping.

Two of us, Fellows of Colleges, got our instruction over to the body of Fellows in the Colleges, with some success; for a Cambridge 'don' is nothing if not quick in the up-take. The urgency and importance of A. R. P. was promptly recognised in the University.

In the Colleges we all got busy. We put the matter before the Governing Bodies and Councils and asked for money to buy the necessary stores, permission to get our small staff into working squads; at Peterhouse we formed two squads, one under the Head Porter, an

old Artillery Sergeant, the other under our excellent cook (only he has not yet quite got the true 'curry touch'), an ex-Corporal of the Cambridgeshire Regiment; and requested that the resident Fellows should be appointed Air Wardens. The necessary money was voted and permission was given by a slightly amused Governing Body.

Before long, we had at Peterhouse a disused bath-house full of A.R.P. stores; 'Civilian Pattern' respirators, steel helmets, decontamination suits, gum boots for the two squads; picks and shovels for trenches, which a friendly R. E. officer planned for us in the College gardens; 'Redhill' sand containers and scoops, with which to tackle incendiary bombs, before they could do much damage; fire extinguishers and stirrup pumps; stretchers and First Aid bandages. Our two squads attended the Anti-Gas Course and First Aid Course and, coached by our splendid Head Porter, even went in for the First Aid Examination; they all hope to get the coveted certificates. They also attended the Fire-drill course.

All this was during July, August and September. In September, as the whole World knows, the political sky grew blacker and blacker. There was not much more for us to do. But we hurried on with the completion of our preparations. The squads and any other College servant available dug a first-rate trench in the College Grove in which the squads could, in turn, wait and watch and, if necessary, duck. We already had a dozen municipal dust-bins full of sand and sand bags ready to screen the window of the Porter's Lodge, where is the gas main and electric main and telephone. We were all set to protect our precious buildings from enemy attack.

So much for the buildings. What of the young men who were due to fill them merrily on October 8th. We called an emergency College meeting and instructed our delegate to advise the Vice-Chancellor at his University Meeting that those who

had to come up for examinations should come up and bring their gas-masks. For them we had prepared a refuge-room in the College wine cellar, which had an entrance from the Buttery and another into the Kitchen yard for the access of beer. We advised that those undergraduates, who need not appear for examinations should not come up at all, except, when summoned, to be cajoled for the various jobs, for which they were best fitted, thus to save the wastage of valuable material, which occurred in the Great War.

Then came another summons from the Vice-Chancellor. Ten thousand refugees were to be evacuated from London to Cambridge! The Town Clerk explained the position at the Meeting of College representatives and the Vice-Chancellor. Could the Colleges help? Yes. We were all ready to help. Some Colleges preferred adults. But most Colleges plumped for children, especially Colleges which had gardens and could turn the children loose into them. Adults, we thought, might prove difficult to please; whereas, we thought, perhaps optimistically, that we could manage kiddies. Colleges are an ideal place for children, with our facilities for feeding and bathing, our chapels and, in most cases, our gardens. During the War we had soldiers and sailors; during the Peace we have had young men. It would have been an interesting experience to have children.

We all worked cheerfully with jokes on our lips, but heaviness in our hearts. Was the sacrifice of 1914-1919 to be all in vain? For how many more nights could we all go to sleep and be sure of getting rest uninterrupted by air raiders and their dreadful cargoes? Thanks—and never too much gratitude and thanks—to Mr. Chamberlain and President Benesh, it was Peace not War. Picks and shovels, gas-masks and gum-boots were returned to store. The trenches were filled up; and over a glass of ale in the Buttery we congratulated ourselves in our deliverance.

A. R. P. goes on. It is an important line of defence. But not with the same tight lipped intensity.

SPORT IN INDIA

BY THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Dublin)

(Minister for Education, Madras, and President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India)

OF late, there has been a tendency in this country to discount the influence of Western games as some of our leaders



HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN

are of the view why such expensive games as Cricket should form part of the physical training in this country. I am, therefore, glad that Mr. Natesan has given me an opportunity of writing about Sport in India. Sport covers many matters.

RACING—THE KING OF SPORTS

We shall begin with racing which is known in England as the King of Sports. Racing is not new to India, as I believe even in Moghul times race meetings were held though not on the scale in which they are held to-day. The chief objection to this form of sport in our country has been the fact that this encourages gambling and results in the ruin of many poor families, but racing from the point of view of encouraging horse breeding is a necessary thing in any country. The

Bombay Government have taken this point of view recently and have compelled the Royal Western India Turf Club to give large stakes for Indian bred horses. This is a reform in the right direction. The great difficulty, of course, is that there are not enough Indian breds to cater to. Last year, our own Race Club at Madras gave away large amounts in stakes to Indian breds and the average was over Rs. 2,000 per horse. It cannot, therefore, be said that Indian breds are not encouraged by the local Race Club. Attempts should certainly be made to encourage more Indian breds coming on the Race Course as that only can improve the stock in our own country. We here cannot afford to give the large stakes that are given in Calcutta and Bombay as we have not the finances nor the owners who will invest in what I would call high grade horses.

Racing is held in almost all principal centres in India and attracts quite a large number to see the performance of the horses on the track. It is a mistake to think that gambling alone attracts them. I think the crowd enjoys the performance of horses and really delight in seeing good horse flesh. The one objection that may be made to Racing is that it is an expensive game and is only available to the rich, but we must not forget the fact that the poor people also enjoy the sport, and enclosures are so devised as to make it possible for the poor man also to see racing.

POLO

There is, of course, the game of Polo which is supposed to have been brought from Persia to this country by the

Moghul Emperors, and we read in history of Akbar playing Polo in torch-light. This game again has been adopted in the West and contests between England and America for the Westchester Cup is an event that is looked forward to by all sportsmen. The game is very popular, specially in the Cavalry Regiments of the Indian Army and with the Ruling Houses of this country and the late Maharaja of Alwar was a great exponent of the game, and the present Nawab of Bhopal is ranked very high as a Polo player. The Maharaja of Jodhpur took a good side to England some years ago and showed them the standard Indian Polo had attained. In his wake, the Maharaja of Jaipur went to England and his side won almost all the principal tournaments during their stay in the country and though they were invited to America, they could not go there because of finance. The Maharaja of Jaipur, though young, is a great exponent of the game and is reckoned as one of the best backs in the world playing Polo to-day. He has succeeded in winning the several tournaments in India for the last three or four years, and even though Mr. Gerald Balding, the English No. 1 played against the Jaipur side, still Jaipur maintained their unbeaten record at the All-India Championship at Calcutta last year. Rao Raja Hanut Singh, one of the Jaipur players, was selected to play for England in the Westchester Cup, but could not play as he was hurt before the Match. The Maharaja of Kashmir also takes a great interest in Indian Polo, and most of the States run sides of their own, for example, the Mysore Cavalry and the famous Golconda Side of the Nizam's Dominions. At one time, Shah Mirza Beg who played

for Golconda, was considered as one of the best players in the world. So Indian Polo can easily bear comparison with Polo in any other part of the world.

HOCKEY

In hockey, to-day India occupies the proud position of being the Champion country of the world as they won the hockey championship in the last three Olympic contests. The Indian Hockey team is welcomed wherever it goes, and only recently the Manavadar Side covered themselves with glory in New Zealand and Australia. Dhyan Chand, the Indian centre half, is reckoned to be almost the best player in the world in that position and Pinnegar of the Railways, who could not accompany the last Olympic team, had the reputation of being the best centre half in the world. Indian hockey, indeed, stands very high and it is such a pity that England which is supposed to rank next to India in the hockey world has never been met by an Indian side. I believe there is an attempt being made to get an English side out, but as hockey is a purely amateur game and as players are engaged in their own professions and businesses, it may be difficult for English internationals to spare the time for an extensive tour in this country. I still trust it may be possible for India and England to come together on the hockey field.

FOOTBALL

In football, an Indian Football Association team recently visited Australia, and even though they lost the rubber in the matter of test matches, still the standard of Indian football was considered quite high by Australian authorities. Association football has been popular both in Bengal and Madras for a long time. The Corinthian Side which visited Calcutta on

their way to China also thought that the standard of Indian football was quite fair. Indians have not yet adopted the other football code, that is, Rugby and no Indian team has yet taken part in any principal Rugby tournament in this country, but the Ceylonese, who came over for the All-India Rugby Tournament this year gave a very good account of themselves and were unfortunate to be defeated by Calcutta in the semi-final when extra time was played in the dark. They had rather a light pack, but they delighted the Madras Rugby spectators by their quick movements and the way in which they backed each other when a three-quarter movement was initiated, but this game has not attracted enthusiasm among Indian sportsmen as yet.

The Indian Olympic Association has been represented in the field events in the world Olympics for a considerable time, but owing to lack of proper coaching among our athletes, India has not even won a first place in any event in the Olympics so far. The Madras Olympic Association have done what they could to popularise both track and field events in athletics in Madras. Mr. Buck, the Principal of the Y. M. C. A. College of Physical Education, has done much for popularising this form of sport and the Annual Olympic meet at Madras does attract quite a number of athletes not only from Madras but also from the States of Travancore and Cochin. The standard achieved cannot be said to be very high, but with proper coaching and training of our athletes, I am sure India will take her place in field athletics also in course of time.

CRICKET

Now, as to Cricket, India cannot be said to have attained the standard comparable

to either Australia or England, but we must not forget the fact that India has produced three International Cricketers for England of the calibre of the late Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, his nephew Kumar Shri Duleep Singhji, and the Nawab of Pataudi, who each of them scored a 100 in their very first test match. Though Cricket may be said to be a purely English game, it has become the most popular form of sport right through the British Empire. Ranji proved by his methods how a purely English game can be adopted by an Indian and how a new technique could be given by his eastern genius to this western game. When he was in his prime as a Cricketer, he was a better known figure, as Mr. Gardner has said, in England than even the Prime Minister of the day, Mr. Gladstone. He did a great service to our country by bringing home to the British public what an Indian can do in a realm of sport which the Englishmen considered essentially their own. His nephew Duleep Singhji, who had his career cut short by an unfortunate illness, proved he was a worthy successor to his uncle, and the crowd were always delighted to see "Tulip" as they called him on the English Cricket fields. The Nawab of Pataudi was reckoned to be a great Batsman, but unfortunately, in his case also a nervous break-down prevented his doing what he might have done for several years in international cricket.

India has paid two visits to England in 1932 and 1936, and even though all the members who played for these sides could not be reckoned as 1st class, Major Nayudu in 1932 and Mr. Merchant in 1936 proved what capable Batsmen they were in very good company. Amar

Singh who is now reckoned as a very fine bowler, did very well in 1982 and also in 1986. McCartney writing about him after the Blackpool Match against the Australians this year reckoned him perhaps as the best swing bowler playing in Cricket to-day. Amar Nath is another good all-rounder and he has done very well in League deed in Cricket this year and his test performances, even though not as good as they might be, have earned him the reputation of being a capable all-rounder. Vinnoo Mankad did very well in the only season he played against Lord Tennyson's Team last year and I am sure that with players like these, Indian Cricket has a bright future. The next M. C. C. visit in 1989-90 will give us an idea of the capabilities of our players. I trust we shall find others of the Vinnoo Mankad class who will take their place in an Indian XI and bring credit to Indian Cricket.

LAWN TENNIS

In Lawn Tennis also, India has taken part in the Davis Cup Contests for several years though in an intermittent way. Saleem was the first of the Indian players to attract notice in the Lawn Tennis world. Since then we have had Ramaswami of our own province who was reckoned in Europe as being really 1st class, and Sawhney, who went with the last Davis Cup Team attracted the attention of some of the best exponents of the game in Europe, but here again India has not attained the standard that one would like to see. Lawn Tennis is now reckoned as the most international of all sports. Every country in Europe,

Asia, and Africa takes part in the Davis Cup Contests, and even though only England, United States, Australia and France have succeeded in having their name inscribed on the famous cup, it remains as the most popular game among the nations of the world. India has had visits from English, Australian, and French sides and we have also seen the professional part of Lawn Tennis by the visits of Tilden and Cochet to this country. The Indian Lawn Tennis Association has done a great deal for the encouragement of Lawn Tennis in India, and Mr. Brooke Edwards, who was the Manager of the last team, with the help of the President the Yuvaraja of Pithapuram who unfortunately has given up his place, has done much for this game in India during the last 3 or 4 years. With the talent available, I am sure in course of time we shall be able to produce players who will render a good account of themselves in this branch of sport.

As I began, even though there may be this prejudice against Western games in this country, we must not forget the fact that sport is international and helps to bring the nations together. It is a great thing for international amity, and in any movement for peace sport must play a very important part. I hope, therefore, our own country will not neglect these games and attain a certain amount of prowess in them, as healthy international rivalry in the field of sport is to be encouraged in every way as that alone can bring about peace and goodwill among men and save civilisation from its impending doom.



INDIANS IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS

THE past year has been, on the whole, a very difficult one for Indians residing overseas. In many directions their interests have been attacked and still more of their rights and privileges have been curtailed. This has been specially true of South Africa and all through those British dominions which lead on to East Africa. In Kenya, the final steps seem now on the very verge of being taken to establish a new order in Council of the British Parliament whereby the Indian rights to a share in Highlands will be taken away for ever, not only with regard to the 10,000 square miles already occupied by the Europeans, but also with regard to 6,000 square miles in addition, which were added by the Morris Carter Land Commission only a short time ago.

In Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland, the scheme is being set forward to make a new 'Dominion' similar to the Dominion of South Africa. A Royal Commission is sitting at the present time to enquire into the whole plan. Up to now, there has been almost no interest at all in India in this question and yet it involves the sacrifice for the whole future of Indian rights over an area that is, I believe, not far short of 800,000 square miles in extent and contains some of the most fertile soil and mineral wealth in the world. The British Government which is functioning in these territories has already declared against the further admission of Indian immigrants, although at the present moment there are scarcely 8,000 in this whole vast region of 'Mittel Africa'. What of the future, when the population of India reaches over

400,000,000 and the population of Britain will be actually *declining*?

This brings me to the most vital point of all, which cannot possibly be conceded merely in submission to the racial prejudices of a tiny handful of white people without fatal results in the future leading on to War. To put it in the simplest manner possible, the domains that are claimed by Great Britain for the British and are open to British emigration comprise a very considerable portion of the whole surface of the earth. They are underpopulated to such an extent that in some parts the proportion is only two or three to the square mile, while in Asia there are large areas where the population numbers over 1,000 to the square mile. Yet the net emigration from England and Scotland has already almost come to a standstill and the actual *increase* of population in Great Britain each year is becoming smaller. In other words, Great Britain, which reserves these unoccupied territories, has no longer the splendid stock to send out to settle there. The situation is becoming more and more impossible from any decent moral standpoint; for there is obviously neither justice nor mercy in crowding half the population of the world into an extremely narrow space, while forcibly insisting on empty spaces being left in other directions. To take examples. (i) The North-West Territory of Australia can *never* be peopled by British families, because of the climate. Yet the tropical races which are overcrowded in India, are not allowed even to set foot in it. (ii) The best part of Kenya which is on the Equator, has been reserved for Europeans though

Englishmen have nearly all the rest of the world open to them to settle in, and Indians are almost everywhere excluded except in overcrowded Asia.

The strange thing is, that this fact of world population has never yet been seriously tackled in India itself. India has, indeed, constantly complained but the arguments that might have been most telling have been missed out; and so to-day when *another* huge area of the world's surface in Africa is about to be shut out against Indians, it hardly raises the ripple of a murmur!

Many times over, I have been in Southern Rhodesia and have been entertained by the very small Indian community there. The immigration laws have been so manipulated that it is practically impossible, even at the present time, for any more Indians to enter unless he or she can pass the full 'English' test and also can get with the greatest difficulty a passport. For all practical purposes, only those who have been already domiciled (numbering hardly more than 2,000 in Southern Rhodesia) are allowed to go and return. In Northern Rhodesia, the prohibition of Indian immigration is still more severe and there are only a handful of Indians at Livingstone, which used to be the capital of the country. Once, on a visit to Southern Rhodesia, I was urgently asked by these Indian traders at Livingstone to come and see them; but it meant a full 'day and night' journey each way as well as the stay there itself and unfortunately I had not sufficient time just then to pay them a call. It was a very great disappointment to me; and I also missed the sight of one of the wonders of the world, namely, the Victoria Falls of the River Zambesi, which are greater in volume even than Niagara.

In South Africa, things are evidently going from bad to worse. The mania against what is called 'colour' has become pathological—a form of disease, inhuman and insane. A Commission of Enquiry has been started at the bidding of these anti-colour fanatics, to find out how many mixed marriages there are each year between 'white' and 'coloured' people. Though inbreeding among the 'whites' themselves has brought about an enfeebled race of what are called 'poor whites', (who have obviously declined from any normal European standard) little notice is taken of inter-marriages among these, because they are supposed to be of the same 'blood'; at the same time 'blood' and 'race' in South Africa have become almost a religion, just as they have done also in Nazi Germany. Where is this all going to end? Is Mankind going mad?

Turning from South Africa to the West Indies, fortunately there is very little racial prejudice in Trinidad and British Guiana, where Indians have gone in great numbers. This is partly because the climate is unbearable for Europeans who have families. There is practically no 'colour' dislike on the part of the Indians themselves towards the American Negroes, who form the other main section of the population. There have been very grave labour troubles because absentee 'white' landlords hold a large part of the land, and work it on the capitalist system, giving as little as possible in wages to the agricultural labourer who cultivates the sugar-cane. This work in the plantation used to be done in the past by slave labour; but after the emancipation Indians were introduced from India under the indenture system. Now, indenture itself has been done away with—just

as slavery was abolished a hundred years ago—but the scale of wages remains so miserably low that the labourer working under intolerable conditions of damp heat get a mere pittance, while the profits go to the shareholders in London.

Quite recently 'sugar' has fallen on evil days in the world market and many of the sugar estates have been liquidated. This has proved a golden opportunity for some Indians, who have turned these derelict sugar estates into rice lands and have made a good income from them.

In Fiji, the gravest question of all has been that of the renewal of leases. The 21 years leases taken up, after indenture expired, are now falling in, and the Fijians who are the owners of the soil are unable to agree to their renewal at equitable rates. Those Indians who have spent the best years of their own lives in bringing the leasehold land under good cultivation are now in danger of being turned off and losing what they have striven for so industriously.

It is impossible to deal with the nearer emigration from India to Malaya, Burma and Ceylon in this article, because these subjects would take up too much space to explain at any fair length. It may be said briefly, however, that in Ceylon, a serious dead-lock has ensued in the flow of emigration, because the franchise is not to be given to the Indian labourers in any full measure. The Government of India is, at this point, arguing with the Ceylon Government and some compromise will be arrived at, because Indian labour is surely needed.

Only in one direction has a notable victory been gained. In Zanzibar, where great injustice had been done for four years past to the Indian merchants, the

Colonial Government was obliged at last to concede far better terms than were originally contemplated owing to the Congress boycott of cloves which proved very effective. For the first time since Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance campaign in South Africa in 1918, the Indian community *by its own effort* was able to get certain serious wrongs set right. With very great sacrifice, the Indian merchants in Zanzibar resisted until the victory was won. The lesson should not be lost, and in future much more reliance should be placed everywhere abroad on Indian corporate moral resistance, through sacrifice and suffering, than to the feeble policy of seeking favours through Government aid.

A TRIBUTE TO Mr. KHER

Replying to an address presented at Ratnagiri, H. E. Mr. Lumley, Governor of Bombay, paid a tribute to Mr. Kher, the Premier. "Ratnagiri was, I believe,"



HON. MR. B. G. KHER

His Excellency said, "the home of Tilak and Gokhale and it was, I know, the birthplace of the Hon. Mr. Kher, the Prime Minister of my Government. The respect in which the present Ministry

is held, and the success which has so far attended its efforts, are in a large measure due to his high ideas, his fair-mindedness and the devotion which he has brought to his great task."

INDIA—A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

BY SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I.

DURING the recent crisis, in an entirely unsuccessful endeavour to divert my thoughts from the depressing international outlook, I turned to some of the old books on India which line my shelves and which a busy life in India has prevented my reading. Amongst them is the "Correspondence of V. Jacquemont" with his family and several of his friends



SIR FRANK NOYCE

during his travels in India from 1828 to 1882, a book which I found of absorbing interest. It is now, so far as my experience goes, so little known in India that it seems well worth an introduction to a larger circle of readers. The edition I have is a dumpy volume containing 114 letters and published in Paris in 1841. It is the second French edition, the first having been published in 1834, when an English edition also appeared which attracted so much attention that it was followed by an enlarged edition the following year. Jacquemont was a most voluminous letter writer, but though further collections

of his letters have been published in France, there was no other English edition of them until two years ago when a selection of 61 of the letters admirably translated by Miss Catherine Alison Phillips was issued by Macmillans.

Before coming to the letters, a word should be said about their author. Jacquemont who came from an old Artois family, was the son of a French official who had suffered severely for his liberal opinions both under the Consulate and the Empire, an experience which indirectly but profoundly influenced his son's outlook on Governmental institutions. The younger Jacquemont's interest in chemistry started when he was very young and it was as the result of an accident in a laboratory at the age of 16 when he inhaled a poisonous gas and narrowly escaped with his life that he turned to geology, botany and zoology during the long riding tours in France and Switzerland necessitated by the state of his health. When he was well enough to return to Paris, he continued his studies at the Jardin des Plantes and also became a medical student. Family concern over an unsuccessful love affair with an Italian opera singer sent him to New York from which a quarrel with a countryman whom he felt compelled to challenge to a duel led to his hasty departure to San Domingo, where his brother Frederic was a sugar planter. It was there that he received and accepted an invitation from the Jardin des Plantes to go out to India on an exploring expedition. There was some difficulty in getting passports from the East India Company, but these were smoothed away by a visit to London, and Jacquemont eventually left Brest on August 26th, 1828,

in the French Government corvette, *La Zelee*, which, as he complained, did not live up to its name, for it did not reach Pondicherry until March 6th, 1829, touching on the way at Teneriffe, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, and Reunion, then known as Bourbon. Irksome as Jacquemont found the long voyage, it was certainly not without incident. At Rio de Janeiro, a collision with another ship as *La Zelee* was leaving the harbour necessitated a 10 days' stay for repairs and enabled Jacquemont to see something of Portuguese society, of which, founded as it then was on slavery, he carried away a most unfavourable impression. Bourbon was devastated by a cyclone during his few days there and, in the Indian Ocean, his ship engaged in an encounter with a harmless English vessel which was suspected of being a pirate. Fortunately, though shots were exchanged, no great damage was done before the mistake was discovered. Jacquemont turned his enforced inaction to good use. He did not get through such an enormous amount of reading as did Macaulay during his four months' voyage some five years later, but what was more to the purpose, acquired a knowledge of Persian which was to prove of the greatest value to him later on. He arrived at Calcutta on May 5th and there received a warm welcome and abundant hospitality from the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, whom he describes as "thinking and acting like a Quaker from Pennsylvania", his wife, who had many friends in Paris and was delighted to have an opportunity of talking French again, the Advocate-General John Pearson, the Chief Justice Sir Charles Grey, and Sir Edward Ryan the Judge of the High Court who eventually

succeeded him. The vivacious and witty young Frenchman—Jacquemont was then 28—made an excellent impression on all of them. It is clear both from his letters and from the tributes which were paid to him after his death that he could be most charming company with people he really liked. It was fortunate for him that it was so, for his Calcutta friends were able to do much to make things easier for him, not only in Calcutta but throughout his journeys in India. He had been told that the Jardin des Plantes wanted his expedition carried through in style, but the allowances they made him were so miserably inadequate that had it not been for the hospitality he received, he would in all probability have been compelled to return home at once. As it was, the theme of grinding poverty recurs again and again in his letters and his censures of English extravagance, luxury and addiction to drink, however justified they may have been, are undoubtedly mingled with more than a strong dash of envy. Communications with France at that time were so bad that it usually took Jacquemont a year to get a reply to his letters, and it was not until May, 1830, that he managed to secure a small increase in his allowances and not until the last year of his mission, after the Revolution of 1830 had placed his friends in power that, except during his travels in the Punjab where Ranjit Singh treated him most generously, his financial anxieties were substantially relieved.

Jacquemont stayed in Calcutta till November 1829, working hard in the Botanical Gardens and wishing that he had the salary of its Curator. Then he set out on what, with his very modest equipment, meant a hazardous journey

across India from Calcutta to Simla and on to Spiti and Ladakh. His route lay through Raniganj, where he went down the only coal mine then opened up in India, Benares, Rewa, Panna, Agra, Delhi, Dehra Dun and across the mountains to Simla.

Jacquemont's deep interest not only in Indian flora and fauna but also in Indian history and institutions did not unfortunately extend to Indian architecture. Possibly owing to his short-sightedness, the glories of the Taj Mahal made little or no appeal to him, and it is not even mentioned in his letters though he does say later on in his letters that, after the superb mosques at Lahore, Delhi and Agra, the buildings at Aurungabad were not worth looking at. The incident of his visit to Agra, which he thought best worthy of record, was his encounter with the Roman Catholic Bishop, an Italian. He found the Bishop partaking of a very frugal meal and asked him about the size of his diocese and of his flock. The Bishop, chasing some minute fried fish round a huge tin platter, replied: "The pot is very big but there is very little meat in it." The aptness of the reply sent Jacquemont into a fit of laughter for which he was subsequently sternly rebuked by his companion, a young officer who, it is almost unnecessary to add, was a Scot and who thought it was most unseemly to talk about Christian souls like that, especially for a Bishop. Again, from Delhi, there is not a word about the beauties of the buildings in the Fort or of the Kutb Minar but a lively description of the Darbar at which he was presented to the Emperor Akbar II and of the somewhat shoddy robe of honour which was bestowed upon him. At Simla he stayed with

Captain Kennedy whose name is still perpetuated in that of the hideous building in which I worked for five years. Simla, which Jacquemont describes as the resort of the very rich, the leisured and the sick, had then been in existence only nine years but more than 60 spacious houses had already been built on the mountain top or their slopes. "A considerable village has sprung up by enchantment in the midst of the space occupied by them; magnificent roads have been hewn in the rock; the luxury of the Indian capital has been established seven hundred leagues from Calcutta and seven thousand feet above sea-level and fashion reigns like a tyrant."

Jacquemont was not, therefore, altogether sorry to continue his solitary peregrinations. Whilst he was at their most distant point on the Tibetan side of the frontier which he had crossed in spite of some opposition and was telling his friends proudly but not quite accurately that he was writing to them from camps 2,500 feet higher than Mont Blanc and that he had established—quite accurately—that "the mighty range before which the Andes sink into insignificance" was not "the eldest born of creation", a view which he expected to be regarded as high treason by the scientists of Calcutta, he received a letter which completely changed his plans. It was from M. Allard, Ranjit Singh's French General, and contained a warm invitation to visit the Punjab, in which Kashmir was then included. Ranjit Singh's dominions were firmly sealed against the intrusion of all Europeans except the few in his own service, and Jacquemont, therefore, eagerly availed himself of the opportunity of exploring in unknown country and hastened to Lahore.

Historians of India have reason to be glad he did so, for his letters and journals are the best contemporary record of conditions in the Punjab at that time. Ranjit Singh was as captivated by him as the Bentincks had been and overwhelmed him with attentions, some of them of a rather embarrassing character. The liking was mutual though Jacquemont describes him as "King by conquest of a rich and formidable people, a superstitious atheist, witty, a bit mad, unable either to read or write, yet knowing the name, position and history of from ten to twelve thousand villages in his kingdom". He adds that he was no saint and cared nothing for law or good faith but was not cruel as he merely ordered very great criminals to have their noses and ears cut off or a hand but never took life.

Kashmir was reached at the beginning of May after Jacquemont had found that Ranjit Singh's writ did not run as far as he had anticipated, for he was held up on the way by a petty chief who had a grievance against his overlord. He and his escort were taken prisoners but he managed to extricate himself with great adroitness at a cost of Rs. 500 which Ranjit subsequently made good. His stay in Kashmir lasted five months, probably the most fruitful from the scientific point of view of those he spent in India, and he then made his way back to the plains via Jammu, taking a final leave of "my beloved Ranjit Singh" on October 21st at Hoshiarpur—"Ouchiarpoor" in his phonetic spelling. Ranjit was anxious to keep him and offered him the Viceroyalty of Kashmir on a salary of two lakhs of rupees a year. The offer seems to have been made in all seriousness, but Jacquemont was not to be tempted. Critical as he had been of some

aspects of British rule before he went to the Punjab, his travels in that part of India had convinced him of "the benefits of English domination to the peoples of India who are subject to it" and he invoked it in my most ardent prayers for these desolate provinces (the Punjab and Kashmir).

December and January were spent in Delhi arranging his collections, and in February he turned south-west and set off for Poona by way of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Ujjain, Indore, and Aurungabad. From the time he left Delhi, the tone of his letters undergoes a marked change. The high spirits of his correspondence up till then disappears. He evidently felt that he was leaving all his friends—English, French and Indian—behind him. Everything was twice as expensive and there was no longer Ranjit Singh's munificence or kind hosts like the Bentincks, Pearsons, Greys, Captain Kennedy or the eccentric William Fraser of Delhi, who had killed 84 tigers and had six or seven legitimate wives to help him out. Life at Poona was very dull compared with that at Calcutta and there was no one with whom he could exchange ideas. The Governor of Bombay, Lord Clare, whom he describes as a "fribble," "five feet two in height and as thin as I am," "far more like an Italian butler in a great house than an English lord" was a great contrast to the straightforward and simple Bentinck, and Jacquemont declined his invitation to stay with him. It is not surprising that he was far from happy at Poona and a severe attack of dysentery increased his depression.

Throughout his letters there are many references to his health about which his father, not unnaturally in view of his

youthful history, expressed considerable anxiety. Time and again his son tells him that his Spartan method of life enabled him to face the rigours of the Indian climate both in the plains and the hills with equanimity and that he was in excellent fettle. "I have suffered a little," he writes to one of his friends, "from the frightful heat but much less than any other European; without doubt because of the good medicine I have given myself. I should have said not 'medicine' but 'hygiene'. The English know very well that their manner of living is detestable but they prefer to dine well, to dine too well for some years and to have a bad liver for the rest of their lives than to dine badly and keep their liver in proper order." It was, therefore, a tragic irony that his own death—in the Officers' hospital at Bombay on December 7th 1892—should have been due to an abscess on the liver, brought on doubtless by exposure to sun and rain whilst exploring at the foot of the Western Ghats after he had left Poona and before he had fully recovered from dysentery. We of the South of India have special reason to regret his untimely death, for he had intended to travel through the Madras Presidency down to Cape Comorin.

No more vivid and witty letters have ever been written from India than those Jacquemont sent to his family and friends—amongst whom was Prosper Merimee. The only ones which compare with them in either respect are Miss Eden's. But the outlook of a lady who wrote from the midst of the gubernatorial circle was entirely different from that of a poverty-stricken French scientist who mixed with all sorts and conditions of men, and Jacquemont's letters are, therefore, far more valuable than Miss Eden's. Space does not permit

of more than two extracts from them, but the two I have selected are, I hope, typical of their quality. The translation in both cases is Miss Phillips's. The first is a description of Jacquemont's daily routine on his travels and was written on December 8rd, 1829, to M. de Melay, the Governor of Pondicherry with whom he had travelled out to India.

"I wake before daybreak in a tent and, in spite of two or three blankets, the valet comes and pulls me by the feet on my wooden couch before my 'sirdar bearer' does. I summon him at once. He wakes the other servants and I call the roll, still from beneath my blankets, a job which is soon done, for I have only nine men to call over. Thereupon my head valet, the above mentioned sirdar bearer, enters with a lantern and a pot of water. In ten minutes' time I am dressed just as they used to dress the *Zelees*. Thereupon a procession enters; first the cook, with a tumulus of rice beneath which are buried the component parts of a chicken; the syce or groom, come to fetch my horse's saddle and bridle, the under valet, who rolls up the blankets, folds the bed and shuts up my shaving apparatus, and another servant belonging to the hierarchy of Indian domesticity, who is oleaginous in his functions and has, among his other duties, that of keeping my gun and pistols in good order. While all this is going on inside the tent my chief quarter-master who presides over the tent, is at work outside demolishing it in such a way that, when everything has been dragged out of it and all the men have come out too, it falls as though by a magic spell, and is immediately rolled up, made into a bundle and loaded on a waggon, while I reduce my tumulus of *pilau* to a dead level with my plate as I preside over the operations. At dawn, my caravan sets out on the march, the poor devils who have slept out in the open coughing as though they were holding a competition, talking in low tones and with their tails between their legs. My little escort, which is no exception to the rule as regards catching cold, completes the resemblance to a funeral. With my gun under my arm or my hammer, as the case may be, I march for an hour with the main body of my camp, and when I am sure that everything has been stowed away and hear the animal spirits of my men, thawed by the sunshine, beginning to advertise themselves by their usual babble, I mount my horse, followed by three of my servants who have no objection to running behind me, I carry on my profession of naturalist in the open country."

The second is one of his lively pen portraits of the interesting people with whom he came in contact during his travels. Amongst them should be mentioned

Shah Shuja and his brother, Zaman Shah, both ex-Amirs of Afghanistan whom he met at Ludhiana, where Shah Shuja, lived in exile for twenty-three years. Zaman Shah had been blinded by another brother, Muhammad Khan, who had supplanted them both. The portrait is that of that remarkable woman, the Begum Somru, whom Jacquemont visited at Sardhana near Meerut in December 1880 :

"She is an old hussy quite a hundred years old, bent double and shrivelled as a dried raisin, a sort of walking mummy who still conducted all her own business, listening to two or three secretaries at a time, while dictating to three more. Not four years ago she had some of her wretched ministers and courtiers who had fallen into disgrace blown from the mouth of her cannon; they were simply fired off like bullets. There is a story (a true one) that at the age of sixty or eighty she had a young slave girl of whom she was jealous buried alive, and held a *naulich* (ball) for her husband upon this horrible grave. Her two European husbands both died violent deaths. For the rest, she was as brave as she was cruel. She built a fine Catholic Church at Sardhana, and has recently written to the Government requesting that, on her death, part of her domain may be permanently made over to her church to provide for its upkeep. She has written to the Pope

asking for a bishop at Sardhana; yet she is not in her dotage."

Amongst his shrewd comments on British rule in India and its future rule, which he thought would last for at least a century and would eventually come to an end—if an end came—not as the result of foreign aggression but by a revival of the religious spirit, is a striking prediction of the Indian Mutiny. With that this slight attempt to convey some idea of a versatile and very attractive personality may well close. "To what use do you think that he (The Emperor of Delhi) will put the cannon they give him as a matter of form to fire a salute when he leaves his palace? One day he will fire them upon English troops. In less than five minutes, the imperial palace will be invaded and the cannon retaken." A quarter of a century later, the cannon were turned on English troops, but it did not prove as easy to retake them as that!

CIVILIZATION—WHITHER ?

BY PROF. HARI CHARAN MUKERJI, M.A.

(Professor of English, Midnapore College)

LOOK where we may, the present trend of civilization cannot escape our notice. Rather it is painfully brought home to us that we are travelling down an inclined plane. Instead of moving upward working out the beast, letting the ape and the tiger die, we are going back into the beast once more. If civilization means a constant effort to live progressively a higher and nobler life than before, if it means the subordination of the self to the interest of the public at large, if it means stern self-control and self-discipline, if it implies living the life of the beast and imagination instead of that of the senses and

understanding, it must have to be admitted that since the last Great War we have travelled a long way in the direction of barbarism. In the concluding years of the 19th century, our hopes ran high and we supposed that we were not very far from the promised millennium. Science was advancing by rapid strides giving us greater and greater control over the forces of Nature. Democracies were firmly established all over the civilized world. Public opinion was respected and the people were actuated by a noble idealism in every sphere of life. Then came the war with its great disruptive forces.

Families were dismembered and womanly modesty and constancy were given the go by. But so long as the war lasted, no one had the leisure to notice these things, national energies being wholly concentrated on winning the war. When it was over at last, the League of Nations was established with great fanfare and we thought that the promised millennium had actually come bringing with it peace and security, where reason and justice will reign supreme and the weaker nations of the world will be relieved of all fear of aggression by their more powerful neighbours. But disillusionment was not slow to come. The home and the family ties were the first to be dissolved. The numerous divorce cases, which were instituted soon after the war was over and the sickening and disgusting details which they revealed at once, drew our attention to the severe blow that was dealt to domestic peace and happiness. Young men and women, forced to live a single life during the period of the war when they were subjected to the severest physical and mental strain, seemed to have plunged headlong into an orgy of licentiousness and vice. When we first saw this spectacle we could scarce believe our eyes. We rubbed them but the same picture was before us of men and women entirely forgetful of home and the family, giving themselves up to a life of pleasure and sensuality. Then we fondly hoped that it was but a passing phase and would disappear with the return of sanity. But so long we have expected this in vain. Not only the sanctity of the marriage tie has not been re-established but signs are not wanting which suggest that the whole sensual relationship between man and woman has undergone a

change decidedly for the worse. Unbridled licence has usurped the place of stern self-control. Fidelity, constancy and purity in man as well as in woman have become things of the past, giving place to a desire for self-satisfaction and casual enjoyment. At the same time the desire to marry and shoulder the responsibilities of married life are on the decline. Now this surrender to licence and disinclination to submit to wholesome discipline are unmistakable signs of the approaching tide of barbarism which is threatening to engulf us.

This same beastly tendency is equally apparent in the political sphere too. Time there was when one nation was ashamed to make an unprovoked attack on another and had to find out some plausible excuse to accomplish its selfish end. Enlightened public opinion too was a thing to reckon with. When the Boer War had to be declared, Britain had to plead in her justification the ill-treatment of her nationals, as well as the persecution to which the Indians and the African native population were subjected. But no such justification is thought necessary in these days. The modern formula is that a nation must have a place in the sun and scope for development and for fulfilling its destiny and that is supposed to be a sufficient excuse to destroy the independence of its weaker neighbours. Italy or Japan must have room for expansion and so Abyssinia or China must be wiped out of existence. Time there was when a formal declaration of war was made to give notice to the opposite party so as to get into readiness, but this is no longer supposed to be necessary by the enlightened conscience of modern nations. Now the idea seems to be to

take your enemy quite unawares and to inflict a crushing defeat on him. Women and children and non-combatants are no longer supposed to be immune from attacks of the enemy, specially during air raids and no sanctity is attached to hospitals, educational institutions or places of worship. Impudence and hypocrisy have gone so far as to maintain that these disastrous air attacks are humane methods of warfare in as much as by terrorising entire populations, they can cut short the period of warfare and hence of suffering. It will be hard to find another assertion which will beat it in pure effrontery. Neutrality of foreign nations is not at all respected as we see in Spain, which has been made the battle-ground for a trial of strength between active Communism and Italian Fascism. Neighbouring States also are not allowed to shape their own policies but must be dictated to by their stronger neighbours and their refusal to act under dictation will be a sufficient excuse for taking punitive measures against them. No one now believes in the pacific intentions of its neighbour but is full of suspicion and distrust and has embarked on a programme of huge military expenditure which is sure to bring financial bankruptcy. This military preparedness has, not unoften, been used as a lever to extort valuable concessions from other States. For more than a year a European conflagration has always been apprehended. It is easy to imagine what a severe strain it has imposed on an already war-weary world.

The present condition of the League of Nations is the most pathetic imaginable. Its authority has time and again been openly flouted, its sacred principles were violated and its usefulness severely

restricted. Many of the nations which were at one time members of it have withdrawn from it in sheer disgust or in dudgeon as it exorcised, and that too in a most hesitating manner, the only power it possessed of criticising their actions. It now exists as a relic of the past embodying the fond hopes and aspirations of a few visionaries, who played into the hands of a few shrewd diplomats bent on preserving their national supremacy by maintaining the *status quo*.

The systematic persecution of the Jews, which has been merrily going on in so many countries of Europe, is once again another unmistakable sign of this returning wave of barbarism. They have long been absorbed in the populations of these countries and their contributions to those countries' greatness have sometimes been of the most eminent kind, but those were not considered to be sufficient guarantees of their good faith. They must be hounded out for forsooth the race is to be kept pure. The readiness with which Germany's example has been followed by other countries of Europe shows how considerations of equity, justice, and humanity have been cast to the winds.

The gradual disappearance of democracies and the spread of Communism or Fascism also point to the self-same direction. It was not very long ago that belief in democracies was almost an article of faith to the civilized man and it was rightly so, for it is in democracies that the greatest respect and consideration are shown to individual rights and privileges and to freedom of speech and criticism. As man becomes more and more civilized, he is expected to pay greater and greater respect to the opinions of his neighbour



A VILLAGE TANK

S. N. Chankur

BY COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

and to bear with his imperfections and defects. But individual rights and freedom of opinion and speech have become things unknown either in Communist Russia or in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. The systematic and ruthless manner in which all criticism has been suppressed, the press gagged, rival organisations broken up and individuals persecuted, driven away from the country or done to death takes one's breath away. The 'purges' in Russia have, so to say, become the order of the day and what is true of Russia is equally true of Germany and Italy, though a hush hush policy is followed in this respect in these latter countries.

So in whatever direction we may turn our eyes, the prospect appears to be as depressing as possible. Discoveries in the realm of science and the application of their principles to every-day life so as to

improve our lots to some extent afford, perhaps, the only relief against a sombre background, but unfortunately enough these very discoveries, instead of ministering to our wants, are being used more and more to cause our ruin and destruction. We have veritably got the giant's strength but we are using it like the giant too. There is, of course, no want of really great men endowed with prophetic vision who are giving warnings of the impending calamity and are exerting themselves to the utmost to re-establish cordial relations among mankind or for the re-introduction of purity and discipline in our domestic lives, but they are like persons crying in the wilderness. Civilized society seems to be like a ship without rudder or compass and madly driven by a crew of maniacs fast drifting towards the rocks which lie ahead of it and which will send it to the bottom.

TRUE HINDUISM

BY DR. M. MAHMUDULLAH JUNG, BAR-AT-LAW, LL.D., M.L.C.

(*Parliamentary Secretary to Government, U. P.*)

THE true Hinduism made men work and not dream. It followed the law of nature and was as plain in its forms and precepts as it was simple in its rites. Ancient Hinduism was not the preserver of custom, but the creator of character. It was never oppressed with a sense of inferiority or fear; but it was bold and aggressive. It was aggressive, because it had determined not merely to keep what it had, but to win what it never had before. The question was not what other people thought of Hinduism but of what Hinduism thought of others.

Hinduism of old never interpreted laziness and defeat to imply renunciation.

It was considered infinitely greater to protect others than to attain salvation. In other words, it implied that Mukti lies in overcoming thrust of Mukti—conquest is the highest form of Sannyas.

What really happened was that in the long act of transition through centuries, Hinduism passed through an intellectual confusion. It is, indeed, small wonder that in the throes of so great a crisis, Hinduism still survived.

The soil that has brought forth the "mango and the palm" ought not to be degraded in producing only "gourds and vetches". The land of the Vedas and of Yoga has no right to sink as a mere

Company, had degraded themselves so far that they 'kotoed' to (prostrated before) the Moghul dignitaries, cringed to the vilest insults and asserted no trace of dignity; they had even "suffered blowes of porters, base Peons and beene thrust out by them with much scorne by head and shoulders without seeking satisfaction".

Englishmen were flouted, robbed, arrested and even flogged in the streets in broad daylight and nobody dared to raise even his little finger in protest!

Evidently things were in a very sorry state when the Directors of the East India Company met towards the close of the year 1614 and decided to send to India somebody who would intercede on their behalf before the Ruler of the country and would retrieve the indignity done to the name and honour of England. After much consideration and debate, Sir Thomas Roe was invited to carry out the seemingly impossible task, and the choice was approved by King James whose royal commission duly constituted, appointed, ordained and deputed "the said Sir Thomas Roe, our true and undoubted Attorney, Procurator, Legate and Ambassadour, to that high and mighty Monarch, the Greate Moghoar, King of the Orientall Indyes (India), of Condahy (Kandahar), of Chismer (Kashmir), and of Corasan (Khorasan)".

ROE'S CAREER AND PERSONALITY

Roe was in the prime of his life and his education and urbanity, coupled with his sturdy common sense and diplomatic experience, eminently qualified him for the post. His grandfather was Lord Mayor of London and the blood of the Greshams ran in his veins. He was entered at Magdalen College, Oxford, belonged to the Middle Temple, had been esquire of the body to Queen Bess herself, and was

on terms of affectionate intimacy with Prince Henry and his sister Elizabeth, the future 'Rose of Bohemia'.

In 1610, he had led a voyage of discovery to Guiana and had explored the Orinoco; had disputed in Latin with Dutch Divines, and had sat for Tamworth in the Addled Parliament.

He was described by the Directors of the East India Company as "of a pregnant understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious and of a comlie personage", and Sir William Foster, who edited his Journal, has justly added that Roe's "commanding presence and dignified bearing were useful qualifications for a mission to an Eastern Court, while in the still more important matters of judgment and tact, he was equally well equipped".

ARRIVAL AT SURAT

Five and a half months after its departure from Tilbury Hope, the *Lion* touched Swally Road, and a few days later the Ambassador and his retinue were in Surat, the centre of English trade in India.

SURAT INCIDENT

At Surat occurred an incident which clearly indicated to the Moghul dignitaries there that the man they had now to deal with was entirely different from the tame, submissive, contemptuous creatures that came cringing before them for facilities and concessions; for, when the Governor of Surat tried slyly to carry out the odious practice, hitherto tamely allowed, of searching the persons of British subjects, in spite of Roe's claiming absolute exemption from it on the score of his being an ambassador, there was a spirited scene which has been vividly described by Roe himself in his Journal:

"Master Wallis breaking out came up after me and tould me this treachery; whereon I turned my horse and with all speed rode backe to them, I confess too angry; when I came up, I layd my hand on my sword, and my men breake throwgh and came about me. Then I asked what they entended by soe base treachery; I was free landed, and I would die soe, and if any of them durst touch any belonging to me, I bade him speake and shew himselfe. Then they desired me not to take yt in ill part; it was done in Friendship. I called for a case of Pistolls, and hanging them by my saddle I replied those were my Frenedes, in them I would trust . . . It was a custome to be used to rouges and theeves and not to free men; I was resolved not to returne to my Country with shame; I would rather dye there with Honor."

Roe showed an equally strong and dignified front to an insulting prime minister: "if his greatness were no more than his manners he durst not use me soe; that I was an ambassadour from a mighty and free Prince, and in that quality his better."

On his way up-country Roe paid a visit to Burhampur to meet Prince Parvez who was then in command of an army operating against the forces of the Deccan Kings, and obtained from him a *farman* authorising the English to establish a factory there.

RECEPTION AT COURT

At Burhampur fever laid hold of the Ambassador and shortly after his departure thence for two nights his life was despaired of by his dismayed attendants. Even when he had reached Ajmer, which was then the Imperial Capital, for a whole week he lay prostrate, and it was

not until January 10, (1616), that he was able to present his credentials to the Moghul Emperor who received him most cordially; in fact, so pleased was he with the reception accorded to him that he made the following proud entry in his Journal.

"He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace than was ever shewed to any ambassadour, either of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoever."

WORK AT COURT

For a little over two and a half years, Sir Thomas Roe remained at the Moghul Court, trying in vain to obtain a treaty facilitating English trade in India, in spite of the intrigues of the Court, the vacillations of the Emperor, and the hostility of the Dutch who had the backing of Prince Khurram, the Emperor's favourite son.

Experience taught him that time was not yet ripe for any such treaty, for the Great Moghul was too ignorant of foreign powers and looked upon them with utter disdain and scorn. "Neyther will this overgrowne Eliphant," Sir Thomas wrote, "descend to Article or bynde himself reciprocally to any Prince upon terms of Equality, but only by way of favour admitt our stay."

And again, "You can never expect to trade here upon Capitulations that shall be permanent. *Wee must serve the tyme.*"

Yet he was successful in obtaining from the Emperor certain *farmans* or instructions to local authorities, sanctioning English trade at Surat upon reasonably satisfactory terms. "You shall be sure of as much privilege as any stranger," Sir Thomas had promised the Directors of the East India Company at home and he kept his word. The English factory at

Surat was officially recognised by the Emperor and the Prince-Governor, and formed the nucleus of English trade in India.

ROE'S EXPERIENCES

Roe's life at the Moghul Court was full of some of the most amusing experiences that ever befell any ambassador, and he kept a faithful record of them in his Journal, which is, perhaps, better known than any other similar work on India. Court festivals, drinking orgies, and particular whims and oddities of the Emperor, constituted most of these experiences, some of which at times severely tested the patience of the grave diplomat.

BIRTH-DAY DRINKING

On the occasion of the birth-day of the Emperor, Roe had the unusual experience of being given a drink which was so strong that it made him 'sneese'. Writing in his own inimitable style, Roe says:

"He sent me word that it was his byrth-day, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinck with them. I answered: Whatsoever His Majestie commanded. I wished him many prosperous dayes and that this ceremonie might bee renewed 100 years. Hee called for a cupp of gould of mingled wyne and sent it by one of his nobles to me with this message: I should drink it twice, thrice, four or fyve tymes off for his sake, and accept of the cupp and appurtenances as a present. I dranck a little but it was more strong than I ever tasted, so that it made mee sneese (sneeze), wherat he laughed . . . Thus hee made frolique and sent mee word hee more esteemed mee than ever any Francke."

And then the Emperor fell asleep in his cups and all the candles were immediately 'poppt out' and the poor

Sir Thomas 'groppt' his way out in the dark.

'FINEST MEN'

One night the Ambassador was summoned to Court after he had gone to bed merely to show the Great Moghul a portrait about which he had talked to him at a previous meeting:

"When I came in I found him sitting cross-leggd on a little Throne all cladd in Diamonds, Pearles, Rubyes; before him a table of gould, in yt about fifty peeces of gould plate, sett all with stones; his Nobilitye about him in their best equipage, whom hee commanded to drinck froliquely, severall wyne standing by in great flagons . . . So drincking and commanding others, *his Majestie and all his Lordes became the finest men I ever saw, of a thousand humors.*"

EMPEROR FALLS TO WEeping

On a different occasion Jehangir, for so was the name of the Great Moghul, waxed solemn and sentimental.

"The good King fell to dispute the Lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomet, and in drinck was soe kind, that hee turned to mee and said: I am a King; you shall be welcome; Christians, Moores, Jewes, hee meddled not with their faiths; they came all in love, and hee would protect them from wrong, they lived under his safety, and none should oppresse them, and this often repeated, *but in extreame drunkenesse, he fell to weeping and divers passions, and so kept us till midnight.*"

EMPEROR'S BEGGAR FRIEND

At one of the Darbars, Sir Thomas, to his immense surprise, found the Emperor deep in converse with an old beggar, 'a poor silly old man, all ashed, ragged and patched'. The beggar sat near the throne, a thing which even the King's son dared

not do, for nobody was allowed to sit at a Moghul Darbar.

"Hee gave the King a present, a cake, ashed, burnt on the coals, made by himselfe of coarse grayn, which the King accepted most willingly and brake one bit and ate it, which a dainty mouth could scarce have done. After hee took the clout and wraptt it up and put it in the poor man's bosom, and sent for 100 rupias (rupees), and with his own hands poured them into the poor man's lap, and what fell beside gathered up for him. When his collation of banquetting and drinck came, whatsoever hee took to eat hee brake and gave the beggar halfe; and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old wretch not being nimble, and taking him up in his armes, which no cleanly body durst, imbracing him, and three tymes laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, hee left him and all us, and mee, in admiration of such virtue in a heathen prince; which I mention with envie and sorrowe, that wee having the true vyne should bring forth crabs and a bastard stooke grapes; *that eyther our Christian Princes had this devotion or that this zeal were guided by a true light of the Gospel.*"

WEIGHING OF THE EMPEROR

Among the many Court festivals which Sir Thomas Roe had occasion to attend, none was more curious or interesting than the process of the weighing of the Emperor which gave the English Ambassador a true insight into the untold wealth of the Moghuls.

"The first of September was the King's Byrth-day, and the solemnities of his weighing, to which I went, and was carried into a very large and beautiful Garden, the

square within all water, on the sides floures and trees, in the midst a Pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with Gould thinne; the scales of massie Gould, the borders set with small stones, Rubyes and Turkeys, the Chaines of Gould large and massie. Here attended the nobilitie, all sitting about in carpets untill the King came; who at last appeared clothed or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubyes, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! His Swoord, Target, Throne to rest on, correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes, above the elbows, at the wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two or three Rings; fettered with chaines, or dyalled Diamonds; Rubyes as great as Walnuts, some greater; and Pearles such as mine eyes were amazed at. Hee entered into the scales and there was put in against him many bagges to fit his weight, which were changed six times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand rupias, which are almost one thousand pounds sterling; after with Gould, and Jeweles and precious stones; then against cloth of Gould, Silk, Stuffles, Linen, Spices, and all sorts of goods. Lastly against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be given to the Banian."

CAUSE OF FAILURE

It is often cynically remarked that Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the Great Moghul failed because the East India Company had no more gifts to present to the Emperor, the Empress, the Princes, the Prime Minister, and other influential members of the nobility. So greedy indeed were they all of gifts that there were many a tense moment and unpleasant

scene behind the palace walls between the Emperor and his Consort, or between the Emperor or his Consort and Prince Khurram, or between the Consort and her brother, the Prime Minister, or between the Prime Minister and Somebody Else; and since everybody could not be satisfied, and they could not 'have it out' amongst themselves, they wreaked their vengeance on the poor ambassador and came in the way of his treaties.

EMPEROR'S GREED

There is a story told in the Journal which says that so greedy was the Emperor of presents that once when a fresh consignment of them was received from England, Jehangir, unable to restrain his cupidity, opened the packages and appropriated their contents before Roe could appear on the scene. Roe was extremely angry and the interview that followed between the greedy Monarch and the mortified Ambassador makes one of the most entertaining readings in the Journal. The Emperor promised everything that could be wished if only he might be allowed to retain his new acquisitions; indeed so lavish was he in his protestations that the poor Sir Thomas consoled himself with the reflection that after all he was 'happely robbd'.

But as there were no more presents forthcoming to keep up the Emperor's good humour, all his protestations came to nought, and Roe had a most bitter disillusionment!

LEAVES FOR ENGLAND

"Wee must serve the tyme," Roe wrote to the Directors of the Company at home, and saw the futility of continuing his stay at the Moghul Court. Consequently towards the close of the year 1618, he

set out for Surat, and on February 17, 1619, embarked the vessel *Anne*.

As the *Anne* left the Indian shore and his gaze vacantly rested on the distant verdant fields, his imagination flew back across the valley of Time, and he thought of the battles won and lost at the Moghul Court, and of the days of solitude and harassments when his sole consolation and stand-by was the sense of duty ungrudgingly and unflinchingly performed; and his breast swelled with pride as he remembered those words that he had recently written to the people at home:

"My sincerity toward you in all Actions is without spott; my neglect of Prinat Gayne is without example, and my frugalitie beyond your expectation. I was neuer an ill husband of my credit nor any trust committed to mee. My Patrimoniall unthriftiness only I feele and repent . . . I will bragge of no industrie nor success . . . Judge mee by my Actions, not by the favour of an Infidell King, with whom yet I stand on such outward showes of credit as neuer any stranger did."

His 'frugalitie' was indeed most extraordinary, for in the Moghul Capital he had maintained his Embassy with dignity on such a modest sum as £250 a year, and all his actions were absolutely without 'spott', for he refused the innumerable opportunities of making money that came in his way during his stay in India, and returned home a poor man.

ACHIEVEMENT

"I will bragge of no successe" was but a most modest estimate of his achievements by Roe, for when he came out to India the English were on the verge of being driven out of even their slight hold at Surat; they were spurned as beggars by

the rulers of the country and were treated worse than 'pariahs'.

All this was changed before he left. He not only asserted his countrymen's rights despite the intrigues of the Court and the Harem but won a series of important diplomatic battles. He compelled the Court favourite to refund his exactions, and recovered all "bribes, extortions, debts, made and taken before my tyme till this day, or at least an honourable composition."

And by virtue of his personality, courage, firmness and dogged persistence, Roe obtained from the Great Moghul as much advantage and concession as could reasonably be expected at that time; and, what was more, secured a royal decree sanctioning the English factory at Surat.

He thus established the English in India and, unconsciously, laid the foundation of the future Empire!!

HONOURED BY KING AND COMPANY

Towards the end of August, the *Anne* reached England. Sir Thomas was received with great honour by the Directors of the East India Company who turned out in full force, and with twelve coaches, at the Tower Wharf to welcome him, and later voted him £1,500 for his services.

About a month later he was received in audience at Whitehall by King James whom he presented "two antelopes, a strange and beautiful kind of red deer, a rich tent, rare carpets and umbrellas".

This done, Roe's mission came to an end, and 'My Lord Ambassador' again became a private individual.

Bembridge School: An Adventure in Education

BY MR. ARTHUR LAMSLEY

FOUNDED in 1919, Bembridge School is an adventure in education. It is claimed to be the most successful Public School founded in England since the War, training boys from the age of seven to eighteen for a life of service. Its creative education, according to its Founder, is organised on methods, some of them new, which are the result of research and experiment in Britain and abroad, and endorsed by thinkers and experts of international reputation. These methods whilst new also preserve the great traditions and developments of the past. Parents believing in wise and reasonable development in education, and who are prepared to place the needs of the individual boy before the claims of convention, co-operate with the school.

Founded as a Public School, Bembridge has been vested in a Trust which secures its permanence and prevents the School ever being carried on for the purpose of private profit. The Founder of the School, also its Warden, is John Howard Whitehouse, and its first President was John Masefield, the poet. The Advisory Council is served by such well known educationalists as Professor Ramsay Muir, Professor Harold Laski, Lord Mamhead, Dr. G. P. Gooch, Sir Godfrey Baring, and a number of eminent modern educationalists.

The School is international in outlook and education, and among its 150 odd scholars are boys from Germany, France, Roumania, India, Switzerland, and Italy. There is a warm friendship between the

School and the United States, and the late President Harding addressed a personal letter of appreciation to the Warden, commending his work amongst Bembridge boys in the cause of world peace. The late Dr. Nansen, one of Europe's greatest peace-makers, became an Honorary President of the School and welcomed a deputation of scholars in Norway. Recently the School was awarded the medal of the Federation Interalliee des Anciens Combattants on the recommendation of the League of Nations Union for its services for promoting peace. The School's work for peace is recognised universally, and amongst its guests on Foundation Days during recent years have been such well-known world peace advocates as Lord Cecil, Lord Gorell, Alfred Noyes the poet, Sir Michael Sadler, A. P. Herbert the writer, Sir Percy Alden, A. V. Alexander, M.P., and Professor McElroy.

Among the School's first scholars is Dingle Foot, M.P., and many architects, sculptors, poets, artists, and writers, and a host of other young men in all types of careers who are pledged to serve humanity and who have been educated in the belief that the human race is spiritually one family of many peoples and should live a life of good neighbourhood in economic and political freedom.

Bembridge School actually started on May 16th, 1919, with three scholars in a small farm-house perched high up on the top of the cliff fringing Whitecliffe Bay at the eastern end of the Isle of Wight. Since its modest beginning it has grown into a model school village, an educational community living in Tudor period buildings, in the centre of which is a beautiful Chapel in which is held morning and

evening Prayer, lectures, addresses, and recitals in literature and art by some of the foremost men and women in British life.

Bembridge boys are taught all the essentials of education, spiritual, mental, and physical, and their various services to the life of the world and the creation of international good neighbourhood. The boys are unreservedly happy in the disciplined freedom of this unique educational community, being taught the use of hands as well as head. The School possesses a printing press where all School literature, including the Bembridge Magazine, is printed and its wood-blocks made by the boys. The Art rooms include a pottery, an artist's studio, a weaving room, and a room given up entirely to arts and crafts which are the creative effort of the individual boy. There is also a well-equipped joinery where all kinds of artistic woodwork is fashioned, even to making boats in which the boys are allowed to sail when they can swim half a mile in the English Channel off Culver Cliff. Many of the School plays are written by the scholars, the costumes and scenery being created by the boys who give two shows a year during Foundation Day Celebrations and Christmas.

A key-note of the boy's whole education is that he is a citizen of the world. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler declared recently that the need of the modern world was for men of the Alexander Hamilton type—a personality, a voice, abundant in knowledge, superb in conviction, unflinching in courage—to guide and to stir it to a practical and effective world organisation for the establishment and upholding of international peace. Bembridge School aims at creating this type of man.

Congress and the Democratic Principle

BY MR. KULDIP CHAND BEDI, M.A., BAR., AT-LAW

AFTER centuries of slavery, a large majority of Indians have pinned their hope on the Congress organisation working through a democratic process for the attainment of a united, self-ruling, contented and prosperous India. This process, however, is one that is bound to prove infructuous, because the practical working of democracies in many parts of the world has discredited utterly the case for democracy.

People in this country have felt disappointed, even perhaps exasperated at some of the seemingly undemocratic steps taken by the Congress in recent years, the latest of which Dr. Khare's case in the C. P. has fired the imagination of a large section of the Congressites and made them feel apprehensive of the attitude that the Congress in a self-governing India would adopt so far as parliamentary practices and conventions are concerned. These parliamentary shibboleths, however, suit only such countries as have not only had but also enjoyed complete independence for hundreds of years. They can play with democratic forms and feel pleased with themselves for doing so like a child with a rattle. But countries like India which have no parliamentary traditions behind them cannot, even perhaps should not, indulge in the luxury of conventions and other allied practices. Democracy for us is an exotic and as such needs too much pruning and looking after. The time that must of necessity be wasted like that can with profit be employed in other directions.

The functions of democracy have, from Greek to modern times, been recognised to be legislation, appointment of the highest executive and the periodical review

of the acts of the executive by the masses. But it must be considered that modern democracies are by no means the city-state democracies of ancient times but national democracies which work through a complicated chain of different groups. A nation has, therefore, not one democracy but several democracies, working one within the other; and the executives of these various democracies are themselves responsible to the highest executive, which in its turn is responsible, through a process, past the understanding of an average individual, to the nation. All this will, indeed, show how difficult the working of a democracy in modern times is, particularly in India where the activities of an individual are restricted to the procurement of means to satisfy his daily needs and nothing beyond, not even what is happening beyond the confines of his own village.

Mahatma Gandhi points out in his article of the 6th August in the *Harijan* that the Congress has to fight the greatest Imperialist power living and for this work it has to play the role of an army; and as such it ceases to be democratic. This, of course, is as it should be, because so far in the history of mankind no form of government has succeeded where the same weight was given to the opinion of every one with a view to bringing about a dead level of equality and uniformity. Armies, and the Congress has to be one to fight with its own weapons the Imperialism of Great Britain, need discipline, while discipline needs effective control which cannot be secured democratically. It is necessary, therefore, to have command and passive obedience in the political *lingua* of India,

if the motives by which we are actuated tend towards the freedom of this country. It is an idle fantasy to toy with democratic ideals which, by treating every opinion on every subject as being as good as every other opinion, practically slow down the pace of humanity to the intellectual scope of the least intelligent. The suitability of these ideals to Indian conditions is at best doubtful.

In a full democracy, decay is inevitable since the wavering opinion of the multitude acts upon impulse instead of upon principle and experience. "Our civilization needs a culture of fine creative minds and all that marches with it. The only real progress in a country is a rise in its free intellectual activity." The demands of democracy are, indeed, complex; and to imagine that every one in the State will consider its problems with that keenness of perception, that patriotism, and that freedom which are essential for the proper functioning of democratic institutions, is nothing short of a blissfulness that is characteristic of unpractical people who delight in conjuring up before their minds' eyes beautiful visions.

The patriotism, the freedom, the keenness and the leisure to take wide views, necessary in democracies, which are with difficulty found at the top of the social system where conditions are most favourable, cannot be expected at the bottom. Only the best and the biggest men, as Disraeli pointed out, must be educated to a real conception of national policy, not every one. It is only those who are trained and educated that in turn may elaborate and educate the masses. This, however, is possible in a place like Athens; but India's needs are different

engaged as she is in a desperate struggle for freedom under the aegis of the Congress.

It cannot be denied, whatever the merits of democracy, that "popular governments have been repeatedly overthrown by mobs and armies in combination; of all governments they seem least likely to cope successfully with the greatest of all irreconcilables, the nationalists". Democracies imply a breaking up of political power into morsels, and the giving to each person an infinitesimally small portion of it; they rest upon universal suffrage which is the natural basis of tyranny, they are unfavourable to intellectual progress and the advance of scientific truth, they lack stability, and they are governments by the ignorant and the unintelligent. To want democratic government in India, and what is still more, to ensure its permanence is, to say the least, a very unwise thing. This country is already in a state of hopelessness; and what else is it except the irony of fate that the efforts of the Congress to check the abuses of democratisation generate "great heat and passion"? On the other hand, it is difficult to understand the haste on the part of our leaders to contradict remarks about them to the effect that the Congress is assuming dictatorial powers. What country in the world has achieved unity, strength and independence through a democratic process? It is the difficulty, the impracticability and the doctrinal nature of democratic governments that have mainly accounted for their ephemeral nature in post-War years as at any other time.

A small country with a scanty population, few resources and industries and similar social sentiments may go on without much

difficulty under democratic institutions. But a vast territory with untold material wealth waiting for labour, a growing population and with it an increase in the severity of the struggle for existence and the great diversity of moral, economic, political and social sentiments and, above all, the yoke of a foreign government, must of necessity call for a government, any but democratic, that corresponds to this complexity. In India, therefore, merely to entertain the possibility of a democratic constitution would be to court disaster; and to expect the Congress to work out democratically problems that need celerity and wisdom would be to demand of it a suicide.

The "Congress conceived as a fighting machine has to centralise control and guide every department and every Congressman, however highly placed, and expect unquestioned obedience". Again "the central authority possesses plenary powers enabling it to impose and enforce discipline on the various units working under it". It will thus be seen how difficult it is for the Congress to carry on the government of a large part of India on a policy which counted heads, not brains.

The dangers of government by "the poorest, the most ignorant, and the most incapable who are necessarily the most numerous" are obvious. The idea of a government by such a class of people is contrary to all the past experience of men. "In every field of human enterprise, in all the computations of life, by the inexorable law of Nature, superiority lies with the few and not with the many, and success can be obtained by placing the guiding and controlling power mainly in their hands." "Democracy neither insures better government nor greater

liberty; indeed, some of the strongest democratic tendencies are adverse to liberty. On the contrary, strong arguments may be adduced both from history and from the nature of things, to show that democracy may often prove the direct opposite of liberty." The French despotisms resting on plebiscites were quite as naturally democracies as any republics, yet liberty can hardly be said to have existed in them. It would seem rather that democracy itself needs to provide in its own way its own class of trained servants.

The democratic idea itself is very attractive, but it remains nevertheless an idea supremely beautiful and supremely impracticable. How can ever such an idea find a practical application in a country divided into myriads of castes, races, religions and cultures—in India? Are not those who expect to attain *swarajya* through the Congress working democratically really undermining the respect an individual has for the State by putting up before him the indefinable "swinish multitude" and thus offending his pristine instinct of hero-worship? Even in the days of the supremacy of popular institutions democracy failed to realize those aims which the people expected of it; and in its vain endeavour to realize those aims, paved the way for dictatorships which have more or less satisfied the needs of nations where they have sprung up.

Is it, therefore, patriotic to denounce the Congress for "dismissing" a minister? Would it not be better to have a dictator consciously in the shape of the Congress High Command? Or does the patriotism of Indians often suggest confusion brought about by democratic institutions leading inevitably to anarchy?

Kautilya's Remedies for Unemployment

BY DR. R. SHAMA SASTRI, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

UNEMPLOYMENT has been an unavoidable evil of mankind. In addition to over-population, the other causes that brought it about were: (1)



DR. R. SHAMA SASTRI

accumulation of wealth in a few hands; (2) the overcrowding of people in a few populous centres owing to the migration of the poor, deserting their lands in the rural tracts for the sake of education and living; (3) the distaste of many for manual labour; and (4) the habitual desire of others to follow intellectual, artistic, commercial, or catering professions.

No matter whether gods frown or kings threaten, there are at all times a few who are shrewd enough to accumulate wealth even under such circumstances as, in the view of the unfortunate majority, are most uncongenial for acquisition of wealth. Ancient statesmen regarded the unequal, though natural, distribution of wealth as very dangerous. The remedy which they devised was: (1) religion; and (2) political. The religious remedy was to teach religion to the rich and prevail upon them to open their purse and set up feeding-houses for the poor, or to give endowments to temples and other religious institutions. Failing in

this, they confiscated their wealth under various pretexts and used it for the relief of the poor.

Ancient politicians regarded unemployment as very dangerous to the stability of the State. The unemployed that deserved help were of four kinds: (1) the old and the infirm; (2) the impoverished (Vrittikshina) and able-bodied men and women; (3) the orphans; and (4) widows or married women deserted by their husbands.

Ancient statesmen never for a moment tolerated overcrowding of people in a few populous centres. The ready means which they employed to relieve congestion and find living for the poor and the needy was to open new colonies in fertile tracts with facilities for water and compel the surplus population to migrate and settle there for their own good and for the good of the State. The second remedy consisted in issuing stringent rules prohibiting the sale of cultivable lands to non-cultivators or money-lenders who are not agriculturists by profession. Another rule was to confiscate lands from cultivators who ceased to cultivate them.

Not far from the capital city, a large agricultural colony with an extensive area of cultivable lands was also formed and was kept in the charge of an apparently private land-owner or a company of land-owners as a training centre of spies. Thither were taken almost all the orphans and helpless women of the State and were taught all the arts necessary to qualify them in the art of espionage.

In addition to the agricultural colony, there was also a cotton factory under the direct supervision of an officer appointed by the State. The officer supplied cotton to all helpless widows

who kept the vow of seclusion and sent them wages or paid them in person very early in the morning on receipt of the necessary weight of yarn equal to the cotton supplied. There were also many other industrial factories where women, children and able bodied men also were provided with work and wages.

The most important of all the schemes to relieve unemployment was, perhaps, the Trading House of the State. It is well known that ancient States, and especially the various States during the Mauryan period, collected a considerable amount of the State revenue in kind rather than in cash for want of sufficient currency. The mint was not a State monopoly, and the work of coinage was mostly in the hand of private firms or guilds. The testing of coins and assessing their intrinsic value was a troublesome business. Hence the State preferred collection of its revenue in kind. There was thus a necessity to dispose of the various commodities not merely through government shops opened in capital cities, but also through travelling merchants inside and outside the State. This explains the disfavour and contempt with which the State treated private traders. They were called Choras, thieves, and all kinds of restrictions were devised against their free movements. Unless permitted, they could not sell their merchandise before the wares of the State were disposed of. The sale-price was fixed by the government, and alteration in price was punished with heavy fines.

Ancient statesmen held learning in high esteem and put no restrictions to the free movement of learned men. They could settle anywhere and open a school or a university and sell their knowledge

at any price they liked to fix. Princes and wealthy men were at liberty to purchase learning at the stipulated price if they could afford to pay. State education there was none worth speaking. Accordingly the ancient saying is: "Learning can be acquired by devout service to the teacher, or by payment of plenty of money, or by exchange of one kind of knowledge for another; and there is no fourth means for acquisition of knowledge." Thus education was no concern of the State, and the people had to make their own arrangements for the education of their children. Many sent their sons to their own "Gurukulas" or houses of their own priestly teachers for acquisition of learning by rendering service to the teachers. Others maintained their teachers at their own houses for the education of their children. The rich went to any one of the private universities that flourished in ancient India. Whether the schooling was in the Gurukula, or in their own house, or in a university, the students had the necessity and time to turn out some work in service of their teachers or their parents. Thus there was no severance between manual labour and intellectual training. Nor was there any public service waiting for them on the completion of their learning. On returning from the Gurukulas or universities, the young men readily took up their parental occupation or any other profession they liked. Prodigies like Kautilya, of course, addressed themselves to the king and on promise of great return for their employment in the State served him loyally and for the good of the State.

But ancient politicians had no love for artisans, artists, and dramatists who, like private traders, were called Choras, or thieves. Undue restrictions were put to their voluntary and free movements. They were prohibited on pain of penalty from going to villages and diverting the cultivators from their labour. Fine arts and especially dramas are, of course, educative; but in the view of ancient politicians they are ruinous if carried on at the cost of productive work. If this is so, then what shall we say of our purely literary education entirely severed from manual and productive labour?

FOOD PLANNING FOR INDIA

By MR. S. V. RAMAMURTY, I.C.S.

It is a fact not often remembered that the population of India has been growing rapidly. On the basis of available estimates, it was 100 millions in 1600, 150 in 1850, 350 in 1931 and bids fair to be 400 millions in 1941. Economic development in India has not only to make up for existing deficiencies but also cope with the growth of population in the future.

In dealing with the problem of feeding the people of India, Prof. Mukerjee* brings together a mass of facts bearing on the results of present-day agriculture. He points out that agriculture in India normally yields enough food only for some 300 millions, that, while production of food is increasing, it is not increasing as rapidly as population, that the nutrition value of the food, particularly cereals, grown is falling and that the percentage of the population which depends on agriculture is growing. He suggests enhanced research on the nutritional value of Indian crops and the planning of crops so as to yield results which are nutritionally most valuable. In this connection, he emphasizes the importance of legumes in crop rotation.

Increased production of crops at a reduced cost releases both land and man power now used in agriculture. For these, he suggests the cultivation of industrial crops and the development of agricultural industries, particularly those connected with fruit and oil seeds. Special attention is paid to the pressure of cattle on the land. "The present bovine population of India is more than

one-third of the essential total bovine population of the world." In China and Japan, the struggle for human existence has crowded out all but draught animals. Prof. Mukerjee points out that vegetable products yield more of food values estimated in calories than animal products and states that "vegetarianism is ultimately a result of a heavy population pressure". A definite programme of reduction of the number of cattle and of controlled breeding is advocated.

While pointing out the obstacles to intensive cultivation arising from lack of irrigation, indebtedness, ignorance and fragmentation of holdings, it is pointed out that there is no reason why India should not reach the levels of production obtained in China and Japan. In this connection, reference may be made to the new science of Agro-biology, which has begun to maintain that with intensive cultivation, each country may be able to maintain 4 or 5 times its present population and will then have no economic justification to send out either conquerors or coolies.

Among the remedies for population pressure, Prof. Mukerjee suggests planned emigration within the Empire and birth-control. There are, however, obvious difficulties in the way of their application. On the whole, it is pointed out that the future population adjustment in India lies in the direction of food and industrial cropping rather than subsistence farming, more in agricultural than in general industrialization and, above all, more in the restriction of members than in the diversification of employment.

In these days when national planning is in the air, this book, which has brought together essential data, is a timely and valuable cultivation.

* FOOD PLANNING FOR FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS.
By Radha Kamal Mukerjee. Macmillan & Co.
7s-6d. net.

SOCIALISM AND THE INDIAN IDEAL

By "A THINKER"

I

SOME of the political prisoners recently released in Bengal have, in a statement given to the Press, declared their allegiance to the Marxist economic theory of social development as distinguished from the spiritual ideal of India and have outlined a political programme to organise the masses of this country for a socialistic revolution on the Russian model. As a matter of fact, the economic theory has entered into the brain of many educated Indians; owing partly to our failures on the material plane and partly to self-hypnotism engendered by unseeing and unsympathetic foreign critics, they fail to find anything of permanent value in the ancient glorious culture of India. "The past," says Pundit Jawharlal Nehru, "is dead and gone and our immortal civilisation does not help us greatly in solving the problems of to-day."

We need not fight shy of the word 'revolution'. The condition of the masses in India suffering endlessly from ignorance, disease and abject poverty is indeed intolerable. If the privileged classes in India have not the wisdom to see that it is high time for them to give up voluntarily their so-called rights and privileges which are effectively blocking the way of India's progress, whatever might have been their value and utility in the past, a revolution will be inevitable; it will come as one of Nature's own methods for the swift realisation of her purpose. An all-round economical, social and spiritual revolution seems necessary to rouse the teeming millions of India from their most dangerous apathy and lifelessness, and we cannot blame our young men for being mesmerised by the magic of the Russian revolution. That revolution has clearly illustrated that properly organised, the illiterate and poor workers and peasants will form the most progressive and revolutionary elements in a country in the fight against imperialism and exploitation. But a revolution has its dangers; it often destroys more than it creates and Russia itself should serve as a grave warning to us. Everything

depends on the ideas and ideals behind the revolution. So we have to ask ourselves two questions: Is the Marxist ideal sufficient, and is it suitable to the conditions in India?

The Marxist theory assumes that man is an economic animal, that the course of history has been determined solely by the operation of economic forces and that human life will reach its perfection if only suitable economic conditions can be created for it. Obviously this is a partial view of human life and could be held only by men who were blinded by the mechanicalism of the 19th century. Man no doubt needs sufficient food and clothing to maintain his bodily life; but his life does not consist solely of his body and his mind (which the materialists regard as being only a bye-product of the body), he has a soul with divine possibilities, and his body, life and mind are only instruments for the manifestation of the divine in him. This is the Indian view and by missing it, Marx missed the central truth of human life. Obsessed with the materialistic view that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile, he did not believe in the existence of a spiritual soul with infinite possibilities, hence he did not value individual liberty which is essential for the development of those possibilities. The mass-will, mass-rule mass-dictatorship, these slogans of Communism and Fascism alike are what Marx foreshadowed. Combining 19th century materialism with the Hegelian doctrine of the sovereign State, Marx produced a theory of Society which has become a new Bible for millions of people in the world to-day.

History shows that spiritual forces are really far more powerful than physical or economic forces. One Christ changed the whole life of Europe, one Buddha affected more myriads in Asia. Would the history of mankind have taken the same course as it has actually taken if there had been no Mohammed? It was his essential greatness to grasp the ideal of the equality of human brotherhood with the mighty strength in it and above

it of the One Being, just, merciful and compassionate, through faith in whom the simplest tribesman finds Islam, Peace. Thus it is gross misreading of history to say that the course of human life is being moulded solely by the operation of economic forces. Whatever truth there might be in socialism and communism, it has been vitiated by the Marxist falsehood that the world is Godless and that man is a soulless being, only a higher kind of animal without any divine possibilities. And the fanatic zeal with which this theory is being preached has become a real danger to humanity. "Europe," says J. A. Spender, "is infected with political popes shouting infallible dogmas and using the methods of the Holy Inquisition to force them, on the unbelieving. The havoc which the economic theory works in the human brain in the twentieth century is only second, if at all second, to that caused by religious dogma in the ages of faith. Das Kapital is by now as drenched in blood as the Athanasian creed."—*These Times*.

Another view of Marx is that religion is the opium of the people. But even opium when administered in the proper way acts as a wholesome medicine, and that is what religion is really intended to be. The animal passions of lust, greed, anger, hatred, jealousy would have made human society and human civilisation impossible if from immemorial times religion had not trained mankind to discipline them. Like all good things in the world, the religious opium has no doubt been grossly abused by the ignorance of man, but that is no reason why we should discard religion in its pure spiritual form and application. What after all is the teaching of religion? It asks us not to take our lower passions, our desire and egoism as the law of our life, but to follow some higher law as laid down in the Shastras which are based on the experience of ages; and these Shastraic injunctions are all directed to the welfare and uplift of society. When people miss the true spirit of the Shastras or scriptures, when rules and laws suitable to a particular age and a particular phase of society are regarded as being universal and eternal, as *sanatana*

dharma, when in the name of religion the life-force in man is repressed by too many rules and injunctions, man falls into a *tamasic* state losing all zest in life, and then it can be truly said that religion has acted as opium. But whenever there is such a fading of religion, there appear saints and *avatars* to help mankind to find the true path. True religion warns men as much against *tamas* or inertia as against *rajas* or the crude passions; it inspires us to fight against all enemies, internal and external, not with any personal desire or selfish motive, but to serve some higher ideal, to serve God in humanity, to help in the advent of the Kingdom of Heaven on the earth. That is the essential teaching of religion as contained in the Gita where Krishna says to Arjuna in the end: "Therefore arise, get thee glory, conquer thy enemies and enjoy an opulent kingdom." We wonder how Indians, who have the Gita as their scripture, can accept the Marxist slogan that religion is the opium of the people.

II

Marx would have nothing to do with the opium of religion, but he is for administering a strong dose of the bitter wine of class-hatred to rouse the masses from their apathy and lifelessness. But if you sow the wind, you must reap the whirlwind, and that is what we are witnessing to-day in Soviet Russia. How can you expect to arrive at the brotherhood of humanity if you start by cultivating hatred in the human heart? The hatred engendered by the Bolshevik revolution did not stop by ruining the capitalist class with the utmost cruelty. The peasants also had their turn. Mr. Cole, a writer favourable to the Soviet regime, says: "Nothing save a recognition that Russia is still in many respects a barbarous country can extenuate the inhuman severity of the drive against the Kulaks." The root of the barbarism is in the principle of hatred; it has not spared even the members of the communist party and their highest leaders and officials. Stalin, the personification of the Soviet regime, seems to hate everybody, to be jealous and suspicious of everybody. A nemesis indeed! If we are to believe all the charges for which Bukharin and other

foremost leaders of the Russian revolution have been shot down like so many mad dogs, we must say that they fell from such great heights to such ignoble depths as they discarded God and religion from their life and took hatred as their creed.

That is not the way in which spirituality acts; it teaches love even for enemies, and not hatred. Even if we have to destroy anything for the sake of right and justice, we must not have hatred but sympathy towards those whom we have to destroy, and we must not proceed from any lower egoistic passion but from some higher divine inspiration and with a divine rage which strikes with one hand but succours with the other.

"Philosophers," says Marx, "have merely interpreted the world in various ways, the really important thing is to change it." That is, indeed, an utterance worthy of a prophet, but if we look closely into it in the light of Marx's other views, we at once see that his vision was too narrow and clouded. In the first place, it shows his ignorance of philosophy and the philosophers. The French revolution, it must be admitted, changed the world greatly in the Marxist sense, as it destroyed feudalism establishing republicanism which was to pave the way to communism; the same economic forces were acting also in other parts of the world, but the revolution occurred in France as France could produce philosophers like Voltaire and Rousseau. Then there is the ancient dream of bringing down the Kingdom of Heaven on the earth, and religions all over the world have tried in their own way to prepare mankind for it. That is really a programme of changing the world; only religion does not believe like the Marxists that the world can really change merely by a change in the political, social and economic institutions; the change must come from within, the change in the external institutions must be an expression of the change in the nature of mankind. But Marxists do not believe that human nature, as it is, can ever change. That is a truth which has been missed not only by the Marxists but by all European politicians in general. Man is sought to be kept straight by machines. At one time

it was thought that democracy and parliamentary institutions would bring in the millennium; now they are in disfavour, and other forms appear in the shape of Bolshevism, Fascism, National Socialism, all seeking to change the world by changing the external institutions of mankind. The communist ideal is that all class distinctions will disappear and the State will sink into insignificance, there being no necessity for control or repression. That will, in the words of the communist manifesto issued under the signatures of Lenin, Trotsky and others in March 1919, "end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom". That would really be changing the world, but how is this change going to be brought about? To this question Lenin's reply was: "By what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim—this we do not and cannot know. It is only with socialism that there will commence a rapid, genuine, real mass advance."—*The State and Revolution*. That shows the defect of vision in the leaders of the Russian Revolution and their blind faith in Socialism. They believed that once the means of production was converted into the common property of the whole society—"socialism" in the generally accepted sense of the term—it would lead by "rapid real genuine mass advance" to the true communistic ideal. "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." "The victorious proletariat," said Engels, "will be obliged immediately to amputate the worst features of this evil (the State) until such time as a new generation brought up under new and free social conditions will prove capable of throwing on the dust-heap all the useless old rubbish of State organisation." But what do we actually find after twenty years of the rule of the "victorious proletariat" in Soviet Russia?

Once the masses were roused to revolutionary enthusiasm, it was easy to overthrow the Tsardom or the power of the landowners; it was possible to carry this out in the centre in a few days and

throughout the country in a few weeks. But after twenty years of socialism, Russia is still nowhere near the true communistic ideal. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which was to be the forerunner of communism, has degenerated into the dictatorship of one man, and the worst features of the State-evil have been aggravated. Stalin, of course, claims that he has the support of the masses, but that claim is also made by the Fascist dictators. Hitler has declared recently that there are only two countries in the world where the government is supported by 99 per cent. of the people. The truth is that in Russia and elsewhere a few strong men are ruling in the name of the half-hypnotised masses. "Stalin knows what is best for his children,"—that sort of saying reveals the true nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia. The need of the application of force by the State seems to be increasing, and in this respect Socialistic Russia is in no better position than Tsarist Russia. There are to-day anything between two and three million political prisoners in Russia. State boundaries have not been wiped out. Barbed and electrically charged wire, search-light-equipped watch towers, 24-hour frontier patrols aided by bloodhounds and police dogs guard every mile of border. And the repression, it must be remembered, is not directed against the hated capitalists but against communists and comrades who fall into disfavour. Comrade Konarski, who somehow managed to escape recently from the Wytchera Soviet Prison camp, told correspondents: "The camp contains about 82,000 prisoners. They are kept there until death results from hard work, bad food and consequent sickness." And apart from the open trial and execution of foremost communist leaders and highest officials in the army, navy and other government departments, the external world will never know how many persons are being secretly executed.

The accused are not told of what they are accused. They never even see their judges. Most prisoners are condemned by the collegium of the G. U. P. without trial, without witnesses, without a chance to defend themselves. Their execution is in secret, their burial places unknown.—*Soviet Five Year Plan.*

III

Russia has destroyed its bourgeoisie but cannot get rid of its bourgeoisieism. The love of material possession refuses to die and the increase in the volume of goods has been accompanied by economic inequality. Real communism would give to each according to his needs rather than abilities. But when capitalist psychology persists in the mental make up of every Soviet citizen, complete equality of compensation would destroy initiative and retard progress. Soviet Russia has not found the means by which the psychology of the people would be changed, and that explains all the inner conflict with which it is troubled, and communism still remains a far distant ideal. National sentiments and religious beliefs also are asserting themselves as fundamental urges of human nature which refuse to be suppressed.

What then are the distinct achievements of the Soviet rulers? By the first and second Five Year Plans, they have greatly increased the industrial and agricultural productiveness of Russia. But in the matter of production it has not been proved that the socialistic method is better and more efficient than the capitalistic. Planning in capitalist countries is concerned with reducing and not increasing productive capacity, for they are embarrassed by too much production. In the matter of distribution also, the people of Russia are not in a better condition, all workers there are wage-earners, and the average wages of workers in Soviet Russia is still much lower than that in capitalist countries. There is no unemployment in Russia, and every man there is entitled to work according to his capacity; but if the capitalistic countries cannot give work, they give unemployment allowance; the standard of living of the average Soviet worker is inferior to that of a workless Briton in receipt of unemployment benefit. The capitalist countries cannot give employment to all people on account of the limitation of the markets in which their products can be sold. Soviet Russia has not this disadvantage just now; it is an immense undeveloped empire, and all the goods it can produce are sold among its own people; then a

vast number of men are absorbed in the formidable red army; also no less than 20 million people are kept as political prisoners. So it is no wonder that there is scarcity of workers in Russia. In Germany also there is a great shortage of skilled as well as unskilled workers, and over 100,000 women are recruited monthly for industrial works; thus Germany does not worry about unemployment but that does not prove that Germany has solved her economic problems.

We do not see how unemployment will cease in capitalist countries if the means of production are socialised. The same difficulty about marketing the goods will remain, and if socialisation means greater productivity, the problem will be more intensified. Let us take a concrete example. In recent years the United States has produced slightly under 600,000,000 bushels of wheat annually and has consumed slightly more than that. This year the production will be about 950,000,000 bushels, while consumption remains roughly the same. The surplus that cannot be sold at home, including that from last year will be about 400,000,000 bushels. Already the price has fallen greatly—by about 40 per cent.—and farmers are complaining bitterly. Now Mr. H. Wallace, the U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, proposed to sell a part of the surplus on the world market, and that would inevitably bring down the world level of price causing hardship to peasants everywhere; their purchasing power will be reduced and other industries will be affected. That is the vicious circle in which economics is moving, if there is increase in production the price will fall, and if production is reduced there will be fall in employment and also there is the danger of scarcity of the necessities of life. Neither capitalism nor socialism has found the means to control all the world forces and factors concerned in production, consumption and trade.

If we turn to the social organisation of the ancient Indians, we find there the true solution of the economic problems which are troubling the world to-day. The ancient Rishis of India did not make the increase of production the chief object of their economics; they aimed at

giving every man the joy of work according to his nature and capacity. The very conception of the value of work must change if we want to realise an ideal society and evolve a really higher civilisation. At present each citizen works according to his ability and receives in accordance with the amount of work done. "For an equal quantity of labour an equal quantity of products"—that is the socialistic principle revealing the essential bourgeois (Vaishya) mentality of a commercial and industrial age. But the true value of work lies not in the external result but in its power of developing the character of the worker and bringing out his inherent possibilities. That was the view about the value of work taken by the ancient spiritual culture of India. All action must be determined from within, because each man has in him something his own, some characteristic principle and inborn power of his nature. That is the efficient power of his spirit, that creates the dynamic form of his soul in nature and to express and perfect it by action, to make it effective in capacity and conduct and life is his work, his true Karma; that points him to the right way of his inner and outer living and is the right starting point for his further development.

The aim of economics should be not to increase production as much as possible either by capitalist or socialistic methods, but to give every man the joy of work according to his nature. The other day the British Prime Minister caustically declared his inability to produce jobs like rabbits from a conjurer's hat. But if people are given such education as will help them to find out their own natural and characteristic powers, and if they are allowed to act freely according to the law of their nature, their *swadharma*, every one will find work which will help his inner development as well as contribute to the general well-being and advancement of society. But the present way of man's individual and social living seems indeed to be a contradiction of these principles.

Life, State, society, family, all surrounding powers seem to be in a league to lay their yoke on our spirit, compel us into their moulds, impose on us their

mechanical interest and rough immediate convenience. We become parts of a machine; we are not, are hardly allowed to be in the true sense, *manushya*, *purusha*, souls, minds, free children of the spirit empowered to develop the highest characteristic perfection of our being and make it our means of service to the race. It would seem that we are not what we make ourselves, but what we are made. Yet the more we advance in knowledge, the more the truth of the Gita's rule is bound to appear. The child's education ought to be an out-bringing of all that is best, most powerful, most intimate and living in his nature; the mould into which the man's action and development ought to run is that of his innate quality and power. He must acquire new things, but he will acquire them best, most vitally on the basis of his own developed type and inborn force. And so too the functions of a man ought to be determined by his natural turn, gift and capacities. The individual who develops freely in this manner will be a living soul and mind, and will have a much greater power for the service of the race. And we are now able to see more clearly that this rule is true, not only of the individual but of the community and the nation, the group soul, the collective man.

Following the urge of their inner nature, some will devote themselves to science, some to arts, some to spiritual culture; some will find in the work of government, politics, administration and war their proper field for self-expression, some will resort to the various trades and crafts, some will find the joy of their life in cultivating lands, some will be happy in menial service and hired labour. And whatever work a man does, if done according to the law of his being, the truth of his nature, can be done in a spirit of sacrifice to the Divine and can thus be turned into an effective means of spiritual liberation and perfection. Science is making such immense progress that only a limited number of people will be required to produce a plentiful supply of the necessities of life for all; others will be free to act according to their nature and enrich and beautify the life of society

in manifold ways. And that will be a true realisation of the communist ideal: "From every one according to the ability; to every one according to his needs."

If Nature is allowed to act freely in individuals as well as in communities, she will in her unfailing way evolve an harmonious order of things furnishing the best conditions for the manifestation of the Divine in humanity. The present maladjustment of production and consumption, of supply and demand throughout the world will disappear through a free commercial and cultural intercourse between different countries and nations. The right order of human life as of the universe is preserved according to the ancient Indian idea by each individual being following faithfully his *swadharma*, the true law and norm of his nature and the nature of his kind and by the group being, the organic collective life doing likewise.

Thus we see that our immortal civilisation is not dead and gone, it is really immortal, and it can help us greatly to solve the problems of to-day if only we can shake off our alien mentality and self-hypnotism engendered by Western education. Government in the interest of a particular class has been a chief feature of European politics. At first the rule was of the aristocracy; then the middle class dominated and now it is the turn of the labour class who want to destroy all other classes. But the whole Indian system was founded upon a participation of all the orders in the common life, each predominating in its own field, the Brahman in religion, learning and letters; the Kshatriya in war, kingcraft and interstate political action; the Vaishya in wealth-getting and productive economical function, but none, not even the Shudra, excluded from his share in the civic life and an effective place and voice in politics, administration, justice. As a consequence, the old Indian polity at no time developed, or at least it did not maintain for long, those exclusive forms of class rule that have so long and powerfully marked the political history of other countries.

The ancient system of *Chaturvarnya* no longer exists; the present caste system

classifying people according to their birth and not according to their inborn nature and capacity is a travesty of the ancient principle, and if not discarded immediately may fatally affect our national life. But the principle of which the system of Chaturvarnya was a particular application suitable to ancient conditions, the principle of *swabhava* and *swadharma* as delineated in the Gita, the law of action according to one's inborn nature and capacity, is a permanent truth of human life and must be taken as the basis of the new organisation of society, suitable to the needs and requirements of modern times.

In order that every one may find work suitable to his nature and capacity, it is necessary that those who have wealth should make a proper use of it. All wealth belongs to the Divine and those who hold it are trustees, not possessors. It is with them to-day, to-morrow it may be elsewhere. All depends on the way they discharge their trust while it is with them, in what spirit, with what consciousness in their use of it, to what purpose. The proper use of money is the creation of conditions for the manifestation of the Divine in humanity—through services rendered to the all-round development of social life. And for this it is essential that the capitalist motive of investment for the sake of profit must be discarded. As long as profit remains the motive of investment, people will not bring out their money unless they find profitable enterprises; thus much money remains idle while people suffer from unemployment. Men who have wealth must find out interesting uses of their money which will meet the manifold needs of society and contribute to its physical, intellectual, æsthetic and spiritual advancement. Thus what is needed is not the abolition of money as some socialists advocate nor the concentration of all wealth in the hands of a few men who dictate in the name of socialism or communism, but a radical change in the mentality of those who may happen to be in possession of wealth.

Let us consider, for example, the Bata shoe factory in Czecho-Slovakia. The late Mr. Thomas Bata felt that men needed

good shoes at a cheap price. He invested his money to serve this need at first on a very moderate scale. He kept a little margin of profit which he added to the capital. He himself took only wages as a worker and lived a simple life on that. In this way the factory has grown to-day into one of the greatest industrial concerns in the world. He gave to the workers and laborers a fair share in the wealth they were producing. The average wages per week is £2 14s. (This included boys and girls as well as fully trained men.) The maximum is £5 10s. In addition under the profit-sharing scheme, each worker who is entitled to it received additional 25s. Of the latter sum half is put to the credit of the worker with the firm, the remainder he can draw out or leave in as he wishes. Ten per cent. is paid upon any balance which individual workers may have with the firm. The factory has a well-equipped Science Institute which is attended by 6,000 student Bata workers for study, experiment and research work; the Company has provided clean and modern residential quarters and dormitories for the employees. Pandit Nehru, who recently visited the Bata factory at Zlín, was highly impressed by the advanced mechanised method of manufacturing shoes which enables every worker to do his apportioned work through simplified processes that have completely eliminated physical exertion. The Bata Company is now establishing branches all over the world. The capital money that is not absorbed in the shoe factory is invested in other interesting works conducive to the well-being of society. If such a concern is socialised it will not certainly be an improvement; only a great institution will be sacrificed to a theory.

As regards land, it has not been proved that co-operative farming, as practised in Denmark, Germany and other countries, is in any way inferior and less efficient than that collectivising which entailed the "liquidation" of five million peasants in Soviet Russia. We know how attached our Indian peasants are to the few acres of land that belong to them, and what a torture it would be to them if they are driven to work in collective farms. On the other hand,

if they are established on their lands and relieved of their crushing debt, if they are organised into co-operative societies and given training in the modern scientific methods of agriculture, they will easily produce all the food and raw materials which India may need for consumption or external trade. Czecho-Slovakia and most of the East European countries put through agrarian reform without going socialist. Sixty years ago the landlords of Japan voluntarily gave up their rights and agreed to take only 10 per cent. of their former income. The landlords of Russia also were awakening to the needs of the situation and had begun to make concessions, but the Bolshevik Revolution made a short work of them, robbing Russia of its educated and cultured class who could have helped greatly in the mental and moral training of the masses and in their organisation for social advance. The landlords of India also have declared their willingness to make any sacrifice which will be really conducive to the welfare of the masses, and by their position and prestige, they are best fitted to take the lead in the arduous work of village organisation. Why should they not be given a chance as in Japan and other countries and a formula evolved which will be acceptable to all parties?

V

Twenty years of Soviet rule have shown conclusively that human nature remains fundamentally the same under socialism as under capitalism; there is the same desire for possession, for domination, for egoistic aggrandisement, and as long as these motives rule humanity, the communist ideal of freedom and equality can never be realised. Even Pundit Nehru has to admit: "Whether capitalism may not creep back in disguise in some form or other is a difficult question to answer." Lenin felt this when he said: "The cause of socialism is now (after the accomplishment of the Revolution), economically speaking, identical with that of the promotion of co-operation. Complete co-operation is not possible without an intellectual revolution." "The plan cannot be carried through," says Dr. Dewey, "without change in the desires and beliefs of the masses. Indeed, it seems to me that the simplest and most

helpful way to look at what is now going on in Russia is to view it as an enormous psychological experiment in transforming the motives that inspire human conduct." It is exactly here that the fundamental defect of Marxism lies; it has not found the means of "transforming the motives that inspire human conduct". Lenin wanted an intellectual revolution for this, and the Bolsheviks have left no stone unturned to carry on an intensive propaganda among the masses with the latest scientific methods so that socialistic ideas may be instilled into the minds of the people. But intellect is not the whole man, not even the most powerful element in him; his senses and passions, and the roots of them, desire and egoism, are the real rulers of his life, and they turn the intellect into their service to justify their movements. This vital part in man cannot be controlled only by the mind and the intellect, but by something that is higher than the intellect, the Self. "Thus awakening by the understanding," says the Gita, "to the Highest which is beyond even the discerning mind, putting force on the self by the self to make it firm and still, slay thou, O Mighty-armed, this enemy in the form of desire, who is so hard to assail."

As long as man is actuated by desire and egoism, he will take every opportunity to aggrandise himself at the expense of others; in order to bring prosperity and culture equally to everybody, the communists have to curtail the freedom of the individual. People may submit for some time to this loss of liberty, but when they get accustomed to the material advantages derived from it, they are bound to resent it. Man requires freedom to develop his inherent possibilities, and that society is the best where, even under present conditions, the individual gets the greatest measure of liberty. It is by spiritual discipline in an atmosphere of freedom that man can really change his nature; one has to learn to take God, and not the ego, as the law of his life, and regard his life as given to him not for self-indulgence but for the manifestation of the Divine on the earth. By acting according to one's essential nature, not for any external gain but as worship

offered to the Supreme Divine who is the source of our life, man will rise above the present egoistic nature to the light, peace, joy, power, love and beauty of the divine nature.

He from whom all beings originate, by whom all this universe is pervaded, by worshipping Him by his own work (work according to one's essential nature or *svabhava*) a man reaches perfection.—*Gita* 18-46.

True freedom and equality can never be realised until we realise God. When we shall see God to be the one Self of all, we shall realise our fundamental oneness with all in and through God, that change of consciousness in us will provide the true spiritual basis of equality. And we shall get true freedom only when we rise above the lower nature of desire and egoism to the freedom of the higher divine nature. Until that is done some amount of external compulsion is indispensable for the maintenance of social order. We must feel and obey the compulsion of the Spirit if we would establish our inner right to escape other compulsion; we must make our lower being the slave of the Divine Being within us, for it is that subjection which is the condition of our freedom. The aim of a spiritual society will be to diminish the element of external compulsion in human life by awakening the inner divine compulsion of the spirit within and all the preliminary means it will use will have that for its aim. In the end it will employ chiefly if not solely the spiritual compulsion which even the spiritual individual can exercise on those around him—and how much more should a spiritual society be able to do it—that which awakens within the desire and the power to grow through one's own nature into the Divine. The perfectly spiritualised society will be one in which, as is dreamed by the spiritual anarchist, all men will be entirely free. Their life will be led by the law of their own divine nature liberated from the ego.

The masses of India respond readily to a spiritual appeal; their civilisation,

based on spiritual principles, has prepared them in this mould through centuries. The rise of the Bengalis under Pratapaditya and of the Mahrattas under Shivaji were inspired by a spiritual movement. The Sikh Khalsa with "its theocratic head and democratic soul and structure, its profound spiritual beginning, its first attempt to combine the deepest elements of Islam and Vedanta", was a premature drive towards an entrance into the spiritual stage of human society. The renaissance in Bengal which inaugurated the national movement in India was brought in, not so much by political or economic causes as by the new spiritual light that dawned on the bank of the Ganges at Dakshineswar. It is not necessary to import class hatred to rouse the Indian masses, and torn as the country already is by caste jealousies and communal hatred, it would be a great cruelty to do so. India needs a revolution to-day but a revolution inspired by spirituality, and not hatred. We can learn many things from the Marxist movement, especially its stress on the material and physical aspect of man and his destiny on this terrestrial plane and not in some distant heaven. God has to be realised in this body and before death; but the manifestation is not to be confined to the body alone. God manifests in the body as beauty, in the mind as knowledge, in the vital as power, in the heart as love. That is the complete spiritual ideal which the teaching of India holds before humanity—her teaching of world-renunciation and asceticism was only a temporary phase, perhaps necessary at a certain stage of human development, not her eternal ideal, the *sanatana dharma*. For the realisation of this ideal we want a society the aim of which in economics will not be to create a huge engine of production, whether of the capitalist or the socialist kind, but to give men—not only some but all men—the joy of work according to their own nature and free leisure to grow inwardly as well as a simply rich and beautiful life for all.



THE WIDOW'S RIGHTS

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[This is the fourth and last article in the series entitled "Proprietary Rights of Hindu Women", which Mr. Altekar has been contributing to this *Review*. The first two articles in the series—"Proprietary Rights during Coverture" and "The Right of Stridhana" appeared in the October number while the third on "The Rights of the Daughter" was published in the November number. The series now concludes with this Essay on "The Widow's Rights."—ED. I.R.]

THE widow's right to inherit her husband's share in the family property remained for a long time unrecognised in Hindu society. Vedic texts, which declare that women on account of their inherent weakness cannot inherit property, are primarily aimed against her. Dharmasutra literature expressly excludes her from the series of heirs. It lays down that in the absence of the son, property should devolve upon the father, the brother, a Sapinda or a Sakulya in the stated order. In the absence of these it was to devolve upon the preceptor, failing him upon the student and finally upon the king. The widow is nowhere recognised or mentioned as an heir.

The modern reader will wonder at the stone-heartedness of the jurists and society which allowed the property to escheate to the State instead of allowing it to devolve upon the widow. A further investigation will show that there was nothing strange in it. A sonless widow was not recognised as an heir down to c. 800 B.C., because she was a very rare phenomenon in Hindu society. The custom of Niyoga was quite common down to that period; widows without sons were, therefore, very few. Most of the widows could get their husband's share in the family property, if not directly as an heir to him, at least indirectly as the guardian for the minor sons. Remarriage was also permitted; widows would often enter into a fresh wedlock and so the question of giving them a share in the first husband's property would not arise at all.

CIRCUMSTANCES CHANGE

By about 100 B.C., owing to certain causes which we need not discuss here, both the custom of Niyoga and widow

remarriage went out of vogue. It was deemed more honorable for a widow to spend her remaining life in the penances of religion than in the pleasures of a fresh married life. Niyoga also began to be condemned as a beastly practice, unworthy of a civilised age. A class of childless widows, therefore, soon emerged in society. Leaders of society began to feel that if the widow was not to remarry or get a son by Niyoga, society ought to make proper provision for her maintenance.

EARLY ADVOCATES OF THE WIDOW'S RIGHT

A school of reformers arose among jurists, which began to advocate that the widow should be recognised as an heir. Gautama was the first to put forth a modest proposal—at about 800 B.C.—that a widow should be regarded as a coheir with other Sapindas. In course of time the opinion in favour of the widow's right began to become stronger. Why should the widow be merely a coheir and not the exclusive heir? Vishnu was the first jurist who boldly pressed for this claim at about the beginning of the Christian era. About a couple of centuries later Yajnavalkya joined Vishnu in championing the widow's right. It is his verses in this matter which were mainly relied upon by British courts when they recognised widow's right of inheritance.

OPPOSITION TO THE REFORM

The proposal of Vishnu and Yajnavalkya to recognise the widow as an heir was a sensational one. It immediately provoked a storm from the vested interests. During the period 400-1000 A.D. we find jurists divided into two schools: the orthodox one which stubbornly resisted the claim and the reformist one which went on pressing the

right. Narada, Katyayana and King Bhoja of Malva were the chief advocates of the orthodox view. They maintained that in the absence of heirs, property should escheat to the king, who should merely provide for the maintenance of the widow. The widow herself should never get it as an heir to her husband.

SOME COMPROMISE PROPOSALS

There were some jurists who recognised this state of affairs as unsatisfactory, but had not courage enough to side with the schools of reformers, which pressed for the recognition of the widow as an heir to her husband. They suggested half way measures. Some proposed that the widow should be allowed to inherit immoveable property worth not more than about Rs. 5,000. Others were in favour of allowing her to inherit the moveables only. A third view was that the widow should inherit the property if allowed to do so by the next reversioners. Probably it was expected that they would give their consent if the widow parted with a part of the property in their favour.

COMPROMISES NOT ACCEPTED

The reformers, however, were not prepared to accept any such compromises. They insisted that the widow's right to inherit the full share should be recognised. Brihaspati, Vriddhamanu and Prajapati were the leaders of this school. The first of these pointed out that the word *dampati* shows that the property belonged to the couple as joint owners; if one of them died, it ought naturally to devolve upon the survivor. He averred that a person cannot be regarded as dead as long as his better-half, viz., the wife, was alive. So the question of the devolution of property would not arise during the lifetime of the widow. Vriddhamanu tackled the problem from the religious point of view; he pointed out that the wife could give *pindas* to her husband and was thus perfectly eligible to become his heir. To remove any doubt in the matter, Prajapati laid down that the widow has the inherent right to control all her husband's property including moveables, immoveables, bullion, ornaments, stores, etc. Her right is not in the least affected even if her

elderly relations, male or female, are alive. She was to show them proper reverence and they could not snatch away the property from her control. If any of them proceeded to obstruct her peaceful enjoyment of the estate, the king was called upon to punish him as a thief.

HOW EARLIER TEXTS WERE EXPLAINED AWAY

We have seen above that there were earlier Smritis which had opposed the widow's right of inheritance. The new school cleverly—of course not correctly—explained them away as referring to concubines and unchaste widows. It was maintained that no jurists could ever have dreamt of depriving a chaste widow of her right of inheritance. Owing to the inherent conservatism of the community, reforms in Hindu law and custom have always taken place by this indirect method of explaining away old texts instead of the direct method of exploding them away.

SLOW PROGRESS OF THE NEW REFORM

In spite of the able advocacy of the cause of the widow, it took several centuries for her right to be recognised throughout the country. The Deccan was more advanced in this respect than Northern India. It recognised the right earlier. Inscriptions show that in Tamil Nad this right was recognised by the 10th century A.D. In Northern India we find that in the days of Kalidasa, the property of a merchant dying without issue would escheat to the Crown. The only thing which a considerate king like Dushyanta could do was to wait and see whether a posthumous son may not be eventually born. In Gujarat, the widow's right was not recognised till about 1150 A.D. King Kumarapala of that province (1144-1178 A.D.) frankly admits that his subjects were justified in their impression that their king always desired his rich subjects to die issueless so that he may resume their property. A poet of his court tells us that it was this king who showed a magnanimity of mind not shown even by kings of Kritayuga like Raghu and Nahusha, and voluntarily forsook his time-honoured right to the property of the 'weeping widow'. It would thus appear

that the governments of the day opposed the move of jurists to recognise the widow as an heir lest their revenues should be adversely affected. As a partial compensation, some of them introduced a death duty on the property of persons dying without sons. By about 1200 A.D., however, the widow's right to her husband's property was recognised throughout the country.

FURTHER CONCESSIONS IN THE DAYABHAGA SCHOOL

The Dayabhaga school of Bengal liberalised the law still further in favour of the widow. The Mitakshara school was prepared to recognise the widow as an heir, only if her husband had separated from the joint family before his death. Such cases were not many in society. Those widows, who out of their regard for the joint family, would not press their husbands to effect a partition, got as a reward for their loyalty to the institution the disability to be entitled only to a maintenance and not to a share. Those, on the other hand, who felt no such regard for the joint family, and would press their husbands to effect a separation, became entitled to his full share. Jimutavahana, the famous founder of the Dayabhaga school, recognised this state of affairs to be unreasonable and laid down that all widows should be regarded as full heirs to their husbands' shares irrespective of the consideration as to whether they were separated from the joint family or not. Jimutavahana relied upon a text of Brihaspati, which is silent about separation and declares that the property of a person can devolve upon his brother only if he has left no son or widow behind. He further argues that there is nothing to prove that the wife's joint ownership in the husband's property, which arose at the time of the marriage, automatically terminates at his death if he had not effected separation during his lifetime. It is, therefore, but fair, he argues, that she should be allowed to inherit his property, irrespective of the consideration as to whether he had separated from the joint family or not. The Dayabhaga school recognised the right of inheritance of the widow in an unseparated Hindu family about 700 years

ago. Last year the Central Legislature extended this privilege to the widows of the whole Hindu community.

WIDOW A LIMITED HEIR

The widow was eventually recognised as an heir to her husband's full property, and to its entire income by about 1200 A.D. She was, however, not invested with the right of disposing of the property. Even those jurists who were zealous in championing the cause of the widow, have laid it down that sale, mortgage or gift of landed property made by a woman are invalid *ipso facto*. The widow could thus only enjoy the income of the property; she could not touch its corpus except under pressing necessities.

Even those jurists, who vehemently plead for the recognition of the widow's right of inheritance are not prepared to invest her with the right of disposing of the inheritance. If the texts on which Jimutavahana had relied, had been utilised to their fullest capacity, they would have enabled him to declare that the widow was to be a full and not a limited heir. The widow is the living half of the husband, says Brihaspati, and so no one could inherit his property as long as she was alive. Now it could have been argued that the powers of the surviving half, *viz.*, the widow, could not be less extensive than those of the expired half, *viz.*, the husband. If the latter could sell or mortgage the property, the former could not be regarded as ineligible for doing the same. Jimutavahana, however, was not prepared to accept this perfectly logical argument. He had already proposed revolutionary concessions to the widow; he probably feared that if he advocated the view that the widow should be an absolute heir, his proposal to make her an heir even if she was a member of a joint family, would have been summarily rejected by the society.

SOME FURTHER PROGRESS IN WIDOW'S RIGHTS

Later medieval period, c. 1200-1800 A.D., was a very conservative one no doubt; it can, however, claim the credit of attempting to invest the widow with full powers over her inheritance. Two among the Nibandha writers, Devanabhatta and Nilakantha,

proposed that the widow should have the power of gifting away her property for a charitable or religious purpose. They do not lay down that the consent of the next reversioners should be necessary for such a transaction. Their silence in this respect was differently interpreted in different parts of Madras Presidency during the years 1800-1800 A.D. We have got some inscriptions of this period, which show that widows used to procure the consent of the next reversioners when they proposed to gift away their inheritance for a religious purpose. Sometimes we find that their plans used to be frustrated on account of the refusal of the reversioners to sanction the proposed transaction. There are, however, other inscriptions, equally numerous, which record sales or gifts of landed property by widows for religious purposes, but are silent about any permission of the reversioners. These inscriptions were lithic deeds of titles intended to last for ever. They would certainly have mentioned all relevant circumstances including the permission of the next reversioners, that went to invest the temple with full and undisputed title over the property conveyed by the deed. It would, therefore, appear that in pre-British days in some parts of Madras Presidency widows could dispose of even immoveable property comprised in their inheritance without the consent of the next reversioners, provided it was conveyed for a religious object.

Another jurist of this period, Mitramishra, who flourished in the United Provinces in the 17th century A.D., was almost fully inclined to invest the widow with a full power over his inheritance. "To those who contend," says he, "that women have no right to sell or gift away their husband's inheritance, we ask, do you mean to say that even if the gift or sale had become an accomplished fact, it would become invalid merely because it was made by a woman? Texts prohibiting sales, etc., refer to the disposal of landed property made to vicious persons with the malicious purpose of defeating the rights of the reversioners. They do not invalidate gifts, etc., properly made. Ownership gives the right of disposal as much over the immoveables as over the moveables, and

an accomplished transaction cannot be unsettled even by a hundred texts." Later on, however, Mitramishra resiles from this position and allows the widow to make a gift only for religious purposes.

SHOULD WIDOWS BE NOW INVESTED WITH FULL POWERS ?

Should we now change the law and invest the widow with full power of disposal over her immoveable inheritance? An attempt in this direction was made in the Central Legislature in 1986, but it had to be abandoned. Opinion is sharply divided on this point. Vested interests are against the granting of this power. Reformers are pressing for it. They enquire, is it reasonable to contend that the lady principal of a college should not possess a right that is conceded to her most illiterate peon?

It may be pointed out in this connection that even at present the widow can sell or mortgage her property for legal necessities. The disability is that her powers in this respect are not unlimited. This is, of course, a disability from one point of view, but also a protection from another. We should not forget that 95 per cent. of the widows are still uneducated and inexperienced and altogether innocent of the provisions of the law. If they are given an unrestricted right to dispose of their landed property, many of them would be induced by interested parties to enter into unwise transactions. The cash realised by sale will not last long, and a majority of widows selling their lands will eventually find that they have lost both their land and its sale proceeds. Their condition then will be much more pitiable than that of those men who ruin themselves by similar transactions. Men in such predicament can at least work as labourers, women may find it very hard to do so.

In the present circumstances, therefore, an unrestricted power of alienation should be granted only to those widows, who possess some educational qualifications, say the vernacular, final, or matriculation examination. Later on the right should be gradually extended to all widows when literacy and the knowledge of law becomes more general among women.

Champions of the joint family institution would oppose this move on the ground that it would lead to the thinning of big estates. If widows are given this right, they would argue, they would invariably convey their estates to their brothers or other cognatic relations. They would not be benefited by the transaction; only their husbands' families would be impoverished.

It is no doubt true that at present widows are almost universally inclined to gift away their estates to their cognatic relations. But the reason for this phenomenon is the unkind and unsympathetic treatment which they receive from their brothers-in-law and other relations in the husband's family. Conscious of the fact that the property is eventually bound to revert to them, and impatient of the delay caused by the widow's temporary intervention, many of them proceed to tease and worry her unnecessarily and often provokingly. The widow, therefore, tries her best to see that the property somehow goes to her brothers and other cognatic relations rather than to her brothers-in-law and others who have been treating her very unkindly. If the coparceners and reversioners cultivate friendly and cordial relations with her, there is no reason why she should wantonly defeat their just expectations. She would then feel as much interest in her husband's family as the reversioners and would not normally stand in the way of its continued prosperity after her death by selling or willing away her share.

I would conclude this series of articles by enumerating the reforms that are shown to be desirable and necessary:

1. The wife should be regarded as a real joint owner of the family property with the husband.

2. The husband should not be permitted to sell or mortgage the family property except with the express and written permission of the wife.

3. Being joint owner of the property, the wife should be entitled to receive her full share and not merely a maintenance, if she finds it necessary to live separately

owing to her husband's embarking upon a second marriage or a vicious life.

4. The earning of a wife should be her own Stridhana.

5. In cases where wives are not earning members of the family, they should receive about 5 to 10 per cent. income of the family as their own Stridhana. They should meet their personal expenditure from it.

6. Daughters should be entitled to get a share in their patrimony equal to half of their brothers, if and as long as they remain unmarried.

7. Daughters should have a lien over the family property to the extent of half the share of a brother for the purpose of their marriage and education expenditure.

8. Widows who possess some minimum educational qualifications should become absolute heirs of their inheritance. Later on this right should be extended to all.

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N. GOPALA IYER.

Secretary.

AGENCY TRAINING—WHY AND HOW

By DR. PHIL HANS SOMMER, Ph.D.

(General Manager for India, Burma and Ceylon, Allianz und Stuttgarter,
Life Insurance Bank Ltd., Delhi)

A Life Insurance Company is meant to underwrite life insurance business. That business consists of financial contracts called "Policies". These policies comprise an obligation and a promise. The policyholder is obliged to pay for many years, in periodical instalments, certain small amounts of money called "Premiums". The Company promises to pay a large amount of money called "Sum Assured" either in the event of the premature death of the policyholder or on expiry of a specified number of years.

Every Company has got a body of persons for the purpose of procuring proposals which might, later on, become policies. That body is called "Organization". This organisation comprises of the actual business-getters and the supervising staff, consisting of Sub-Inspectors, Inspectors, Superintendents of Agencies and Branch Managers. We are here concerned with the training of the actual business-getter called "Ordinary Agent".

Nowhere does one observe greater superficiality, more light-heartedness and a more touching cruelty than here. What is the usual course? A novice comes to the Organiser of a Life Insurance Company in need of a job. That Organiser in the vast majority of cases, takes down the personal items of the agent and gives him the literature of the Company. He advises him to study them and to visit his friends and relatives trying to procure his first business. The poor inexperienced novice, not understanding anything of business in general and Life Insurance in particular, proceeds to get familiar with the technical terms in the Rate Book and literature of the Company and much too soon tries his luck with his uncle or cousin or his best friend, begging them for a policy "as he is starting his career". After a number of attempts—successful or unsuccessful, his resources are exhausted and the Organiser tells him that he is not a capable agent, as he has not introduced any business for a considerable time and throws him over. Very few of

us realise, what a cruel method of selecting men this is. The young agent, disappointed, hates Life Insurance, poisons the minds of his relatives and friends and goes into the army of the disappointed unemployed. The actual person, however, to be blamed is not he but the Organiser.

Life Insurance Organisation is a creative art in the inner sense of the word. Routine work does not make a successful organiser. An intuition to understand the other fellow's nature, a benevolent patience, readiness to help and teach and to give advice in an unassuming confidence-producing and reliable way—these are a few of the qualities that an Organiser must possess.

The time, when the automatic agency recruiting by cold-blooded application of the law of "survival of the fittest" was sufficient, is definitely over. Methods of selecting agents, however, is not the title of this article, although they constitute the first and most important part of the work of a successful Organiser.

We take it for granted that the Organiser has already by means of many interviews found out a group of, say, six men in a big town, carefully selected, ready to follow the advice of the Organiser in every detail. These six applicants may form an Agency Class, the Organiser being the teacher. The job of training these men is understood to be taken in great earnestness. To do the successful canvassing work later on, it is necessary to have thorough theoretical knowledge. Every Company has embodied a great part of that knowledge in its Rates Book, Prospectus and other literature.

The old way to reach this subject was to read out important passages from the literature, to explain them and to ask questions. The modern way is to split up the whole material beforehand into printed lists of questions and answers, lecture-wise. These questions ought to be selected and formulated in such a way, that the novice must be able to answer them after a thorough perusal of the

prospectus and certain leaflets of the Company. The course of theoretical instruction may last for six days. The lecture of each day is to be carefully prepared by the instructor. On the first day one hour's work is sufficient, filled by the first lecture of the instructor. After the lecture, the teacher distributes the first questionnaire to the class and orders the members to fill in the answers, bringing the forms back the next morning.

The following day, the instructor peruses each one of these answer papers and corrects on the very spot the wrong answers of every student. No system can fix knowledge better in the memory of the pupil than this simultaneous corrections of the answer-papers. After this is done, the second lecture begins.

Afterwards question sheets concerning this lecture are distributed with the request to have the answer filled in at home. On the third morning, the new answers are corrected for each pupil, discussions encouraged on points not yet clear and the third day's subject is explained. This goes on for five days of the course and at the end of the week each student has accumulated a good amount of knowledge and a sort of examination is held. The Organiser is, at the end of this period, in a position to know about the cleverness, willingness and intelligence of each of his pupils. As these classes are taken not for more than two hours every day, the Organiser is free to devote the rest of his time to his ordinary work. He was able to eliminate during this course of lectures one or two more men whose response to the work was disappointing. We may, therefore, take it, that at the end of the first week, four applicants remain out of six. These applicants are now to be introduced into the practical work.

If the Organiser is still actively canvassing business, he takes in turn each of his pupils every day as his companion and mere observer, as to how to proceed with the work. If the Organiser does not find any more time for regular canvassing himself, he has certainly got some good agents willing to introduce a novice to the secrets of practical work.

This introduction lasts for a week or even for a fortnight, without a demand to immediately produce some business. If the novice is thus introduced to the work, it will have the effect that he comes to know how the expert gets over a number of situations in which he may later find himself in the course of his own canvassing work. He sees how the other man answers the prospects, how he explains intricate points in a clear way and how he beats down opposition from rival agents with determination but fairness. Thus the novice loses his shyness and might, even before the Organiser asks him, do some regular canvassing for himself by approaching his relatives or even strangers. Calls on policyholders with an experienced agent are further valuable means to get him accustomed to sales talk. The policyholders are already in contact with the Company, they pay regular premium and are, therefore, bound to be interested in the Company.

All agents should be taught to note down the results of their conversation with the prospects in their Prospects Book. This is not to be done in an elaborate manner. It is sufficient to keep a record only of the most important items. An increasing reserve of chances for future business is thus collected. If an agent has formed a thorough habit of putting down his notes, he has passed through the most difficult time of training. He has then entered the path of success by regular daily work which has not yet let down any man who strictly has adhered to it.

It will be more paying to any Company to look first to the quality of its canvassers and of the business introduced by them. It is better to concentrate on a few men doing their job whole-heartedly and conscientiously, than to deal with a great number of irregular canvassers introducing them only superficially into the task of Life Insurance Business. The latter leads to discontent, unrest and disappointment. The first method, though harder, leads to satisfaction amongst the field force, confidence in the leadership and peace of mind for the applicant who feels that he has been introduced thoroughly into what he might justifiably regard as a vocation of his lifetime.

HUMOUR IN LAW

BY MR. S. RAMASWAMY IYER, B.A., B.L.

(*Advocate, Madras*)

THE learned editor of this review was evidently attracted by the humorous aspect of some of the cases in my book on the 'Law of Torts', and asked me to give under the above caption some instances of cases which will amuse the reader. The above title and others like 'Law and Laughter', 'Laughter in Court' are generally used for relating anecdotes and witticisms in Court. There are a number of such books in England which have collected stories of witty remarks from judges, barristers, witnesses and sometimes even from accused persons in criminal cases. There have been many judges reputed for their wit both in modern and olden times. Among the judges of an earlier generation, Justice Maule was reputed for his wit and humour and many of his jokes are recorded. "My Lord," said a witness, "you may believe me or not, but I have said not a word that is false, for I have been wedded to truth from infancy." "Yes, sir," said Maule, "but the question is how long you have been a widower." "May God strike me dead, my Lord, if I did it," exclaimed a convicted prisoner on the verdict being given. For a few moments Maule waited and then said: "As Providence has not seen fit to interpose, the sentence of the Court is" Among modern judges, Justice Darling was, of course, the most famous for his witticisms, and is said to have attracted large crowds to his Court. "Who made the translation from the German?" asked the judge regarding a document which the Counsel had referred to. "God knows; I don't," was the

reply of Mr. Danckwerts. "Are you sure," responded the judge, "that what is not known to you is known at all?" For an instance of a famous retort made by a prisoner to a judge, here is one. The late Lord Avory said to a prisoner: "Let me see, you have been convicted before. Haven't you?" "Yes, Sir," answered the man, "but it was due to the incapacity of my Counsel rather than to any fault on my part." "It always is," said Lord Avory, with a grim smile, "and you have my sincere sympathy." "And I deserve it," retorted the man, "seeing that you were my Counsel on that occasion." A Chancery Judge after a stiff breeze in a Chancery Court, snapped out: "Well, I can't teach you manners, Mr. Oswald." "That is so, m'lud, that is so," replied the imperturbable one. There are other stories of Mr. Oswald, the famous author of the "Law of Contempt". An irascible judge told him: "if you say another word Mr. Oswald, I will commit you." "That raises another point—Has your Lordship power to commit a counsel engaged in arguing before you?" was the cool answer. He was arguing a bill of sale case with great pertinacity and the patience of the judge (Mr. Justice Chitty) was being severely tried, but still Mr. O. persevered: "I will now proceed, My Lord," he said, "to address myself to the furniture." "You have been doing that for some time, Mr. O.," replied the judge with a smile. One version of this incident is that Mr. O. had a way of looking behind him at the back benches of the Court, especially when he was saying unpleasant things to the Court and this peculiarity of his prompted

the remark. But this version, it is said, spoils the story. A certain judge asked a lady witness: "How old are you?" "Thirty." "Thirty?" said the judge. "I have heard you giving the same age in this Court for the last three years." "Yes," responded the lady, "I am not one of those persons who say one thing to-day and another to-morrow." There are many such stories in the books in England. It is somewhat curious there are no such books in India, though no one would say that the Courts here are entirely devoid of humour. There would be, perhaps, more humour if judges and lawyers talk in their mother tongues than in a foreign one. I have heard a story of a leading lawyer in Tinnevely who is now no more and was famous for his pungent and witty remarks in Tamil in Court. A Munsif, who in the eyes of the Bar had an inconvenient tendency to make parties compromise their cases, asked the lawyer in Tamil: "Mr. So and So, can't you settle this case?" This was in the year 1914 or 1915, soon after the breaking out of the Great War. The lawyer naively replied in Tamil: "The Court can easily do it as it can even settle the present war between England and Germany."

In the present article I am giving instances not of witty remarks but of facts of cases which may strike us as interesting or funny. They may be so partly because such cases do not often arise and are unusual in this country. There are many cases of nervous shock which may be interesting. A well-known case arose in 1880 or 1881. A lady and her husband were going in a buggy which was about to go over a railway level-crossing the gates of which were kept open by the negligence of the gate-keeper. A train

dashed past them but did not actually run over them. The lady complained that she sustained a severe nervous shock the result of which was, according to her, that she suffered from several ailments and her hair turned grey. The Privy Council adopted the view that nervous shock was too remote a consequence and could not be complained of. Now, of course, a different view prevails in the Courts in England. In one case a person out of sheer mischief frightened a lady with false news that her husband had a serious accident and broken both his legs and was lying in a hospital and sent him to go over and inform his wife and fetch her. She took train and went to the place and found that a practical joke had been played on her. She complained of the shock she sustained on hearing the news and of serious illness due to it. It was held that she could recover. In another case a lady complained that while she was sitting in her husband's shop, the defendant's servants negligently drove a van driven by a pair of horses into her shop, and she sustained a serious fright and illness, resulting in a miscarriage and she also claimed damages on the ground that the child that was born was an idiot. Though no damages were awarded on this head, she got damages for the items of physical suffering. Some claims on the ground of nervous shock have been carried to extremes. A lady complained that in a motor accident a person was killed outright in a highway and she was a spectator of that scene and got serious fright and illness thereby. It was held that it was too remote a consequence. In another case the defendant's servants negligently left a motor lorry unattended

in a steep and narrow street with the result it ran down the street, and a woman who was going there became frightened for the children whom she had just then left farther down the street and sustained severe shock and illness of which she ultimately died. It was held that her husband could claim damages for the death of his wife. A suit was brought on behalf of a child against a Railway Company on the ground that the child was born deformed and crippled, because his mother while she was going by the defendants' railway sustained some injury by their negligence. The plaintiff claimed £1,000 damages. The Court held that the Railway Company in running the railway had no duty to take care of an unborn child in a mother's womb. The difficulty in many of these cases is that judges and juries have to rely largely on medical evidence with all its chances of inaccuracy and partisanship. In an American case a learned judge drew attention to the notorious partiality of expert witnesses and juries in such cases as the plaintiffs are usually of the fair sex and the defendants, rich corporations like railway companies. It is a famous remark that "juries are always biassed when a pretty woman or a railway company happens to be litigants". The American judge said: "He had heard lately of a case where a woman had recovered large damages against a railway company, because her physical injury had made her barren in the opinion of expert medical witnesses, but before the appeal which was long delayed came, she gave birth to children. There are many cases told of crutches thrown away after verdict." Such incidents are not unusual in the West. In a recent case an old man of 70 years, one Mr. Lovell, who

has given his name to a leading case, made a novel claim. He sued for damages for injury caused by negligent driving by the defendant of her car. He claimed damages also on the ground that he was before the accident in good health and vigour for one of his age, but now by reason of the injuries his expectation of life was shortened. Doctors testified that he was expected to live only under a year while otherwise he could have, being a wealthy man, lived a happy and enjoyable life for another 10 years. He claimed damages not merely on the ground of physical suffering and medical expenses which are usual items of compensation in such cases, but also claimed large damages on the ground of shortened expectation of life. The judge trying the case gave him £4,000 and his verdict was confirmed in the Court of Appeal. This was in the year 1984, but the plaintiff was said to be living last year. An interesting group of cases arises from novel claims for "loss of privacy", as it is said, meaning thereby a disturbance of the right of every person to freedom from annoyance and mental pain. Such a disturbance might arise from undue publicity of one's personal likeness or private affairs. Such claims are now allowed in the United States though not in England. The following are some illustrations. In a New York case, the plaintiff, a young woman, complained that the defendants, Franklin Mills Co., flour manufacturers and sellers, printed and circulated, without her knowledge and consent, 25,000 portraits of her likeness with the following words printed in large capital letters above the portraits: 'Flour of the family' intending by the pun to suggest that the fair plaintiff was the "Flower" of her family. Below the portrait

were the words in large capital letters: "Franklin Mills Flour," and in smaller letters "Rochester Folding Box Company, Rochester N. Y." The plaintiff complained that on account of this advertisement, she was jeered by her friends and brought into discredit and ridicule. The Court, however, refused to give her damages, but now in similar cases damages are awarded in New York and elsewhere in that country. In a case in Georgia, an Insurance Company published in a newspaper the plaintiff's photograph by the side of an ill-dressed sickly looking person, a legend above the plaintiff's picture reading: "The man who did", and one above that of the other person: "The man who did not". In that way it was sought to contrast the favourable position of the plaintiff who had insured with the Company and that of the other person who did not and found his mistake. It was held that the publication would bring the plaintiff into ridicule and it was also an invasion of his right of privacy. In a Kentucky case a creditor put up a huge placard in the show windows of his automobile garage, stating, "Dr. W. R. Morgan owes an account here of \$49'67, and if promises would pay an account, this account would have been settled long ago." It was held that this was an invasion of the right of privacy and the truth of the fact stated was no defence. This is an instance of the methods adopted by debt-collecting agencies to realise their debts by intimidating their debtors and bringing them into ridicule. In England, an amateur golfer complained that he was caricatured by the defendants, chocolate manufacturers, Fry & Sons, as playing golf with a packet of their chocolate protruding from his pocket. The Court held that this was

an objectionable mode of advertisement, as this would bring the plaintiff into discredit and was defamatory of him. Mistakes on the part of newspapers in publishing pictures or reporting news are often very costly. A newspaper published an item of news that a lady had given birth to twins. She had been married only a month before. She recovered damages from the newspaper. The *Daily Mirror* newspaper published two photographs with the following words underneath "Mr. M. Corrigan, race-horse owner, and Miss X, whose engagement has been announced." As a matter of fact, Mr. Corrigan was a married man and his wife complained that the words suggested that he was living with her in immorality. The newspaper did not, of course, know this fact and pleaded also that it had the authority of Corrigan to publish the news. The Court held that the newspaper ought to have made independent enquiry and awarded damages. In a well-known case a barrister by name, Artemus Jones complained of an article in the *Sunday Chronicle*. The article was written by the Paris correspondent of the newspaper about a motor show at Dieppe in France. The writer dilated on the levity of conduct of Englishmen who went to France and referred to a "Mr. Artemus Jones, church-warden at Peckham, associated with women of ill-repute". The writer said that the name was a fictitious one, that he had invented for the purpose of the article and he was not aware of the plaintiff having the same name. It was held though neither he nor the editor of the newspaper knew the plaintiff, the plaintiff was entitled to get damages. These are cases of unconscious mistakes having been visited with damages. Of course, when

persons are referred to indirectly with deliberate intent as where a man who had one eye was called Cyclops, there is no difficulty in making the defamer pay. An amusing instance of how a jury's verdict can be influenced by trivial incidents is a case where a judge (Baron Martin) was trying an action for damages against an owner of a dog which was ferocious and which had injured the plaintiff. The judge was a lover of dogs and had the dog in question brought in and was caressing it and putting his fingers into its mouth. This had the result of making the jury give a verdict

for the defendant. There are many instances of vagaries of juries in England. A notorious thief being tried for his life confessed the robbery he was charged with. The judge thereupon directed the jury to pass a verdict of 'guilty' on him, he having confessed himself. The jury having consulted together brought a verdict of 'not guilty'. The judge asked them to consider their verdict and still they brought a verdict of 'not guilty'. The judge asked them the reason. The foreman replied: "There is reason enough, for we all know him to be one of the greatest liars in the country."

THE REVOLT OF MUSLIM WIVES

BY MR. AHMAD SHAFI

MR. KAZMI'S Bill in the Central Legislature, which is intended to consolidate the law of dissolution of



MR. AHMAD SHAFI

Mussalman marriages barely touches the symptoms of a disease which has during the last decade or so begun to eat into

the very vitals of the Muslim social polity. The Mussalman marriage is not indissoluble. The Muslim law provides the safety-valve of divorce and to prevent its being cheapened, the right to pronounce divorce is hedged round by several dilatory conditions besides being entrusted to only one of the two parties, the husband. Again, to restrain the husband from exercising his right indiscreetly and thoughtlessly an appeal is made to his religious urge, moral calibre and social responsibilities that the woman who used to be his wife should not in her later life as a result of his action be subjected to cruelty, or be rendered liable to social disabilities or be reduced to destitution. Says the Quran: "And it is not harmful for you that you take from woman aught of that which you have given them. These are the

limits (imposed by) Allah. Transgress them not. For who so transgresseth Allah's limits, such are wrong doers." II. 229. There is also an authentic tradition of the Prophet: "Of all the things that are permitted to man divorce is the most hated of Allah." The wife also has in certain specified cases been allowed restricted rights of raising her feeble voice in the matter of dissolution of her marriage. One such case is technically known as *Khula*. The wife offers her husband all that she may have obtained from him on her marriage in return for release from her nuptial ties. Says the Quran: "And if you fear that they (husband and wife) may not be able to keep the limits of Allah, in that case it is no sin for either of them if the woman ransom herself." II. 229. The case of the wife of Sabit bin Qais was decided by the Prophet by resort to the authority of this verse. She confessed that she had no complaint to make on score of his habits or faith but had a dislike for him. The Prophet asked her if she would give back the garden which her husband had gifted her. On her agreeing to do so, the Prophet ordered Sabit to take back his garden and give her divorce. It will be noticed that he did not decree a divorce but quite correctly left it to the husband to perform this function. As it is the husband with whom the final word rests, the wife's offer means no more than a gesture.

Lack of education, low standard of life, debased social customs and general backwardness of the community have all contributed to enfeeble the moral fibre and social consciousness of certain classes of the Mussalmans. Naturally the domain of their domestic happiness has not

remained unaffected. One would expect that the weakening of the sources of restraint on the unfettered exercise of the right of divorce would operate to make divorce a common feature of the life of these classes, but as ill-luck would have it quite contrary to all expectations the pendulum has swung to the other extreme. There is a marked and disagreeable stiffness in the attitude of the husbands towards the wives who may feel themselves constrained to beg for a dissolution of marriage. The instructions in the Quran are clear. "(A woman) must be retained in honour or released in kindness." II. 229. The disregard of the provisions of the Quran, or the pitiable plight of the wives left in "suspense" may not of itself have aroused the conscience of the community to the wrong which is being perpetrated on the Mussalman women, but for the fact that a decision of a British law court provided a loophole for the aggrieved ladies who now can easily slip through the fingers of a brute of a husband by renouncing their faith and embracing Christianity or Hinduism. Imperceptibly at first but effectively later on the initiative for the dissolution of marriage has passed into the hands of the Mussalman wives. This newly found escape is being availed of by the Mussalman women in increasing numbers and it is the unpleasant fact of the apostasy of these women that is now stinking in the nostrils of the community.

Apostasy in such cases is merely a manner of convenience and not a matter of conviction. The now too frequent case of a new-Muslim-woman who desires to revert back to her original faith is different and should not be allowed to cloud the issues placed in such startling manner

before the community. The provision of Section 5 of the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act, 1937, that "the District Judge may, on petition made by a Muslim married woman, dissolve a marriage on any ground recognized by Muslim Personal Law (Shariat)" does not provide a complete remedy for the simple reason that according to the Muslim law the right to pronounce divorce vests in the husband. So far it does not appear to have been availed of. It was, however, never the intention of the Quran or the Hadis or the Muslim jurisprudence to encourage an obstinate husband to blast the happiness and well-being of a woman who cannot live at peace with him. It is the Muslim law that needs modification and its spirit will not be violated if it is amended in a manner to allow a woman to divorce a husband if she can prove in a court of law cruelty, desertion, or sundry other cases to be clearly specified, subject of course to the usual dilatory features of a normal case of divorce. Section 3-A of the Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill introduced by Mr. Hosain Imam in the Council of State in March last is the nearest approach to this, but needs a more clear definition of the rights of ill-treated woman.

Throughout the last thirteen and half centuries, the Mussalman theologians, divines and jurists have never hesitated to make provisions, of course within the framework of the Quranic sanction, to meet the ever expanding needs of live social order. By this method a balance has always been maintained between liberty and order, and stability has been achieved without causing stagnation. In India, for some reason or other, which need not detain us here, there is noticeable a

distinct disinclination to approach our social problems from this progressive point of view. I confess that I share to an ample degree the conservative instincts of my community, hence I do not advocate any revolutionary change but cannot close my eyes to the urgent need for some change in the law of divorce to meet the ever-growing menace of the increasing apostasy of the Mussalman women. *Khula*, which derives its sanction from a tradition of the Prophet reinforced by an injunction of the Quran, is in its main features regarded to be a creation of *ijtihad* which has never been considered inviolable. Under the pressure of modern times the other Mussalman countries have adopted the civil laws of the European countries, and it cannot be denied that this wholesale change has been due as much to the desire to turn a new leaf as to the unreasonable opposition of the clergy to allow changes in the law to meet the altered circumstances of the community. Situated in India as we are, it is idle to suggest or expect any drastic change in Muslim Law, nor perhaps it is politic to do so, nor do we need it if the community can be roused by well directed and persistent educative propaganda to its sense of moral responsibility to its women. But that is a tardy process while the need for reform is felt to be immediate.

Since the passing of the Sarda Act, the thinking sections of the Mussalmans have often debated the point whether a Legislature in which the Mussalmans form only a small minority is competent, as judged by Islamic juridical standards, to introduce a change in the Muslim law. This is not the place to summarise arguments advanced by the advocates of change or the supporters of *status quo*. Suffice it to say that the

Muslim law derives its sanction primarily from the Quran, secondarily from the *Hadis* (traditions) and the *Sunnah* (practices of the Prophet), and in the last resort from the consensus of opinion of the Mussalman theologians, divines, savants, and jurists provided always of course that no new sanction is created in conflict with the express orders of the Quran or the authentically reported traditions or the practices of the Prophet. As long as therefore the authority of, and desirability of resort to, *ijtehad* is conceded, it should not be difficult to assemble the Mussalman theologians, divines, and savants with a stiffening of legislators and lawyers and obtain their verdict on this pressing problem before the matter is submitted to the vote of the Legislature in which the Mussalmans may be in a minority. This procedure has the merit of combining the religious authority which will not be disputed by the Mussalmans with the legal sanction which will be administered by the law courts of the land. For instance, I will quote the Muslim Wakf-al-Aulad Act which was fathered by the late Maulana Shibly and piloted by Mr. Jinnah through the Imperial Legislative Council. The need of the situation will be met by the following twofold programme: First, to meet the immediate needs, concede right to a Mussalman wife to decree divorce subject to usual dilatory features if certain specified charges are proved in a law court against a husband. This facility will obviate for the Mussalman women the necessity of resorting to apostasy to

secure dissolution of marriage. Secondly, a vigorous propaganda should be carried on among the Mussalman masses to instil in them the fact that it is their religion which demands from them the conscientious discharge of their duties towards their women. The more successfully the second of these two items is prosecuted, the less frequent will be the bases in which the wives will be compelled to resort to law courts provided under the first item. Any distaste occasioned by a change in the Muslim law will, therefore, correspondingly and continuously decrease.

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A Peep into the Lives of Balinese Hindus

BY MR. S. VENKATRAM, F.C.I., F.Com.Sc., A. (LONDON)

BALI is said to be the most picturesque island in the world. Whether that is correct or not, it is, indeed, a very interesting spot in the Orient. Here you see the primitive life of the people having undergone no change whatsoever, in spite of the rapidly growing Western influence in the neighbouring Island of Java. For that reason, Bali is visited by a stream of tourists during all the seasons in a year.

population of a million souls. Thus the Island is also the most thickly populated one in the world!

The Balinese are of Javanese extraction. They are said to have immigrated into Bali in the sixteenth century when the great Hindu empire of Mahajipat fell in Java on account of the Islamic current which swept into that Island since the thirteenth century. Then, a section of the Javanese Hindus unwilling to embrace



THREE GENERATIONS : MEMBERS OF A BALINESE FAMILY

The Island is full of mountains, "sacred" forests, wide lakes, sparkling streams, mighty craters, and quaint looking temples built of sand-stone and endowed with an ancient Hindu architectural beauty. Here, again, one sees near a place called Tampaksiring caves where the embalmed bodies of ancient Balinese kings are preserved, just like the mummies of Egypt. All this is to be seen in Bali which has an area of only one hundred and five square miles and yet contain a

the Islamic faith fled to Bali. That is how we are able to see Hinduism there to-day, whereas the Javanese without exception are Mahomedans.

Though the Balinese are Hindus in their faith, their ceremonies and customs clearly show that they do not resemble the Hindus of India in every thing. But there are several things in common between both. For instance, they have the caste system in Bali. According to their chosen occupations in life, the

Balinese are divided into the castes of Brahmin, Shatrya, Vysia and Sudra. They have also people belonging to a fifth caste called the Chandalas. These people are treated just like the untouchables of India. And the Brahmin who is of a superior caste, is a priest even in Bali. He does not enter into any other occupation in order to make a living. Further, there are two sections among the Balinese Brahmins. One section is known as the *Sewa* and the other *Buda*. The former is the much respected of the two, because he does not eat the flesh of the cow. He eats all other kinds of flesh. But the *Buda* Brahmin eats beef as well.

Anthropologists have stated that the Balinese is the most perfectly built human being on earth. He is tall and muscular and possesses well cut features. His colour is neither dark nor fair, and the Balinese women in particular are of the fair complexion. Their round face, short big nose, thick lips and large eyes, all give a pleasing appearance. They lavishly grow their raven hair and tie it in knots just like the women of India do. Ornaments in silver and gold are worn. They are also fond of wearing sweet smelling flowers on their person and hair. But with all this love for self-decoration, the Balinese women are not very particular about their dress, which usually consists of a long piece of cloth called *sarong* to cover their body from armpits above to the ankle below and another piece to cover the head. The poor folks even leave their body above the waist completely naked.

The Balinese men and women are very hard working. They labour in paddy fields and devote their spare time in working arts and crafts models in wood, clay, and metals. Some fine artistic workmanship

is to be seen in the gold and silver articles they produce.

The marriage customs of the Balinese are not very much different from those of the Hindus of this country. When a wedding is to take place, the match is arranged by the parents of the couple. The bridegroom has to buy his wife in Bali by paying his father-in-law a sum of money which may be equivalent to Rs. 45 before the wedding. If the man is not able to pay that amount, then he works in the home of his bride until such time that he covers by labour the amount he has to pay for her.

Marriage ceremonies are performed by Brahmin priests who unite the couple before the sacred fire as is the case with the Hindus of India.

The Balinese by tradition observe monogamy although those who could afford marry two or three wives. And in spite of this kind of polygamy that is seen in Bali, the moral standard of the people somehow remain very high indeed. The Balinese women in particular possess a very high character and their morals cannot be easily reproached. They are not emotional nor do they possess any false modesty. They are courteous, gentle and expect to be treated respectfully by their menfolk. Like the Hindu women of India, the lot of the Balinese widow used to be tragic until the beginning of the present century. They practised *satee* for ages, but in 1908 the practice was completely suppressed by the Dutch. In that year the Consort of the Raja of Tabnan (a small Balinese province) mounted the funeral pyre of her husband and that is the last case of *satee* on record in Bali.

The funeral of the Balinese is a big affair. Dead bodies are not cremated

soon after the death occurs. In the case of common people, the body will be buried after a day or two and then taken out after many months for a formal cremation with a lot of pomp and ceremony. The remains of ruling chiefs and aristocrats are embalmed and preserved for a longer period before the cremation takes place.

In every case, the funeral day is fixed by the Brahmin priest and he usually fixes a day on which there would be moonshine and no rain. After several ceremonies are over, the hearse is taken out and as the funeral procession marches towards the cremation ground, the people often turn back and run in order to drive away the evil spirit which is supposed to be following the hearse.

At the cremation ground, cakes are brought in silver plates and distributed to those present. Many little live chickens are also taken to this place, because the Balinese believe that the chickens are capable of carrying the soul of the departed to the heavens above. The day after the cremation takes place, the ashes of the dead are collected and thrown into the sea or a river that ends into the sea. This is akin to what is being done by the Hindus in India.

The Balinese have dancing and comedy acting as their pastime. No woman who is the mother of a child is ever allowed to dance in public, and certainly no girl above the age of 15 will be looked upon favourably if she appeared as a dancer. And those who dance are expected to wear special dresses for the occasion. They have head-dresses with frills fixed upon them, while the dancers allow their hair to flow freely on their back. The body is covered by colourful clothing from the arm-pits to the feet. The neck and

hands are left bare, though in some cases the dancers do cover their neck with a piece of embroidered cloth. But whatever portion of the body that is left bare, is usually coated with sweet smelling white powder. Further, some of the dancers wear a belt-like band around their waist, these belts sometimes being studded with precious stones on them. Some dancers tying up a piece of cloth around their waist and leave it behind, until it touched the ground and looked just like a train which they occasionally raised up from the ground by the motion of their legs, as they went on dancing.

The Balinese dancing to the accompaniment of their instrumental music is of many kinds. For instance, one kind is known as the *srimpi* which the royalty alone among the Balinese could perform. In that, only four people take part. Again, there is a separate dance which only the aristocrats are permitted to have. In it, eight people take part both men and women. Some of these performers give displays in archery as they go on dancing. And when a dance performance is finished, the dancers raised their hands in salutation and stood still for a time awaiting the command of the "director" to go away.

The Balinese code of justice has its own peculiarities. Their criminal and civil codes are known as the *Agma* and *Degma* respectively. According to their laws, theft is punishable by death and a murderer is sentenced to be hacked to death! I am told that these kinds of sentences are imposed on offenders by the Balinese laws, but no such sentences are given to anybody in Bali now, much less one sees there any frequent cases of theft or murder,

To-day, Bali is part of the Dutch colonial administration in Java. A Dutch Governor is in charge of affairs at Singardja, the capital of Bali, but the internal administration of the Island is entirely in the hands of Balinese native chiefs, who are descendants of rulers of the Island in olden times before the arrival of the Dutch.

The Hollanders are said to have known about Bali as early as 1597, from two travellers—the brothers Houtmann who were travelling in the East in those years. Many years later when the East India Company became powerful in the Malacca Straits,

they went to Bali and became friends with the native chiefs there. But the Balinese chiefs were never true in their dealings with the East India Company people. Then during the early part of the last century, the Dutch became possessors of Java and began to send various military expeditions to Bali. For long the Balinese princes resisted the Dutch conquest but finally they gave in. The last of the Balinese princes who resisted the Dutch invasion, committed suicide in 1908 when he found that he could no longer rule his country as an independent monarch.

Indian Cinematography: A Retrospect

By MR. BANKEY BEHARI

THERE is no form of amusement at the present time so entertaining, so vivid and so enlightening as a cinema film. Its fascination is not confined to a particular class or community; it exercises its fascination alike over rich and poor, old and young, and delights the unsophisticated rustics as tremendously as it appeals to the cultured minds of the intelligentsia.

Though the origin of the moving picture, as we know it to-day, may be traced as far back as the year 1870, when the first motion picture was released for public exhibition, it was not until the year 1914 that the theatrical public in India was first introduced to this novel form of dramatic entertainment. It would not appear surprising that a vivid, realistic portrayal of life and events was an achievement hitherto undreamed of; hence the 'bioscope' as the animated pictures were then called, aroused considerable interest and enthusiasm among the theatrical fans. So, when Phalke, a

Maharashtrian gentleman, produced the first Indian film, he was little able to visualize that the innovation he was introducing was destined to assume the giant proportions of an important and highly lucrative industry of India.

In the years before the Great War, the Indian stage was in a high state of efflorescence, but as time passed and the movies obtained a firm grip on the Indian soil, the theatrical trade began to languish for want of public patronage and ultimately passed out of popular favour. As a consequence of this transition, the majority of theatres and show-houses in the country underwent an entire physical transformation and were literally metamorphosed into movie palaces in a remarkably short time. In the beginning, however, the Indian exhibitors had to remain content with the showing of foreign films, which consisted largely of serials and adventure films with an occasional piece of slapstick comedy.

These early foreign products divided into several parts or reels and executed in a style pregnant with stirring action and replete with thrilling episodes were in some measure responsible in paving the way for a warm reception to the indigenous productions, however flimsy and amateurish they might have been in their early stages. Be it noted, however, that notwithstanding the poor quality of the early Indian films, their success in the market was quite pronounced. The pioneering efforts blazed the trail for other entrepreneurs to invest their material wealth into the film business. In a faith-ridden country like India, it is always easy to exploit popular religious sentiment and the vast treasury of Indian mythology can be made to yield tons of money if treated cinematographically. The early Indian adventurers into the motion picture business being thoroughly alive to the potentialities of such religious epics as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas avidly seized upon the treasure of myth and legend contained in these books and continued drawing their story material until they squeezed them dry of their dramatic content. Naturally enough a surfeit of mythology and other ancient classics was bound to produce monotony, which resulting in boredom led finally to disgust. The producers realised that it was no longer possible to feed the public with the self-same variety. They turned their attention elsewhere. History offered a promising field for pictorial exploitation, while Indian contemporary life presented numerous opportunities of social reform through cinema films. Furthermore, the indigenous producers ever alert to adopt new vogues from their Western colleagues took their cue from them and started to

produce, what in the motion picture parlance are styled as "thrillers" or "stunts", a species of pictures which is most popular with juveniles all over the world and constitutes a perennial source of income to the producing companies.

The studio atmosphere in the silent era and for a long afterwards was far from being wholesome, so much so, that it was considered very revolutionary and disgraceful for boys and girls of respectable families to adopt film acting as a profession. The ban very naturally was quite justified, because the majority of artists, male and female, were recruited from the lowest rungs of the social ladder. But with the passage of time the popular prejudice against the hated art of the movies gradually disappeared and as the studio morality improved, the motion picture studios opened out a promising field for educated men and women. It might be wholesome to recall some of the notable silent films which have been universally acclaimed as the best products of the silent era. They include box-office hits like "The Typist Girl", "A Throw of Dice", "Immortal Love", "Chandrakanta's Will", "Devadasi", and such international successes as "Light of Asia", "Shiraz", "Sacrifice", etc.

It is, indeed, a pity that the Indian producers have not so far realised the value of cinema film as a means of portraying Indian life and disseminating Indian culture in their true colour and perspective among foreign audiences. I cannot help referring in this connection to that awfully shocking film produced by Mr. Himansuraj some years ago for the International market, namely, "Karma". The general view held by art critics in India has always been that a film more

wretched and derogatory to the spirit of Indian culture is, indeed, very hard to come.

With the production of "Alamara" the first Indian talking picture by Khan Bahadur Ardešhir Irani in 1931, there set in a new era of accelerated advance in the cinema industry of India. Whatever the artistic and technical merits of the film might have been, it is well known that it was a tremendous success, firstly because of its novelty and, secondly, because movie fans were not so discriminating as they are now. Consequently the pioneers in the field made the best of the opportunity to exploit such a favourable situation. For a time the belief prevailed that the talkies were a passing phase and that the public would soon revert to the silent film. But in the light of subsequent developments the cynics who had maintained the view that talkies would not survive are now compelled to revise their opinion and to declare that they have come to stay.

The investment in the industry during the silent days was slow, but with the introduction of talking pictures there followed a mushroom growth of production syndicates, a vast majority of which after an inglorious career ended in financial ruin. With the progress of talkies, the silent film receded into the background and ultimately became extinct. Old movie palaces were renovated and readjusted to the new sound technique. On account of the changed requirements of the talking film, most of the prominent film stars had to face a very thin time. On the other hand, hundreds of screen-minded young men and women found themselves queuing up at the studio gates to "try their luck in the film-land". The first among the gentle sex to break through the barriers

of social restraint were such distinguished ladies as Devika Rani, Enakshi Ramrao, Nalini Tarkhad, Durga Khote, Prabhadevi and others. Further, the talkies were instrumental in introducing to cinema fans some of the best known authors and story writers in the country no less than they were responsible for elevating such figures as Saigal, K. C. Dey, Uma Shashi, Nawab, Kananbala, Shanta Apte, Durga Khote and others to the highest pedestals of historic fame.

Another significant feature of the talking regime is undoubtedly the superior quality of productions and a definite advance in the methods of presentation. It is now a patent fact that Indian film magnates make far better pictures than they did in the silent days.

Among the various syndicates at present engaged in the production of talking pictures there are not more than three outstanding units, which may truly be called the three main pillars of Indian film industry. The birth of these distinguished organisations, namely, The New Theatres, The Bombay Talkies and Prabhat Film Company, representing three different types of pictures, inaugurated a new era in the Indian filmcraft, and it is due mainly to their noble initiative, their high standard of productions, their efficient organization, and a compelling sense of duty in preserving national culture and traditions through the medium of the screen that the industry owes its present pre-eminent position in the world's film business.

In the year 1938, Indian cinematography flashed past another milestone in its progressive history when K. B. Irani, the pioneer, who gave India its first talking picture, released "Kisan Kanya" the first colour picture produced in India. There

is no gainsaying the fact that the addition of sound and colour to the original black-and-white film constitutes the culminating achievement in the realm of cinematographic art. Their appeal has been natural and universal and it might be safely predicted that at no very distant date the black-and-white pictures will have completely disappeared from the field.

Heretofore the Indian industrialists in the filmland have remained supremely content to produce pictures for home consumption, but judging from the high place accorded to Indian films at the various International Exhibitions of Cinematographic art held at Venice during the last few years, it would appear that there is tremendous scope for the Indian companies to meet the foreign demand for pictures based on Indian themes and with real Indian background. It might be pointed out in this connection that the recent films like "The Elephant Boy", "Bengal Lancer", "The Drum", etc., have not only proved great international successes from the showmen's point of view but have also served to reveal the potential historic genius of Indian actors in the field of foreign pictures.

There is, however, a very important branch of the movies which still remain unexplored in India, namely, the Newsreel. For, while it affords opportunities to Indian producers to supply authentic news pictures concerning social and political events, it offers them chances of utilising the screen as an effective medium for interpreting the true spirit of Indian culture and removing much of the misunderstanding that at present obtains in different quarters with regard to conditions in India.

The following statistics will enable the reader to form an approximate estimate

of the extent and development of the cinema industry in this country. The Indian film companies give employment to nearly 80,000 people besides some 10,000 exclusively engaged in the distribution and exhibition work. In the year 1935, the most eventful year so far, there were no less than 950 producing concerns which number has now dwindled to about three score units, turning out an average of about 300 pictures a year. Of this huge output, a bare dozen may be classified as "Exceptional", while another two dozen may, perhaps, be labelled 'mediocre' products.

But whatever the deficiencies of Indian films and whatever the handicaps under which the Indian producers may be labouring, a great future lies ahead of the film industry, and if the present tempo of progress continues, it is destined to play a greater and increasingly important part in the social, cultural and economic life of India.

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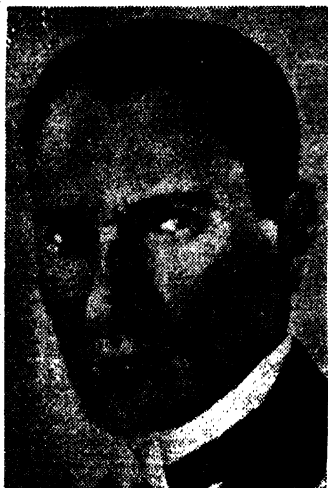
Sir VEPA RAMESAM.

Dec. '38. (U. F.)

KEMAL ATATURK

THE MAKER OF MODERN TURKEY

TURKEY has sustained an irreparable loss by the death of Kemal Ataturk—the Maker of Modern Turkey and the Father of his People. Kemal was for Turkey



KEMAL ATATURK

what Hitler has been for Germany, and a great deal more. To a defeated Turkey, humiliated in the Great War, Kemal Ataturk brought back strength and self-respect. He found his country depressed and decadent, torn asunder with domestic intrigues and a prey to medieval ideas and outworn customs. He breathed a new life into its people, gave them new laws and institutions, welded the whole nation into a vital and self-reliant unit, imbued it with new hopes and aspirations, and by dint of organisation and statesmanship made it the power that it has become in Far Eastern Europe. He realised that the only force that Europe understands is the force of arms, and by re-arming Turkey and building up

its Military and Naval strength, showed that Turkey was no more the Sick Man of Europe to be trifled with by Christendom. He repulsed the Greek attack sponsored by the Allies and secured the territorial integrity of Turkey which at once placed his country on a new footing in Europe. But the work of the soldier had to be completed by the statesman and reformer. Kemal got rid of the Caliphate and made himself the unfettered dictator of his people with a view to carry out those social, religious and political reforms which meant so much for the regeneration of Turkey. "In the years that followed the establishment of the Republic," says a well-informed writer,

Mustafa Kemal carried out a revolution in the lives of his people which in its fundamental character can be compared only with the Communist revolution of Russia. Like the Communist revolution, it was for all its suddenness no new movement but the realization of a century of aspiration, the violent birth of a conception of society which had long been maturing in the minds of Turks. Mustafa's policy was to secure the survival of the Turkish people by conjuring up the spirit of nationalism. To Mustafa Kemal is due all honour for having brought the phoenix of the Turkish nation out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire.

Though it was his Military triumph that first laid the foundations of New Turkey, it was the laws and institutions he created that have made an enduring mark in the shape of things in Turkey to-day. The banning of the harem and the enfranchisement of women, the simplified script and the modernisation of her political, military and educational institutions have made present-day Turkey a power to be reckoned with in Europe. Kemal is dead in his fifty-eighth year, but the policy which he pursued is in no danger of discontinuance and his spirit will long survive to guide the destinies of his great nation.

THE MUNICH CONFERENCE



HERR HITLER



BENITO MUSSOLINI



MONSIEUR DALADIER



THE RT. HON. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

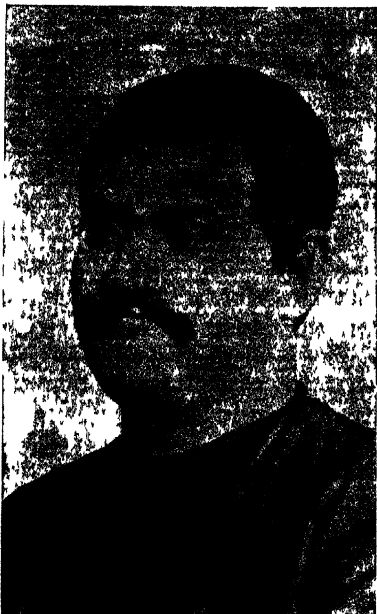
The Prime Ministers of England and France and the Dictators of Germany and Italy were the signatories to the Four Power Pact at Munich which decided the fate of Czechoslovakia,

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Keshub Chunder Sen

THE centenary of the birth of Keshub Chunder Sen, which has been celebrated in different centres of India last month, recalls the life and teachings of one whose magnetic personality and



KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

tremendous eloquence impressed themselves so indelibly on a whole generation of his countrymen. Englishmen were as much under the spell of his magnificent eloquence as Indians. Keshub was the prince of all preachers of his time and his teachings have lost none of their universality of appeal. Commenting on the life and influence of the great reformer, Viscount Samuel observes in the course of an article in the *Asiatic Review* :

Keshub Chunder Sen was one of the great religious initiators of the modern world. He was a man of lofty spiritual temperament, but not one of those who therefore renounce the world. He was too wise and too good a humanitarian to take the path of withdrawal and the abandonment of social duty. On the contrary, he spent his life in strenuous and incessant effort to spread beneficent ideas.

Lord Samuel goes on to add that he had long been deeply interested in the Brahmo Samaj, and so far as he understood the teaching of Keshub Sen, who was for so many years its leader, the central ideas are these:

Religion is not to be regarded as something merely historical, given once and for all at some distant period in the past, but is rather a living force in the present, as much a vital concern for our generation as it has been for any previous generation. Religion is not a matter of rigid dogma, fossilizing ideas that prevailed in an age before science. Rather should it embrace all the knowledge painfully acquired by mankind through the centuries and should be adapted to the conditions of life of the present time.

Further, it is wrong for each creed to emphasize its own particularized and distinctive doctrines so that a spirit of separation, or even of antagonism, is created between the various faiths. Religion is something more than the religions. Yet, in seeking an ultimate unity, we ought not to insist upon uniformity. We should not be forgetful of the variety of national traditions and the needs of different temperaments.

Keshub was an Indian and proved to be the servant of India. He realized to the full her special needs and he ministered to them with rare eloquence and zeal. Every aspect of Indian life came under his vigilant criticism—social, religious, political. There is to-day as much need for his message of national uplift as ever there was in his own time.

He contributed also to the great movement which, in our own times, has gone far to fortify the national self-respect and the patriotic spirit of the Indian people. He dwelt upon the importance of nationalism, but was not among those who make the mistake of considering it necessarily opposed to internationalism. The two, wisely conceived, may coincide, but it has been rightly said that "Internationalism must rest upon a satisfied nationalism".

The Late Maulana Shaukat Ali

A great Muslim leader has passed away in the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali who took a prominent part in the Khilafat agitation of 1920-21 as Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee. A critic of



MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

the Congress in recent years, he was undoubtedly a sincere champion of the interests of India and Indian Muslims in particular. "His death," said Mr. Bulabhai Desai in the Central Assembly,

has left India poorer indeed . . . One of the pioneers of the freedom movement in this country, his greatest quality was the directness and simplicity of faith . . . with which he threw himself into his work.

Pandit Jawaharlal's tribute is characteristically generous and whole-hearted:

One by one the brave old comrades in our fight for freedom pass away and Maulana Shaukat Ali was one of the bravest of these. Together with Maulana Mahomed Ali, he became the emblem of a new spirit for freedom among the Muslims of India and in the great days of non-co-operation 18 years ago, his towering figure became familiar in every nook and corner of India.

For these many years I had the privilege of close friendship with him and the subsequent differences of opinion on political or other matters cannot take away the bright memory or lessen the grief at the passing away of one who has played great part in India's struggle. Essentially a fighter, he has died in harness and India must pay homage to his memory.

The Jubilee of the "Capital"

To have survived 50 years in this land of infant mortality is no mean achievement for a journal, but *Capital* has made history and is still growing strong. It has won for itself a secure place among the thriving Weeklies of India and its authority in the world of Commerce and Industry and Finance is as pronounced as ever. But figures and statistics are not appetising items for all. So for years Max and Pat Lovett kept its readers entertained with a sumptuous fare of facts and fancies woven in a style of charming vivacity, which was the envy of many an aspiring journalist. That tradition is not altogether extinct, and in the Jubilee Number before us, we have an interesting account of its past history told by its Editor, Mr. Geoffry W. Tyson, who shows how conscientiously the paper has striven to serve the public through all these years. Other correspondents describe some of the developments that have been noted in its columns during the past half a century.

Prohibition

Prohibition is making rapid headway. The success of the experiment in selected areas in Bombay and Madras has naturally encouraged other Provincial Governments to extend the scope of its operations. The latest to join campaign is Sind. A scheme for the introduction of complete prohibition throughout Sind in six years has been prepared by the Prohibition Committee appointed by the Sind Government.

The scheme aims at a gradual eradication of the evil, entailing an annual loss of Rs. 40 lakhs to the Government, which the Committee proposes to recoup by a levy of full water rate for *jagiri* lands, professional taxes and income-tax on agricultural income.

Dr. Tagore and Prof. Yone Noguchi

It will be remembered that reference was made in these columns to Dr. Tagore's criticism of Mr. Yone Noguchi's views on



PROF. YONE NOGUCHI

Japan's conduct in China. The Japanese poet's rejoinder is characteristic. "It seems to us," says Mr. Yone Noguchi in his letter to the Press

that when Dr. Tagore called the doctrine of 'Asia for Asia' a political blackmail, he relinquished his patriotism to boast quiescence of a spiritual vagabond, and by wilfully supporting the Chinese side he is encouraging Soviet Russia, not to mention the other Western countries.

Yes; when two such poets do not see eye to eye, they seem to be hurling thunderbolts at each other. Dr. Tagore returns to the charge.

I am flattered that you still consider it worth while to take such pains to convert me to your point of view, and I am really sorry that I am unable to come to my senses, as you have been pleased to wish it.

Dr. Tagore adds:

It seems to me that it is futile for either of us to try to convince the other, since your faith in the infallible right of Japan to bully other Asiatic nations into line with your Government's policy is not shared by me and my mistrust of a patriotism which claims the right to bring to the altar of its country the sacrifice of other people's rights and happiness is sneered at by you as the 'quiescence of a spiritual vagabond'.

You must forgive me if my words sound bitter. Believe me, it is sorrow and shame, not anger, that prompt me to write to you. I suffer



DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

intensely not only because the reports of Chinese suffering batter against my heart, but because I can no longer point out with pride the example of a great Japan.

Indian Students in England

Once again Dr. Quayle, Secretary to the High Commissioner, Education Department, London, in his annual report emphasises the need for careful examination of the desirability of more than a very limited number of students going abroad for higher education. Indian students, according to him, form the largest single national group among students in British Universities from the Empire overseas.

It is estimated that there were approximately 1,850 Indian students in Great Britain and Ireland in 1986-87. Dr. Quayle adds that these are important and impressive figures.

They are impressive because, whilst for various reasons it might reasonably be anticipated that the exodus of students from India would now show signs of diminishing, they appear on the contrary to indicate that the young Indian, ignoring or in no way discouraged by the failure of so many of his "returned" compatriots to find, despite the excellent qualifications they may have obtained, suitable employment or openings, still cherishes the belief, apparently and unfortunately shared in many cases by parents and guardians, that his "market value" may be considerably increased if he supplements his home education with a degree taken at a University abroad.

Constitutional Reforms in Aundh

The Raja Sahab of Aundh is a progressive ruler reputed for his culture and broad-minded liberalism. It is, therefore, no surprise that his birthday gift for this year should take the shape of a well-considered scheme of Constitutional reforms for his people. The basis of the new Constitution is a wide extension of local self-government under *panchayats*, to whom half the revenue of the State will be returned for local expenses. A Legislative Assembly is to be created, composed of presidents of the *panchayats* and town councils with representatives of industry and trade; to this Assembly the Dewan and his Cabinet will be responsible. Apart from relations with the Paramount Power, the Ruler has reserved to himself merely the power of "triple veto" over legislation, each veto to retard a Bill by one session of the Assembly, "a power," says the *Statesman*, "hardly greater than that possessed by the British House of Lords."

Waste in Education

The Wardha decision on self-supporting education has been subjected to searching criticism from all quarters. There are points on which it is difficult to find unanimity even among the supporters. But there is one aspect of present-day education on which there is practically no dissension—the colossal waste of years of precious time of the school-going people. Quoting from the Annual Report on Public Instruction in Bombay, Sjt. Bhise points out in his note on self-supporting education :

In that year in the urban areas there were 73,237 male pupils in the first standard in all High Schools in British India, and for the same year there were only 12,388 male pupils in the seventh standard. Thus the proportion of pupils in the metric class to that in the first standard comes to 16 to 100. That is, 84 pupils out of

every 100 entering the first standard drop off somewhere in the middle before they reach the metric standard. The drop is greater still in the case of pupils attending schools in the rural areas. For the same year again, there were 38,986 male pupils in the first standard in British India while the number in the metric class was only 2,273. That is, only 6 out of 100 pupils in the first standard could go up to the metric in rural areas, and the rest, that is 94, dropped off. Thus the money that is spent at present on the education of those 85 to 95 per cent. of pupils is more or less a complete waste.

What a painful commentary on the present system! Think of the tragedy of those who drop off in the process, swelling the ranks of the unemployed.

They would not do so, says Gandhiji, if they received education through manual training and instruction through their own mother-tongue which would bring out the best in them.

The Retiring Age

The question of the age of retirement of Government officials has been engaging the attention of more than one Provincial Government. So far as individuals in private life are concerned, there can be no hard-and-fast rule; for many are old before their teens, while an octogenarian like Shaw is quite young for his years. But in the interest of the community there must be a rule.

The U. P. Congress Cabinet has decided, in the interests of economy, of increasing the scope for employment and of accelerating the financial advantages to be derived from the new scales of pay, that all Government servants should be compulsorily retired on attaining the age of 55. The order comes into force from the New Year.

Both Bengal and the Central Provinces have been dallying with the subject. But no decision has yet been taken. In Madras, the Premier has been arguing for the abolition of commutation of pensions. But the subject needs actuarial examination, and it is hoped that after careful examination a uniform procedure will be adopted in all the Provinces.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

British Cabinet Changes

THE British Cabinet changes since the resignation of Mr. Duff Cooper are such as not to alter the essential character of the Government. Lord Stanhope has succeeded Mr. Duff Cooper as First Lord of the Admiralty, while Lord de la Warr becomes Minister of Education.

Indeed, the general effect of the change is rather to increase the administrative strength of the already existing policy. The following further appointments complete Mr. Chamberlain's present Cabinet:—

Sir John Anderson is appointed Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Runciman is made Lord President of the Council, replacing Lord Hailsham.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald becomes Dominions Secretary as well as Secretary for Colonies.

Anglo-Italian Agreement

British recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia was only to be expected in due course. The signing of the declaration bringing into force the Anglo-Italian Agreement was performed at Rome on November 16. The Anglo-Italian pact, we are told, runs parallel to but without altering the spirit and functions of the Rome-Berlin Axis and the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo triangle.

The provisions of the pact apply to future as well as to present questions and should therefore be interpreted as an assurance against the possibility of new divergencies between Italy and Britain. Italy gives formal adhesion to the London Naval Agreement of 1936. She is also preparing to participate in negotiations with British and Egyptian Governments to regulate the problems affecting Egypt and Sudan. She is also ready to negotiate trade relations between Italy, Britain, India and British colonies.

Anglo-American Treaty

The long awaited Anglo-American Treaty was signed at the White House, Washington, on November 17 in the presence of President Roosevelt. At the same time



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

the United States and Canada signed a new trade pact to replace the one expiring at the end of the year.

Not only does the Anglo-American Agreement greatly strengthen the commercial ties between the contracting parties, but in a lesser degree it affects economic arrangements throughout the Empire.

The agreement is based on the most favoured nation treatment and will run for three years from January 1, 1939, after which it will be subject to six months' notice.

Stripped of diplomatic terminology, the agreement shows that the United States is Britain's largest foreign customer. British exports to America reached 40 million pounds in 1936, while in the reverse direction, British imports were larger than from any other country.

Palestine

It will be recalled that a Commission was appointed on January 4, 1938, as a fact-finding body to implement the Peel recommendations in regard to the Palestine question. It was composed of Sir John Woodhead, Chairman, Sir Alison Russell, Mr. A. P. Waterfield, and Mr. T. Reid.

The Woodhead Commission has now reported in favour of a modified scheme of partition, though they point out the difficulties of partition, practical and political. The modifications are with reference to the extent of the Jewish State. They reject the Peel scheme of partition as impracticable and inequitable. Under the Woodhead scheme, the northern and southern portions of Palestine will be under Mandate. They also suggest a plan of economic federalism between the three new States which would be created under the scheme.

The Woodhead Commission recommend the abandonment of the Balfour declaration.

His Majesty's Government have decided that the partition of Palestine is impracticable. In a declaration published simultaneously in Britain and India, they say:

His Majesty's Government, after a careful study of the Partition Commission's Report, have reached the conclusion that this further examination has shown that the political, administrative and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Arab and Jewish States inside Palestine are so great that this solution of the problem is impracticable.

His Majesty's Government believe that the surest foundation for peace and progress in Palestine would be an understanding between Arabs and Jews, and with this end in view they propose immediately to invite representatives of the Palestine Arabs on the one hand and of the Jewish Agency on the other to a conference with them to be held as soon as possible in London.

Jewish Persecution

The indiscretion of a fanatical Jewish youth in shooting Herr Von Rath, a Secretary to the German Embassy in Paris, is made the excuse for an orgy of mass outrages and organised violence against the unfortunate race, that has shocked the two hemispheres such as no act of savagery in history has done before.

Scores of synagogues, including the only one left open in Munich, have been burnt down; shops have been looted and set on fire; loss due to smashed windows in Berlin alone is estimated at *rm.* 250,000; in Austria at least 10,000 Jews have been arrested while in Vienna over 20 Jews have committed suicide. Popular indignation was to be foreseen, but the recent outbreaks of mob fury, says a shrewd observer of affairs, go far beyond normal expectation; they bear all the indications of being officially inspired and encouraged.

For what is ostensibly mob fury has been followed by a carefully devised system of Jewish persecution reminiscent of the mediæval era of Europe. The world has been stunned by the ferocious and vindictive measures of revenge taken as a reprisal for an isolated occurrence.

Draco himself could not have exceeded the severity of the measures taken by the Reich Government against the Jews. A fine of a milliard *marks* has been imposed on the Jews for the murder of Herr von Rath. It works out on an average at £136 per head. It is also decreed that the Jews must make good all the damage caused by the Nazi hooligans. Strangest of all is the order that the Jews should pay for the maintenance of the Jews who have been sent in thousands to the concentration camps.

U. S. A.'s Programme

Recent events in Europe can hardly fail to have their repercussions in America. It is now definitely learned that President Roosevelt will ask the Congress to authorise one of the world's mightiest air fleets for the United States army numbering between 7,000 to 10,000 aircraft.

The President's plans to strengthen the defence include full equipment as quickly as possible for a nucleus army of at least 400,000, according to authoritative reports.

It is estimated the programme involves an outlay for 1989 exceeding this year's military appropriations by well over 300 million dollars.

The plan is also understood to provide acquisition of war reserves for a force of million men able to take the field within a few months in the event of war.

Mr. Churchill on the Colonies question

Mr. Winston Churchill has raised his voice in protest against the Nazi attempt to wrest the Colonies from Britain. In a speech at Harlow, he declared that the policy of appeasing Nazi Germany by handing over British subjects of many races to a rule of terrorism and concentration camps has come to a pretty blunt halt.

Mr. Churchill added that such an act of baseness as handing over helpless native populations to Germany would divide the Empire from end to end.

The New President of Turkey

General Ismet Inönü who has succeeded Kemal Atatürk to the Presidentship of the Turkish Republic, has been the Premier of Turkey for over 18 years. He commanded one of Atatürk's armies in the War of Independence and was chiefly responsible for the crushing defeat inflicted on the Greeks in 1922. He is 58 and was Atatürk's right hand man for years.

Britain's Foreign Policy

Strong attacks on the Government's Foreign policy were made in the House of Commons by Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Lloyd George during the debate following the King's speech on opening Parliament. Sir Stafford accused Government that their true policy was the formation of a Four-Power Pact with the Fascist countries.

Referring to India's struggle for independence and her position when difficulties arose for Britain, Sir Stafford said that the only way to obviate the very grave danger of a hostile India was to give the Indian people the right of self-determination. They would eventually win it from this country whatever happened.

Mr. Lloyd George, complaining that Britain had no policy in the Far East, said that as a result of the announcement that Japan's armies intended to march right to the boundaries of Burma, for the first time they would be right on our frontier, a great, aggressive military Empire, commanding millions of soldiers. It was a very grave event for the British Empire.

The King's Visit to America

In his speech at the State opening of Parliament, His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor said:

I have been very happy to accept an invitation extended to the Queen and myself by the President, to visit the United States of America before the conclusion of my Canadian tour next summer. I warmly welcome this practical expression of the good feeling that prevails between our countries.

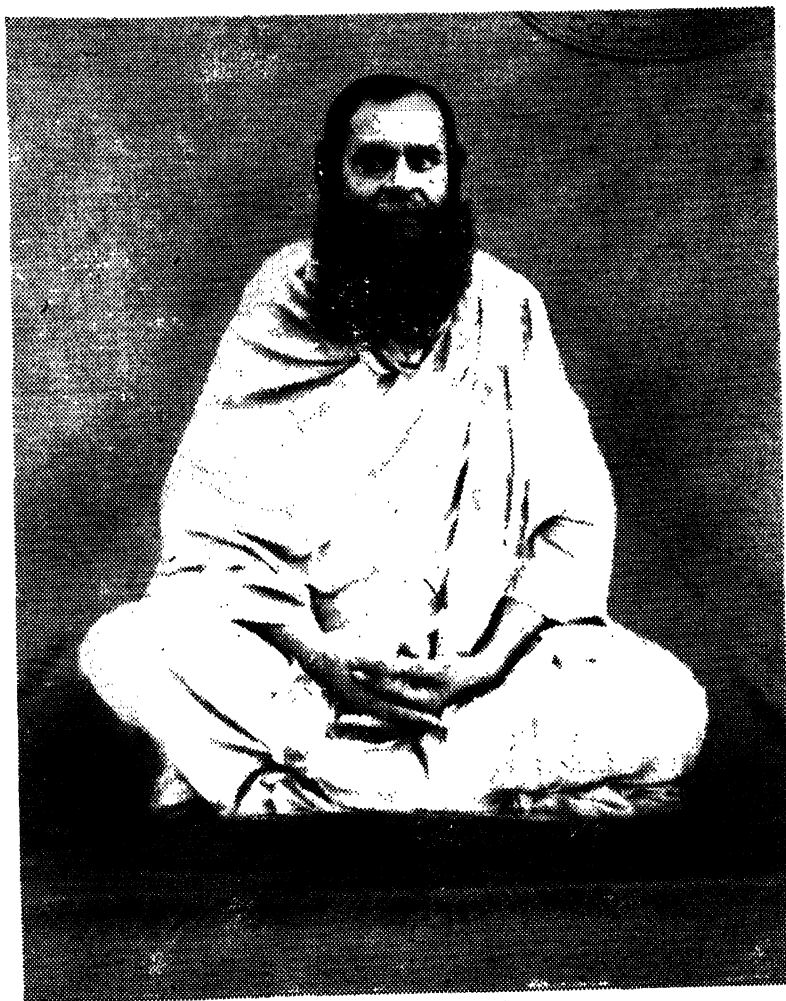
This decision has been acclaimed with the profoundest gratification in U. S. A. The visit is historic as it is the first time that a reigning sovereign of England visits the great English-speaking Republic.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Oct. 29. Germany demands her Colonies : Poland and Italy support her claim.
- Oct. 80. Wholesale arrests and torture of Jews take place in Germany.
- Oct. 81. Marshal Chiang (China) announces his determination to continue resistance to Japan to the last.
- Nov. 1. House of Commons approves the Munich Agreement and ratifies the Anglo-Roman Pact.
- Nov. 2. Italo-German arbitration results in Hungary obtaining all her claims in Czecho-Slovakia.
- Nov. 3. Bombay Assembly passes the third reading of Trade Disputes Bill.
- Nov. 4. Mr. K. Venkataswami is elected Mayor of Madras.
- Nov. 5. Mr. Chamberlain accepts the invitation of the French Government to visit Paris.
- Nov. 6. Hitler addresses a gathering of 50,000 at Weimar and declares that Germany only wants to be left in peace.
- Nov. 7. Lord Chatfield and other Members of the Indian Defence Enquiry Committee arrive in Bombay.
- Nov. 8. Sir N. N. Sircar resumes charge as Law Member, Government of India.
- Nov. 9. Mahatma Gandhi completes his N.-W. F. Province tour and leaves for Wardha.
- Nov. 10. Kemal Ataturk, President of the Turkish Republic, is dead.
- Nov. 11. Turkish National Assembly elects Gen. Ismet Ineunu as President.
- Nov. 12. South Indian Women's Conference meets at Madras under the presidency of Begum Mir Amiruddin.
- Nov. 18. Dewans of leading Indian States meet in Bombay.
- Nov. 14. Central Assembly, adjourns for a day as a mark of respect to Kemal Ataturk.
- Nov. 15. Mahatma Hans Raj is dead.
- Nov. 16. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit resumes charge of Health Ministership of U. P. Government.
- Nov. 17. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru returns from Europe.
- Nov. 18. The Anglo-American and U.S.A.-Canada Trade Pacts are signed in Washington.
- Nov. 19. Pandit Amaranath Jha is elected Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University.
- Nov. 20. Swami Virajananda is elected President of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission.
- Nov. 21. Queen Maud of Norway is dead.
- Nov. 22. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru meets Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha.
- Nov. 23. French Chamber passes a vote of confidence in the Deladier Cabinet.
- Nov. 24. Communist Party of China pledges loyalty to Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek.
- Nov. 25. Franco-British conversations begin at Paris.
- Nov. 26. Bombay Governor gives his consent to Forfeited Lands Bill.
- Nov. 27. Maulana Shaukat Ali is dead.
- Nov. 28. Mira Ben (Miss Slade) starts on a tour of N.-W. F. Province.



MIRA BEN



SWAMI VIRAJANANDAJI

who has been elected President of the Ramakrishna Mutt and Mission.



The WORLD of BOOKS



THE COLONIAL OFFICE: A History. By H. L. Hall, PH.D. Longmans. 12s. 6d. Net.

This book tells the story of the development of the Colonial Office and of the Colonial Service. The earlier chapters of the book deal with the methods of office routine and the administrative and departmental changes in Colonial Government from London. In dealing with this aspect of the question, the author has adopted the interesting method of interleaving the narrative with pithy descriptions of the personalities in control of the various policies. One recalls that persons like Gladstone, Bulwer Lytton, Lord Ripon and Joseph Chamberlain had each a large share in moulding the colonial policy of England in the nineteenth century. Incidentally the views of most of them appear to have inclined against Asiatic immigration. "As we now regret the folly of our ancestors in colonizing North America from Africa, so would our posterity have to censure us if we should colonise Australia from India," was the view strongly expressed by one of the officers.

The next part of the book deals with the staff in the colonies—the governor and the civil servant. The types of governors are discussed with a pleasant, dry humour and the status of the civil servant *in loco parentis* in the backward areas is described in detail.

The last part of the book dealing with current problems, foreign policy and native policy contains the more interesting pages. Native policy is dealt with from the point of view of the efforts taken by Britain to civilize the African native and the financial burdens involved. One looks in vain for a discussion of the problem of the Indians in Africa. The history of the constitutional development of the colonies from a colonial status to that of Self-governing Dominions is given with a wealth of detail.

THE AGE OF CONSENT. By Norman Lindsay. Published by T. Werner Laurie Ltd. 7s. 6d.

The author of the "Cautious Amorist" could never lack in originality and his latest novel the "Age of Consent" is undoubtedly cast in original lines. It is essentially the story of Bradley Mudgett, a not too well-off artist, who has been specialising in depicting nature.

Mudgett arrives at an out-of-the way Australian village *en route* to Margoola Beach, a comparatively unknown sea-side camping place in order to paint some sea-scapes. Unlike what is usual in fiction, Bradley Mudgett is not the unconventional type of artist addicted to Bohemian ways. He is represented as an ordinary middle-class person with the virtues and vices of his class, very matter of fact and careful about his finances. One difference in his character which is typically not middle-class was that he had a modest conception of his own abilities as a painter. The chance meeting with Cora Ryan, an extremely pretty rustic girl, born out of wedlock and dependent on a cruel and gin-drinking grandmother, has a serious effect on the future of Bradley Mudgett both in regard to his art and in regard to his future life. His discovery of Cora Ryan leads to his discovery of his gift as a portrait painter and in due course he also discovers that he is in love.

The other characters in the novel—Podson an ex-Bank clerk, Miss Marley the trooper, Cooley the oilmanstores man, all serve only as a means of showing off in brilliant contrast the characteristics of Bradley Mudgett. The author loses no opportunity to holding up to ridicule the petty foibles in human nature which finds a stronghold in the communal life of a small village. There is nothing complex about the novel; there are no sensations; it is a simple human story but with the one gripping interest right through,

WAR AGAINST THE WEST. By Aurel Kolnai. Published by Victor Gollancz, London. 18 sh.

M. Kolnai's book is one of the most profound of the studies that have appeared on the reactions of Hitlerism on Western civilisation. His treatment of the subject is extremely analytical. He does not jump his conclusions on the reader. The author's statement at the outset that the enquiry is based on the fact that ultimate spiritual realities are of practical significance and that their neglect or repudiation will lead to disaster has to be borne in mind while reading the book. He begins with a clarification of the Nazi attitude towards the world in general, conducts the reader through the Nazi concepts of community, state, morals, law, culture, economics, nation and race and stresses on the points where Nazi concepts clash with accepted ideas of Western civilisation. He very properly makes it plain that the book is an attempt to envisage Nazi, Semi Nazi, and Pre Nazi mentality rather than the concrete actions of Nazi leaders.

In his conclusion he makes a forceful appeal to the Democratic States in Europe to co-operate with Slavonic Russia in putting down this new menace of *imperium teutonicum* to Western civilisation. He makes it clear—if the menace is allowed to continue—what its results will be to Western civilisation and in particular to Democracies in Europe. The methods he advocates for achieving the desired end are not made specific; but reading between the lines it may be seen that what he has in view is a conflict between the Democratic States of Europe and Soviet Russia arrayed on one side with Nazi Germany and possibly Fascist Italy on the other, which to his mind seems to lead to only one end, *viz.*, the victory of Democracy. At the moment, however, it does appear that M. Kolnai's views cannot be very popular with the Powers that be in Europe, but to a reader of M. Kolnai's book it seems the clash foreshadowed by him is inevitable in the near future, and the longer it is postponed, the worse it is for Western civilisation.

LIFE AND SOUL. Outline of a Future Theoretical Physiology and of a Critical Philosophy. By Max Loewenthal. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

The author seeks to answer in the light of critical philosophy freed from all pre-conceived notions the age-long problem of the difference between living and inanimate matter. The book consists of two parts: The first part deals with life and its general properties and the second is devoted to the study of the sentient organism or the soul and the Inner World. The difference between the scientific problem and the metaphysical problem is more of degree than of kind. The author takes his stand midway between the extremes of Idealism and Realism. We are idealists as regards the qualities of our psychical images but are convinced realists as regards quantities. The author's view of the cosmos is a type of realistic spiritualism like that of Berkeley but differs from that in its insistence on the outer world. There is no absolute space or time. The cosmic process has no gap at all but is continuous. No change can take place without reacting on the rest of the world.

The author repudiates the purely mechanistic conception of the world. Consciousness cannot be caged in the folds of the brain. No brain cells can make a Napoleon or a Shakespeare. The mechanistic view amplifies the idea of causation, but it should not overstep its limits and make statements outside the range of its experience. The world is an organic whole and every physical phenomenon is a manifestation of the cosmic process. Every psycho-physical problem is an extensive cosmic phenomenon and not merely confined to the living body.

It is an arduous task to connect physics and metaphysics, and the author expounds the transition from the one to the other in a very luminous and novel manner, and is eminently successful in expressing abstruse philosophic ideas in popular language.

VEDANTAM: A CLASH OF IDEALS. By V. V. Chintamani. Heath Cranton, London.

Mr. Chintamani is a new author and "Vedantam" is his maiden attempt at novel writing. It is a simple story of an Iyengar boy born of poor and orthodox parents whose success at school and college in India results in his marriage with the daughter of an I. C. S. Iyengar, who is completely anglicised. Soon after marriage, the young man is sent to England to sit for the I. C. S. examination. He leaves his wife behind with his orthodox parents and strange to say the daughter of an anglicised Iyengar adapts herself completely to the primitive conditions prevailing in her father-in-law's house. The author tries to depict a fairly graphic picture of the metamorphosis of the young man in England, the frustrated love of a school-mate of his who also happens to be in England at the time and ends the story with the tragedy of losing his parents while in England and the further tragedy of losing his wife soon after his return to India. To the South Indian acquainted with local conditions there is nothing extraordinary about the novel. To others it gives a glimpse of the life of the orthodox Brahmin, the unconsciously miserable imitation of European life under incongruous auspices by those imbibing the superficial culture of Western life. The novel is readable but possesses no enduring value.

FASCISM. By M. N. Roy. D. M. Library, Calcutta. Rs. 2.

What is Fascism? What is its intellectual ancestry? What are its practices? These are some of the questions which Mr. Roy puts and proceeds to answer with lucidity and brilliance. His pamphlet is an admirable introduction to the study of Fascism. His chapters on the philosophical background of Fascism are particularly interesting and ruthless in their analysis.

But Mr. Roy writes with power and with certain precision. His hundred and fifty pages are shot with apt quotations very often from authors whose works are not ordinarily available.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADVAITA. With special reference to Bharati-Tirthavidyaranya. By T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Luzac & Co., London. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 5 (Five).

The Philosophy of Advaita is an able exposition of the monistic school of Vedanta as developed by some of its more important followers of the later times. The study of the abstruse later works requires a thorough training in the technicalities of Indian philosophy and is, therefore, inaccessible to ordinary readers. Dr. Mahadevan has presented to the English reader the results of his careful researches in these difficult texts. The book contains an exhaustive discussion of all the important topics which engaged the attention of the later Advaitins, such as the six *pramanas*, truth and error, Reality as Existence (*sat*), Intelligence (*chit*), and Bliss (*ananda*), the witness-self (*saksi*), God and the Self, Maya, Vedanta ethics and release. Differences of views among the later Advaitins are also carefully noted. Though dealing mainly with later works like Panchadasi, Istasiddhi, Vivarna-prameya-sangraha, etc., the author keeps in view the beginning of the Vedanta in the early Upanisadic thinkers and sometimes indicates the process of development. Some of the intricate discussions might not interest the general reader who will find, however, summaries of the main points at the close of most of such sections. The work impresses us as an accurate and scholarly treatment of the subject and bears everywhere the hall-mark of the Madras school of research (founded by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and others), namely, of fidelity to the ancient masters. Dr. Mahadevan has laid the more advanced students of Indian philosophy under a deep debt of gratitude.

The more arduous and advanced students of Advaita will find in 'the Philosophy of Advaita' a valuable guide and get sufficient light regarding the more abstruse problems of the Vedanta. The work is not a mere *apologia* of Advaita, but an attempt to show the depth and wealth of its developed doctrines.

WOLF AMONG WOLVES. By Hans Fallada. Putnam, London. 8s. 6d.

The book under review is another interesting novel from the pen of the German novelist Hans Fallada known to the literary world as the author of the sensational book "Little man what now". The translation is from one Mr. Philip Owens. It is an extremely lucid and attractive novel which one feels like reading at one stretch. It is all about our contemporary life.

The scene of the novel is laid in Berlin and east Prussia and the central figures of the novel are a gambler and his mistress, one Mr. Pagel and Mrs. Peter. The compassionate terms in which the author treats the profession of a prostitute who represents the sinful, sensual and weak type of human being is most touching. There is to-day a prominent school of thought after D. H. Lawrence that believes 'that we can sin our way to Jesus'. Such a line of thought has its attractions and consolations. The book is a significant contribution to serious fiction.

THE FALSE STATE. By Hilda D. Oakley, M.A., D.Litt. Williams and Norgate.

In this essay the author seeks to restate the now familiar thesis that the conception of the sovereign state is the greatest obstacle to individual freedom and international peace.

There is much shrewd and valid criticism on almost every page of the book directed against the principles and practices of planned economies, communist states, national socialism and against the growing tendency to applaud their achievements. The author still cherishes a firm faith in the old ideals of liberalism and holds that though no community has yet been capable of complete freedom, a never ceasing struggle against the idea and practice of the State as power, against the false state, is necessary to the consummation of liberty. And the chief source for a new accession of strength to the good cause lies, according to the author, in the sufferings of the age covered by the last 23 years.

BOOKS RECEIVED

RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN CONSTITUTION MAKING. By Dr. B. M. Sharma, Lucknow University. With an introduction by Dr. V. S. Ram, M.A., Ph.D. Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Literature Palace, Lucknow.

THE DARK ROOM: A novel. By R. K. Narayan. Macmillan & Co., London.

TRENDS OF AGRICULTURE AND POPULATION IN THE GANGES VALLEY. By B. Ganguli. Methuen & Co., 36, Essex St., London, W.C. 2.

DR. JEEYLL AND MR. HYDE or Irattai Manidan in Tamil. By K. P. Rajagopalan. Manikkodi Book Shop, G. T., Madras.

IMAGE BREAKERS. (A play.) By D. M. Borgaonkar. New Book Company, Bombay.

COURT PORTS OF IRAN AND INDIA. By R. P. Masani. New Book Company, Bombay.

THE STATE AND ECONOMIC LIFE. By Anwar Iqbal Qureshi. New Book Company, Bombay.

VEDIC PRAYERS. By Swami Sambuddhanand, Sri Ramakrishna Ashramkher, Bombay.

MAYAVADA. By Sadhu Santinatha. Oriental Book Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona.

THE CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By Sadhu Santinatha. Institute of Philosophy, Amaluer. Vol. I. II.

THE END OF THE HOUR. By Edward Thompson, Macmillan & Co., London.

THE INDO-JAPANESE BUSINESS DIRECTORY. Indo-Japanese Association, Taihei Building, Vehi-Saiwaicho, Kojimachiku, Tokyo.

INDIAN FINANCE YEAR BOOK, 1938. P. R. Srinivas, 20, British Indian Street, Calcutta.

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA. By C. F. Strickland. Oxford University Press, Ltd., Bombay.

ECONOMIC FRUIT-TREES AND THEIR CULTURE. By Rashid A. Munshi. Mohan Printers, Ahmednagar.

NIPPON FORESTS. By Rashid A. Munshi. Mohan Printers, Station Road, Ahmednagar.

ANDU-NIRAIVU. In Tamil. Secretary, Madras Legislature Congress Party, Madras.

SPEECHES BY PANDIT SRI KASHINATHA SHASTRI Panchacharya Prabha Office, Mysore.

SHAKTI-VISHISTADVAITA OR THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF VIRASAIVISM. By R. Chakravarti, M.A., LL.B. Panchacharya Electric Press, Mysore.

THRO' EASTERN EYES. (Poems). By Nand Qomar. Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

MY TOUR OF JAPAN. By K. H. Goregaoker, Solicitor, Bombay.

GOLDEN GOA. By Joseph Furtado. C. P. Works, Poona.

SONGS IN EXILE. By Joseph Furtado. C. P. Works, Poona.

INDIAN STATES

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Hyderabad

WOMEN POLICE FOR HYDERABAD

A women police force has been recruited for the first time in the annals of the State. Recruits in belted uniforms of buff sarees and coat of the same colour with badges decorating them are practising steps at the police headquarters at Hyderabad. This posse of women police, it is understood, will supplement the normal police force.

COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Government's review on the report of the Director of Public Instruction in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1936-37 says that a draft bill for making primary education compulsory is under consideration.

In view of the practical difficulties and the expenditure involved in the adoption of compulsion, it will be some time before the method of compulsion can be made effective throughout the Dominions, especially as in the beginning it will be only applied to small selected areas at a time. In the meantime primary education may be expanded on a voluntary basis as far as means permit.

Baroda

THE PRAJA MANDAL CONFERENCE

The Praja Mandal Conference which met at Baroda on October 29, passed a resolution urging the Baroda Government to introduce responsible Government in the State at an early date. The resolution recalled how a claim was made in 1934 by means of an application signed by thousands of subjects and a demand was put forth that the Government should appoint a committee, half of whose members would be elected by the Praja Mandal to draft a new constitution.

A resolution urging the Baroda Government to enforce prohibition immediately, at least in the districts adjoining Ahmedabad, with the ultimate view of bringing in complete prohibition throughout the State in three years, was adopted unanimously.

Mysore

DR. SINHA'S TRIBUTE TO MYSORE

Summing up the impressions of his visit to Mysore, in the course of an interview, Dr. Satchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, said:

The administration of the State is not only beyond all doubt the most progressive in Indian States but is in certain respects even ahead of British India. This is particularly so in the administration of justice, in which there has been for years past a complete separation of the judicial and executive functions, which we are still striving after in British India. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, whom I was privileged to meet again after many years, is an ideal Indian ruler who, in spite of his not enjoying robust health of late, punctiliously performs all the onerous duties appertaining to his exalted office; while his Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, justly enjoys a very high reputation both as a sound statesman and a capable administrator

The two problems which are foremost in the minds of almost all Mysoreans are the remission of the annual subsidy of over Rs. 20 lakhs the Mysore Government have to pay even now to the Government of India and the retrocession to the Mysore Durbar of the area of Bangalore originally called the 'Cantonment' and now known as the Civil and Military Station. It is to be hoped that His Excellency the Viceroy, when he visits Mysore in January next, may be able to make a satisfactory pronouncement in regard to both these questions.

Cochin

THE COCHIN CONSTITUTION

The demand of the people of many States for responsible Government was not the result of oppression by autocratic rulers but the outcome of a new spirit of nationalism in India, said Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty speaking at the East India Association on "The Indian States and Federation: the new Cochin Constitution".

Sir Shanmukham, speaking of Federation, said there was no cause for apprehension that the representatives of States in the Federal Legislature would act as a reactionary block. Confidence and trust in the Indian rulers and speedy inauguration of the Federal Constitution would be the quickest way of attaining full self-Government for India.

Travancore

TAMIL IN TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

Any extension of the activities of the Travancore University would naturally be dependent upon the restoration of completely peaceful conditions in the State, but the Government fully realised the value and importance of Malayalam and Tamil culture equally and neither would be ignored or minimised, said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore and Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University, replying to a deputation which *inter alia* urged that unless due recognition and importance was assigned to the Tamil language in the Department of Oriental Studies that Department could not possibly be expected to serve the purpose for which it was organised.

PEOPLE'S CONVENTION

With a view to organizing a Travancore State People's Federation with the ideal of attainment of full responsible government and the recognition by the State of the fundamental rights of citizens with a programme similar to that of the Indian National Congress, a State people's convention is proposed to be held in Travancore shortly.

Aundh

REFORMS IN AUNDH

The Chief of Aundh has issued a proclamation on his 71st birthday conferring full responsible government on the subjects of his State. Aundh is a small Deccan State and its Chief is well known as an exponent of physical culture through Suryanamaskar. Into the details of the scheme of responsible government it is not necessary to enter. But the spirit underlying the announcement deserves to be appreciated.

Kashmir

THE KASHMIR BANK

For the purpose of developing the financial, commercial, industrial and agricultural resources of the Jammu and Kashmir State, Dewan Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, the Premier, has announced the establishment of a bank known as the Jammu and Kashmir Bank, Ltd. The authorized capital of the Bank is Rs. 50 lakhs and the issued capital Rs. 20 lakhs. The Government have agreed to subscribe one-half of the capital issue and the balance has been thrown open to public subscription. The minimum subscription upon which the directors may proceed to allotment is shares of the nominal value of Rs. 5 lakhs. The State subjects will be given preference in the purchase of shares. The Bank will endeavour to make a special study of rural credit in the State and thus make available the fruits of organized banking to those who live in the interior of the State. It is anticipated that the new bank will greatly assist the extension in the State of home industries working in conjunction with organizations whose object is to stimulate rural development in the State.

Benares

REFORMS IN BENARES

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares has announced his decision to create a Legislative Council for the State. He has appointed a Committee to draft a constitution with special reference to the constitution of the legislature, its powers, functions and procedure with specification of subjects as transferred and reserved.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

HEALTH OF INDIAN STUDENTS

The Committee of the South African Indian Congress have now approved a resolution which has been forwarded to the Provincial Secretary at Pietermaritzburg, regarding the Indians in Durban, who want medical and dental inspection facilities for children.

The Resolution reads:

Seeing that the Indian community is an integral part of the South African population, the Committee considers that their health and welfare should be as much a matter of concern as that of any other section.

The difficulty of extending medical inspection and other health services to all schools in the province in a short time is recognised, but the beginning having been made in the European schools, the Commission recommends that every effort be made to extend these services as early as possible to Indian schools. When Indian medical men are available, their services should be engaged for this work.

In a letter accompanying this resolution, it is pointed out that the Congress realises that considerable time must pass before practical effect can be given to the recommendations of the Report.

Mr. A. I. Kajee, Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, states that at the moment European and Coloured children received medical and dental inspection twice a year. In the report of the Broome Education Commission it had been pointed out that these facilities should be extended to Indian school children. The recommendations in the report had not been given effect to however, because they involved considerable expenditure.

The Congress had found that a large number of Indian school children attending Government and Government-Aided schools in the neighbourhood of the Indian-African clearing station in Durban could be catered for there.

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

The Hon. Pundit Hirdayanath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, discussed with the Governor of Fiji Islands questions raised at the recent All-Fiji Indian Conference, according to a telegram from the Fiji Indian Association.

Pt. Kunzru expressed dissatisfaction with the neglect shown to the needs of the Indians in Fiji and asked Indians to remember that the status of the Indian community in Fiji would determine the status of India in the Pacific in the eyes of those who had not visited the mother country. This was, he concluded, a matter of utmost importance to India, and the Government of Fiji should bear this in mind in dealing with Indian requirements.

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Government of India have definitely refused to accept the amendment recommended by the Ceylon State Council to the Village Franchise Ordinance. Mr. C. F. Andrews, who was on a visit to Madras during the first week of November expressed himself exceedingly glad. He felt that this amended bill was altogether unsatisfactory. Indian labourers had done more than any other community to bring about remarkable prosperity to Ceylon, and it was unthinkable that they should all be excluded from the franchise. Rev. Andrews hoped that in the long run the decision taken up in India on this question would be accepted, because tea and rubber estates in Ceylon were almost entirely dependent on free flow and emigration of Indian labour.

Malaya

INDIAN LABOUR IN MALAYA

In the report of the Labour Department in Madras for 1937, Mr. C. Wilson, Controller of Labour, states that in the Straits Settlements the area of lands held by Indians is about 85,812 acres valued at \$16,776,187. In Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Johore and Kedah the approximate holdings were 88,720, 86,824, 27,770, 15,141, 66,655, 41,879, acres respectively.

The Labour Ordinance in the Straits Settlements and the Labour Codes of the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States require every employer to set aside land (1/16th of an acre for each labourer who has dependants) suitable for use by labourers as allotments or grazing lands.

The Controller adds :

It is definitely in the interests of the planting industry to create conditions of stabilization of labourers and to provide land whereon the latter may be able to maintain themselves in times of slump. The extent to which all spare land was utilized by Indian labourers during recent years is ample proof of the value of providing reserve areas. Allotments may, it is true, not be utilized to the full in good times, but land reserved for such purpose is an economical form of insurance against the heavy costs of repatriation.

The locally born settle down in Malaya as a rule, and it may be noted that at the 1931 census 21 per cent. of the Indian population were found to be locally born and there were then resident in Malaya from 81,000 boys and 73,000 girls of the age of 15 years and under. Throughout the years 1930, 31, 32 and 33, there was a strong return flow to India and it is interesting to note that the effect was to improve the general sex ratio particularly on estates. Altogether the sex ratio among South Indian labourers is good and is improving and it is fairly certain that the time is not far off when equality will be reached on estates.

Kenya

INDIANS IN KENYA

That he looked upon the question of Kenya Highlands as the acid test which would show whether the British constitution still stood for racial and religious equality in the Colonies, was the view expressed by Rev. C. F. Andrews in an exclusive interview to the *United Press* on November 1, on his arrival in Madras from Wardha accompanied by Aryanayakam, Secretary, Hindustani-Tamil Sangh, after visiting Indore, Udaipur and Delhi. Rev. Andrews further said that the appointment of a board of European elected members to administer the Highlands would be one further step to the annihilation of any hope that was still entertained in India that one day in distant future this racial barrier might be withdrawn. He was afraid that the principle of racial equality was being sacrificed again and again whenever the European settlers claimed a special privilege in the colonies themselves.

Tanganyika

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

The Indian community in Tanganyika consists of more than 25,000 traders and settlers. They are perturbed by the turn of affairs in Central Europe and are naturally apprehensive of Hitler's move for a demand of the return of the former German colonies. It is interesting to recall that in the Peace Conference of 1919, it was proposed to confer the Mandate of German East Africa on India. Subsequently in 1920, Sir Benjamin Robertson proposed a scheme for the settlement of Indian agriculturists in Tanganyika. Both these proposals came to naught, but when the Mandate for this territory was given to Great Britain by the League of Nations, Indian traders and settlers went there in large numbers.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



GANDHIJI'S GREATEST WEAPON

In the current number of the *Modern Review*, Mr. C. F. Andrews recalls an interesting episode in the life of Mahatma Gandhi and records the success that his Satyagrahic methods achieved for his countrymen in South Africa, struggling under grave disabilities. Mr. Andrews describes his first meeting with Gandhiji under dramatic circumstances:—

When I first met him in the year 1913, he was still in South Africa struggling against almost insuperable odds in order to obtain justice for the poor labourers who had emigrated to that distant country from India. They had come chiefly from Tamil Nadu and had gone out to South Africa as indentured labourers. They were being cruelly driven back to India after the indenture was over by means of an unjust Poll-tax, and Mahatmaji had determined by passive resistance to get that tax removed. He made what has been called by one writer "the most remarkable march with a peaceful army which history has ever recorded". This "army" was composed of indentured labourers—men, women and children. They had no weapons of war. Their one weapon was Non-violence. They started from one of the central districts of Natal and marched over the high Darkenberg mountains until they came to the borders of Transvaal. I have been along that very road by which they came over those high mountains. When they crossed these mountains, it was so bitterly cold at night time that two little children perished on the way.

The Indian merchants who met this "ragged army" (as it was called) at different towns on the route, brought them loaves of bread and other provisions; but it was very difficult indeed to feed so large a multitude and many had to go hungry. When they reached the borders of Transvaal, they all knew that if they crossed the border they would be put in prison; for that was the law of South Africa. Nevertheless with extraordinary enthusiasm and joy in their faces, the whole army rushed across the frontier. They were then confronted at once by the mounted police and officers of military rank, who called upon them to surrender. Since they were passive resisters, they gave themselves up to the police without a struggle and were all of them imprisoned along with their great leader Mahatma Gandhi and his wife Kasturbai and their children.

Three months later, Gandhiji was released along with others including Messrs. Polak

and Kallenbach, because General Smuts, who was head of the Government, had already determined to make peace with the Indian leader. The General had summoned Gandhiji to see him at Pretoria. Mr. Andrews goes on to say:

I was asked to accompany him and we travelled together by the train just before a very violent Railway strike broke out both on the Railway and in the Gold Mines. The mail train by which we were to reach Pretoria was the very last that was allowed to make its journey for many days while the strike continued. I remember very well how at midnight when the train stopped at one of the stations on the mountain side where a second engine had to be attached, we both of us thought that the strike had actually begun and that we should be left stranded in the middle of our journey. But after what seemed an almost interminable time, the train moved on again.

When they reached the capital, then once again there were almost insuperable difficulties. The telegraph wires were cut by the strikers and the Indian group was quite isolated. The European strikers, we are told, sent out tentative requests to Mr. Gandhi that he should join them in their own strike and thus make certain of victory. But he entirely refused to do so, because his own passive resistance struggle was altogether on a non-violent basis, while the European strike on the Railway and in the Mines was on a violent basis.

This fact that Mahatmaji had refused to join in a violent strike, even when it seemed to be for his own interest to do so, made a great impression everywhere. It led on to General Smuts' offer of peace. Thus when he called Mahatmaji to see him at his office in Pretoria, he said with great deal of bluntness: "Now Gandhi, put all your cards on the table. Let me know exactly what you want and I will try to get it for you."

Any one else who had received such a favourable offer would have at once demanded the very maximum, but Mr. Gandhi who is the soul of truth and uprightness in everything he does, asked instead only for the minimum. His one final demand was this, that the £3 Poll-tax (which was the sign of slavery) should be entirely abolished. General Smuts agreed to this and signed a draft agreement.

This was the beginning of the last act in that great drama, whereby Mahatma Gandhi won his passive resistance struggle against overwhelming odds in South Africa.

RAIL TRANSPORT IN INDIA

The *Capital Jubilee* Number, an attractively got up special issue, marks the completion of its 50 years of uninterrupted publication. The readers are offered a survey of the most momentous years in the development of India's trade and industry. The Rail Transport in India during the past 50 years is a story of an emergence from medieval conditions.

In 1880, there were barely 9,000 miles of railway throughout the country. To-day the total mileage covered is more than 48,000. The several important aspects of this development are surveyed in the article. The survey indicates that Lord Dalhousie's vision of the great social and economic changes in the wake of railways proved to be prophetic. The cheap, safe and quicker transport by rail transformed the economic life of the people.

The Government are gradually taking up the working of the Railways from the Companies as their periods of contract expire. As regards service and facilities, railways are progressing in the right direction with the influence of the Legislature and other organs of public opinion. Local industries have been given much encouragement of late. These developments indicate that the Indian railway market is being exploited in an ever-increasing measure by Indian industries. The railways were practically monopolising the transport in India until the road began to compete. Though the railway cannot reach its former peak of monopoly, it will undoubtedly remain the principal, safe, and cheap long distance carrier in spite of competition on the road and in the air.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Rev. J. S. M. Hooper pays a well merited tribute of praise to the Congress Ministries and the Congress high command in the course of an article in the October number of the *International Review of Missions*. He says:

One thing may be said with confidence while recognizing that at any moment the position may change; a good start has been made after the preliminary month's manoeuvring for position and the clarification of issues that resulted from it; the conditions of continued success are present in the spirit of co-operation and of eager service that has been shown by the governors of the provinces, the members of the services, and the newly appointed ministers. Speaking generally and keeping clear of the ungrateful task of criticism of details here and there, most of the ministers have approached the tasks of administration with humility and courage and with a determination to deal thoroughly with the real problems of the country. The necessary emphasis on the purely constitutional questions that have been so much debated for many years, some of the greatest of which—notably that of the position of the autocratic Indian States in a federal system—are still unsolved, should not obscure the fact that the Indian governments in power are using that power for the service of the people. It is at the least a gesture of significance that the Congress governments are working on a sacrificial basis; by their own action the monthly salaries of ministers have been limited to five hundred rupees (£450 per annum). Where there has been any hint of corruption strong steps have been taken to correct it, the Congress high command exercising at this stage a salutary influence on the provincial governments in helping them to maintain a high standard of probity against local forces that might otherwise prove too strong.

How to reconcile the responsibility of each provincial Congress government to this Congress higher command, with the responsibility to the electorate whose votes have put it in office, is one of the major problems that the Congress party will have to solve.

Meanwhile, however, the central Congress authority is discharging a most useful and necessary function so that in spite of local difficulties and the fact that some Congressmen are apparently looking for trouble, it may be said that the responsible leaders have shown that they are eager to serve what they believe to be the true interests of the country and that they recognize the magnitude of their task.

A PLEA FOR SANITY

"Man cannot find his happiness, simply because we secure for him a sufficiency of material goods. There are many in this world who have all comforts which wealth can bring who are yet suffering from emptiness of soul and nudity of spirit," says Sir S. Radhakrishnan in a plea for sanity in the current issue of the *Triveni*. Man lives, he says, for a purpose larger than he sees and the recognition of this vital fact has been the deepest phase of India's life. In this age of never-ceasing and rapid movement in physical and spiritual spheres, the old ideas are fast sinking into oblivion. Religion the strongest of all conservative forces has also changed. The two forces that threaten the historic life of our country are dogmatic denial and dogmatic affirmation, blank negation and blank faith which are the outcome of a narrowness and obscurantism. There is a false impression that religion is utterly irrelevant to the problems of the world in which we live. Religion, he asserts, has been the master passion of the Indian mind, the pre-supposition and basis of its culture and civilisation. We should not allow India to lose her distinctive individuality. He concludes :

The great religious tradition of India can be preserved only if we avoid these two extremes of atheism and blind faith and strive for right thinking and right living. Tradition is memory; it is humanity's memory of its own past. This memory dies an artificial or accidental death when it is forcibly interrupted. It dies a natural death when it becomes crystallised and congealed. If atheism succeeds, the tradition of India will suffer death by accident; if blind faith and superstition overtake us, it will die a natural death, of old age, of hardening of arteries. Let us, therefore, avoid these two extremes.

SEPARATION OF POWERS

"Separation of Powers in India" is the title of an article in the October issue of the *Triveni* by "K. B. S." The position of the provincial executive, *vis-a-vis*, the people, says the writer, has undergone a thorough change, but that of the judiciary has remained substantially what it was.

The executive is composed of elected representatives of an electorate constituted on the basis of a fairly wide franchise. They are removable at the instance of a popular legislature and thus subject to the control of the people. Of course, the High Courts are not in any way amenable to executive influence. If the executive should abandon its control of the subordinate judiciary, which is all it can now control, it would be relegating them to the complete control of a body, judicial no doubt, but which is not constituted by the people, the members of which are not necessarily appointed by a Cabinet subject to popular control, nor even in theory removable by the legislature, and the jurisdiction of which cannot altogether be altered by popular vote. Even the procedure it has to follow, or the laws it has to administer, are not completely subject to provincial control. The position of the judiciary in the Provinces is, from a constitutional point of view, unique, anomalous and highly objectionable.

Where the judiciary is not, in constitutional theory, subject to ultimate legislative control, is it undesirable that the executive which is the creature of the legislature, should seek to retain whatever power it has over the judiciary? In most democratic constitutions, there is a check upon the imperfections of a judiciary in the shape of the jury system of trial in at least important criminal cases and many civil actions.

In the absence of such a check why should a popular executive and, through it, the people themselves, give up their limited control over the subordinate judiciary? Even as it is, the High Court has under the Act extensive powers of superintendence and control over the subordinate courts. The people would then be surrendering something valuable which the new Act has given them. In theory and, if the electorate is sensible in practice, we need have no dread of the executive any longer. There is no scope for the application of pure and strictly theoretical constitutional principles to the relations *inter se* of a judiciary and an executive such as we now have. And these, I think, are some of the valid reasons that underlie the Madras Premier's attitude upon this matter.

ENGLISH NATIONAL CHARACTER

"The trait in the English character to view things primarily from the point of self-interest is so dominant that it would explain almost all the divergences between the professions and his actions. The divergence is not patent to them because of their deficiency in the capacity of imaginative sympathy, which enables people to appreciate others' point of view. Thus the Englishman is an egotist, although he is not a troublesome and noisome egotist." So says Dr. Boolchand writing in the September-October Number of the *Hindustan Review*. How difficult it is to think of any single epithet whereby a general and faithful impression of the essential basis of the English character may be conveyed is described in the following words:—

The English national character is a composite character; it is made up of certain essentially different elements. Not that the character of other nations is always simple. In many cases it tends to be pretty complex. His egotism often proceeds from a belief in justice and honour, however one-sided and fictitious his conception of justice and honour itself might be; and that is one particular idea, nor is it possible to say that the English national character proceeds at its foundation from any particular mental trait or quality. Start where one might in one's attempt to analyse the English national character, one is always baffled by its compositeness and by its inscrutable contractions.

Yet, if one must try to sum up the national character of the English people in spite of these difficulties in one single phrase, one cannot think of anything better than that "an Englishman is an educated egotist".

That epithet is by no means simple, for the two terms 'educated' and 'egotist' seem to be mutually contradictory, although for that very reason we believe they are all the better descriptive of the English character; but the egotistical trait in the English character stands out fairly prominent and strikes even a superficial observer whether he considers the Englishman as an individual or the English people as a national group.

PROHIBITION AREAS IN INDIA

The following record of the progress of prohibition is given in the *Indian Temperance News*:—*Madras*: Salem district (population 2,400,000) went dry on October 1st, 1937; Chittoor (population 1,400,000) and Cuddappah (population 950,000) to follow on October 1st, 1938. A Bill to amend the Madras Prohibition Act so as to prohibit all advertisements of medicated wines and the like, except in medical journals, has been carried into law. *Bihar*: Saran district (population 2,500,000) went dry on April 1st, 1938; 500 country liquor shops were closed in the Purneah district. *Central Provinces*: Saugor district (population about 550,000) went dry on April 1st, 1938. Hoshangabad, Jubbulpore, Amraoti and Akola districts to follow on October 1st, 1938. *United Provinces*: Etah and Mainpuri districts went dry on April 1st, 1938 and the consumption of opium went down in the first quarter of the financial year, 1938-39, by 89 per cent., that of *charas* by 97 per cent. and of *bhang* by 99 per cent. with a corresponding loss of revenue. *North-West Frontier Province*: Dera Ismail Khan district went dry on April 1st, 1938, and partial prohibition was introduced in two other districts. *Bengal*: Noakhali district (population 1,700,000) went dry on April 1st, 1938, and Chittagong district (population 1,80,000) on September 1st, 1938. *Bombay*: The city of Ahmedabad and its suburbs (population 310,000) went dry on July 20, 1938, and is regarded as 99 per cent. success as regards country liquor. The Bardoli Taluka soon followed. Bombay city went dry for two pay-days, on August 9 and 10. Fishermen of Canara country are experiencing the astonishing benefits of Prohibition. *Punjab*: Prohibition is to be introduced at the beginning of the next financial year.

INDIA'S DEFENCE PROBLEM

"The philosophy of non-violence and of pacifism has no place in the present practical conditions of nations. Self-defence apart from self-aggrandisement must dictate the strengthening of all arms of Defence," writes Sir A. P. Patro on India's Defence Problem in the current issue of the *Twentieth Century*. He expresses his strong resentment against charging Indian Treasury with the increased cost on British Unit by the scheme of the British Government.

The Defence of India cannot be treated as a separate subject in the government of the country. The military problem has a vital connection with the constitutional question inasmuch as the efficient organisation of the army is necessary for the purpose of protection of peace within the country, the frontier defence, and against foreign aggression. The problem has essential relations with the Scheme of Imperial Defence whatever may be the difference of opinion in the matter. We are surrounded by grave unrest in many nations in the West and in the East and war clouds frequently darken the horizon so much that a thunderbolt may at any time fall nearer home. While we deem it necessary and desirable we should keep our army equal to the modern developments going on all over nations, these developments could only be within the limits of our finances. The mechanisation of Four Units or regiments will create only a nucleus of armoured troops. There should be plans devised and executed for the mechanisation of a number of Units of the Indian Army. Though Indian Army is ordinarily to deal with minor dangers, there are major dangers about and the Indian Army as well as the British, which it is fully trained and equipped to deal with them, must be kept up-to-date as far as possible."

India being vulnerable on many sides, land and water, her defence inevitably relies on the United Kingdom however much some may dislike. He says it is an advantage for the present to share in the system of 'collective protection' until we are able to defend ourselves. In the meanwhile the process of Indianisation and mechanisation should proceed at a more rapid pace.

A WARNING TO THE GREAT POWERS

"It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals," says Gandhiji in his reply in the *Harijan* to some critics who argued that he prescribed his creed of non-violence to the Czechs, a comparatively weak nation and not to the Great Powers like England, France, and America.

"Now, if the critics will re-read my article," he says, "they will see that I have refrained from suggesting it to these big Powers not because of my timidity. But there was a more potent reason for my not addressing them. They were not in distress and, therefore, in no need of any remedy. To use a medical expression, they were not ailing as Czecho-Slovakia was. Their existence was not threatened, as Czecho-Slovakia's was. Any appeal from me, therefore, to the great Powers would have amounted to an empty and un-wanted sermon."

These great Powers have to give up imperialistic ambitions and exploitation of the so-called uncivilised or semi-civilised nations of the earth and revise their mode of life.

If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left, the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications.

Democracy and violence can ill go together. The states that are to-day nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian, or if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent. It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.

It is, however, open to the great Powers to take it up any day and cover themselves with glory and earn the eternal gratitude of posterity. If there are any of them who could shed the fear of destruction if they disarmed themselves, they will automatically help the rest to regain their sanity.

THE HINDU VIEW OF CHRIST

The American Vedanta Quarterly journal *The Message of the East* publishes in its latest number an article on the "Hindu View of Christ" by Swami Nikhilananda. Christ's idea of the Kingdom of Heaven is, perhaps, the greatest and the most distinctive feature of Christianity and that, says the Swamiji, is nothing but the Hindu idea of *mukti* or liberation. To reach the Kingdom of Heaven, Christ said: "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you." Similarly Hinduism says that when man's ignorance is destroyed and when he has realised Divinity within him, he attains *mukti* or liberation.

Christ preached that to attain the Kingdom of Heaven absolute surrender to the will of God is necessary. It means the complete detachment from the narrow individual self and identification with the will of God. We also read in the Gita that God resides in the heart of every one as the director of our activities and as the inspirer of all our thoughts. He is making us move as the man behind the stage moves the puppets with the help of strings. We are to take refuge in Him. We are to surrender our will completely to the will of God who is our real Self. Thus only will we find peace of mind.

Accounting for the similarity between the teachings of Christ and Hindu doctrines, the Swamiji says:

After all, Christ was an Oriental. People often forget this. However He may be painted with blue eyes, light hair and a flowing robe, Christ was an Oriental; and what is the message of the Orient? Not of this world but of another world. In far away Asia, you see the snow-capped mountains, limitless deserts disappearing into the remote horizon. The Hindus have seen the crumbling of empires. They have watched the rise and fall of many powerful dynasties. From time immemorial, India has passed through innumerable vicissitudes of life. Naturally being an old race, they have come to recognize the utterly ephemeral character and evanescence of earthly possessions.

Therefore from Asia has come the voice of the other world, and the self-same message we find preached by Christ in his teachings also.

FAITH AND RATIONALISM

To the November Number of the *Vedantu Kesari*, Mr. S. R. Sarma contributes an article on "Faith and Rationalism". Mr. Sarma maintains that not only has faith its own part to play in the proper and effective functioning of reason but that it is also the only guide to take us to the realms of Truth where reason throws no light. Defining Rationalism, the writer says:

Rationalism is, perhaps, better defined negatively than positively. It is the philosophy that rejects everything not acceptable to our normal reasoning faculty. Its facade is attractive. A history of the religion appears to be a history of the substitution of superstitions. With the advancement of enlightenment old superstitions are no doubt liquidated. Our religion, therefore, is certainly more rationalised than that of our remote ancestors. Shamanism and fetish worship have yielded place to Vedanta, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, etc. Within these folds, however, are endless distinctions, each claiming to be more true than all others. To the Rationalist this appears to be a war of mutual extermination, and he presumes that all are equally superstitious, all are equally deluded.

Writing about Faith, Mr. Sarma says that it is not mere belief or hope; it is a sense of certainty about the future.

It is the faculty of penetrating further than the myopic multitude can see. It is a search-light that can scan the encircling gloom and spot out Truth. Those who deny it are simply prosaic persons who lack the poetic vision. They are music-deaf and cannot appreciate divine symphonies. The persistence of these is not a refutation of either poetry or music. Rationalism cannot, therefore, liquidate Faith.

So, Rationalism is faith in Reason. But there is no antithesis between the two any more than between our eyes and ears. Pleading for a combination of both Faith and Rationalism, the writer says:

Life is larger than what would be admitted by reason. To ignore its vastness and complexity by the test of reason alone is to put on blinkers. To throw away faith as something irrational is to throw away the most precious part of life. Trust is the noblest element in our human relations, and trust is faith. We must have faith in ourselves, our neighbours, friends, relations, institutions, society, philosophy, and way of living. Without that we cannot lead a rational life. Both rationalism and faith must be assigned their proper places. We cannot do without either.

THE NAZI DANGER

Mr. Duff Cooper, who resigned from the post of First Lord of the Admiralty following the recent Munich Agreement, has written an article on the attitude of the British public after the Agreement in the Paris-German Weekly *Die Zukunft*. The article which is in German reads as follows in English:

"Many people in Mr. Chamberlain's country and many in France have come to believe that Mr. Chamberlain went much too far on the road to capitulation. Many fear that war cannot be avoided by the policy of limitless concessions. British people are looking to the future. They take into account that Hitler, whose demands grow ceaselessly, will one day create a situation, the inevitable result of which will be war. The English people feel that the only way to avoid war is through helping their real ally, that is, the German people. The English feel an aversion, not for the German people but for the present Nazi regime." The Nazis, Mr. Duff Cooper affirms, are against liberty and Christendom. "Consequently," he adds, "it is difficult to see how peace can ever reign between Christian peoples and Nazis. But I believe from the depths of my heart that peace can exist between all civilised peoples."

LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF INDIA

The Birthday Number of *Jayaji Pratap* in honour of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia, contains an article on the Language Problem of India from the pen of Sri N. G. Ranga.

The language problem has almost reached its solution, thanks to Gandhiji, and in another 12 years all people will be able to understand and speak the same language all over India. But he is not satisfied with this solution. He says:

I want the use of Hindi script for all those languages which to-day do not use it but have very complicated script like the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and even Bengali and Gujarati. I desire this for the sake of useful uniformity, necessary economy in the use of scripts and also for enabling our masses to easily pick up our national language once they learn their own script. Our need to-day is to develop and consolidate our existing unity of culture and linguistic form of expression and delicacy, thanks to the universalisation of Sanskrit culture and literature through all the ramifications of our various languages barring Urdu. In fact,

easily a hundred of Urdu words have already crept into all our languages. Thanks to the centuries of Mussalman rule. The Omakhyayam and Koran have widened our cultural and mental contacts with our Muslim brethren and so once we develop a synthesised, broadened yet simplified Hindi as our common language. Indians as a whole can knit themselves into a more homogeneous, mutually loving, understandable and understanding people, living in different provinces of varying climatic conditions, but breathing the same linguistic atmosphere, the same cultural thoughts and stringing the same garlands of words strwn on the beautiful symphony of Oriental music.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

When there is so much talk in the air about rural reconstruction, Mr. Bhale Rao's practical suggestions in the November Number of the *Rural India* would be found interesting, and if put into practice, would assure some permanent relief to the peasantry.

1. The present-day land revenue is too high considering the prevailing conditions. Land should be assessed according to its fertility.
2. The Government should supply the best quality of seed by maintaining seed stores.
3. The Government should arrange for good bulls within every five miles.
4. The Government should control the sale of the produce so that the farmer gets the best price possible for his produce. Agricultural Banks should be opened to meet the farmer's demands and needs.
5. A portion of the village receipts should go back for the improvement and welfare of the village itself by providing drinking wells, village roads, schools and hospitals.
6. Encouragement should be given for cottage industries and for the production and extensive use of hemp, etc.
7. Plantation of annual fruit yielding trees and other useful shady trees should be made compulsory for every village.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

"The Case against Capital Punishment—Why has it lost ground?" is the subject of an interesting article in the November Number of the *Aryan Path* by Mr. Fenner Brockway. Until recently the case against capital punishment was making great progress. In many European countries the death penalty has been abolished. In England, a Commission had recommended a limitation of the death penalty which was generally recognised as a first step towards abolition. "But to-day we must recognise," says Mr. Fenner Brockway, "that the cause for the abolition of capital punishment has suffered a set-back. For in Germany and Russia executions are mounting."

Capital punishment, says the writer, can only be justified on two grounds: The first is the ground of the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. This principle applied to cases of murder is nakedly the principle of revenge, above which all that is best in humanity has long ago risen. The second is the ground of war—the destruction of an enemy who is dangerous. This is the principle on which political executions are justified; but every one who is seeking a solution of political problems on the basis of freedom and true democracy (that is, the political expression of social and economic equality) must regard the recent extension of capital punishment in the political field with abhorrence.

Discussing the appropriateness of hanging for murder and execution for political offences, Mr. Brockway writes:

The death penalty is defended as a matter of justice. The offender has taken a life; he must forfeit his life. But before the justice of any punishment can be determined, all the considerations which made for the committal of the crime

must be weighed, and when we begin that examination we shall find that the causes of homicide are as much social as individual. The majority of murderers, to quote the Editor of the *Official Judicial Statistics for Britain*, belong to the poorer classes. Overcrowding, the squalor of poverty and the bitterness which it causes, the lack of education, the denial of a healthy worth-while life—these are the factors which go to the making of crimes of violence.

When crime increases, a community should not turn revengefully against the criminals but should ask itself what is wrong with its own social basis.

The death penalty is defended as a deterrent. There is no evidence to justify this argument. I have examined carefully the statistics of States which have abolished the death penalty and compared the figures of murders in the years immediately preceding and succeeding. In actual fact the number of murderers has on the whole decreased after the abolition of the death penalty; but this may be due to other considerations. One can say emphatically, however, that a survey of all the evidence available provides no support for the argument that the death penalty is a deterrent.

The advocates of the death penalty, concludes Mr. Brockway, never pay any regard to its effect upon those who have to carry it out. If the supporters of capital punishment had themselves to manipulate the gallows or turn on the switch of the electric chair or fire the shot, or look after the victims prior to the sentence being carried out, there would be few executions.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

SOME EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA. By A. E. Watson. [Asiatic Review, October 1938.]

COMMUNALISM AND INDIAN HISTORY. By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji. [The Hindustan Review, September-October 1938.]

SOUTH INDIA AND THE CONGRESS. By S. Satyamurti. [The Twentieth Century, October 1938.]

HOW MUCH ALIKE ARE URDU AND HINDI. By Rev. E. W. Menzel. The Indian Journal of Education, October 1938.]

HINDU-MUSLIM AMITY IN INDIA. By R. N. Salotore. [The New Review, November 1938.]

THE NATIONAL SONG OF INDIA. By Chandrodaya Bhattacharya. [The Triveni, October 1938.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

INDIAN ARMY INQUIRY COMMITTEE

The Expert Committee appointed by the Government at the invitation of the Government of India to inquire into the equipment and maintenance of the forces in India has arrived in this country.

The Committee is under the Chairmanship of Lord Chatfield. The members include Sir Ernest Strohenger, Major-General Sir Bertram Sergison-Brooke, Air Vice-Marshal Courtney and Major-General C. J. Auchinleck. The Committee is to examine and report in the light of experience gained in executing the British re-armament programme, how these resources (of India) can be used to the best advantage and to make recommendations.

Both the Congress and the Liberal leaders have declined to participate in the inquiry.

TRICOLOUR FLAG

Mahatma Gandhi as the author of the idea of the National Flag has explained its meaning thus in the *Harijan*.—

The flag has been designed to represent non-violence expressed through real communal unity and non-violent labour which the lowliest and the



highest can easily undertake with the certain prospect of making a substantial and yet imperceptible addition to the wealth of the country; but to-day it must be confessed that from that standpoint, it is merely a piece of tricolour cloth, not always khadi, and is not proud of being a living emblem of communal unity and equalising labour in which all participate,

THE VIDURASWATHA REPORT

The report of the Viduraswatha Disturbances Enquiry Tribunal along with the Government's order thereon is published. Sir Vepa Ramesam, ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, is the Chairman, and Mr. A. R. Nagesvara Aiyar, Judge of the Mysore High Court, and Dr. F. X. De Souza, I.C.S. (retired), M.L.A., and member of the Mysore Legislative Council are the members of the Committee.

With regard to the causes of the disturbance, the Committee hold that the speeches of the Congress leaders brought about a tense situation in the country which ultimately burst forth in mob violence at Viduraswatha.

The Committee hold that before the lathi charge was made, the crowd, though defiant, was not violent and that the very first push with lathis was the signal for the bursting forth of mob violence.

After pointing out that a few among the crowd might have indulged in stone throwing, the Committee say that such pelting of stones, however, must have been only occasional and not so severe or persistent as to raise at that stage an apprehension in the minds of the officers that the crowd was about to make an attack on them.

The Committee hold that the firing was justified and was not excessive. With regard to the question as to who gave the order to fire, there is a difference of opinion.

RETURN OF COLONIES

Mr. Malcolm Mac Donald, Colonial Secretary, dealing with representations from Tanganyika, said in the House of Commons that a telegram had been sent to the Governor authorising him to announce that the Premier had given an answer to the effect that the British Government did not contemplate a transfer of any territory under British administration.

INDIA IN WORLD POLITICS

"One fact which is worthy of attention is the new status that India seems to have acquired in international affairs," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a Press



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Conference held on November 17, immediately after his arrival in Bombay from his five months' European tour along with his daughter. He added:

In international conferences and elsewhere India has begun to function practically on a level with the independent nations and Indian nationalist opinion is valued greatly to-day.

I do not, of course, refer to the League of Nations when I say this. There is a general feeling abroad that India is on the threshold of independence and, therefore, the goodwill and friendship of India is considered worth while by all nations.

LLOYD GEORGE ON FAR-EAST

Speaking in the House of Commons on November 9, Mr. Lloyd George pleaded for a clear policy in Far East in the following words:—

We have no policy. The news last night was that Japan's armies have announced their intention to march right to the boundaries of Burma. For the first time they are right on our frontier, a great aggressive Military Empire commanding millions of soldiers. It is a very grave event for the British Empire. We have troubles in India which have been referred to by Sir Stafford Cripps, troubles which have revealed the discontent with the concessions made and there are demands for greater concessions for independence and here is this military empire with its millions marching right up to the borders of that great Eastern Empire of ours and we have no policy that I can see of any sort or kind in regard to that tremendous situation in the Far East.

SIR S. CRIPPS ON INDIA

During the debate on the King's address in the House of Commons on November 9, Sir Stafford Cripps spoke as follows:—

After all, India is not a small and insignificant country that we can afford to ignore or which even those bent upon the maintenance of British imperialism can afford to ignore. It seems to me that even they cannot overlook the position of India in the problem of defence of the Empire, which confronts them very really at the present time, quite apart from the true merits of the political situation there. It is perfectly clear that the Indian people are making very rapid strides towards self-government and independence and they are not going to give support to that imperialism they are fighting against in their own country when that imperialism finds itself in difficulties elsewhere. They will, indeed, try to increase these difficulties as and when an opportunity arises; for they believe that pressure that way will help them.

It is especially true if the present policy of repression continues to be carried out by making it a penal offence to speak against recruitment. You are not going to make them more sympathetic to support the Empire; you are going to make them more hostile. The only way in which to obviate the very grave danger of a hostile India is to give the Indian people the right of self-determination. They will eventually win it from this country whatever happens. If the measures in that direction are taken now at least it will be possible for the Indian people to be neutral and even friendly in case this country is meeting trouble elsewhere. As it is, a hostile India will provide an extremely difficult form of opposition in the event of trouble. The time has come when the problem of India's future must be tackled in a more realistic manner.

CONGRESS AND FEDERATION

Addressing a gathering of 5,000 Kisans (peasants) at Goshainganj at Lucknow, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, President of the Congress, said:

"We have to storm the fort of Delhi. Until we control the Central Government, we shall not be able to attain our objective. The Congress is pledged to win freedom, which is the only solution of our poverty.

We want complete freedom. Federation obstructs our path. If it is forced on us, we will fight tooth and nail. We do not know when we will have to fight, but we should be prepared."

CONGRESS AND INDIAN STATES

The Haripura Congress Resolution did not mean the shielding of maladministration in any State, declared Sardar Vallabhai



SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL

Patel, addressing a mass meeting on November 21, at Ahmedabad.

Proceeding, Sardar Patel said that the struggle of seven crores of States people was being carried on in Rajkot. The speaker wanted to make Rajkot an object-lesson to the States' people as he had made Bardoli an object-lesson to the peasants of British India.

The Congress would not be a mere on-looker of the suffering of States' subjects. The whole of India was behind Rajkot. They could not divide the people of India with Indian States' subjects and British Indians. They constituted an undivided whole.

THE SUCCESS OF SALEM

"In general, the Act continues to be enforced with success and the benefits derived from it by the poorer classes become steadily more apparent," observes the Collector of Salem in his report to the Government on the working of the Prohibition Act. The Collector adds: "This is the right moment for greatly expanding the co-operative movement in the district. The Prohibition Act and the Debt Relief Act have both created conditions favourable to such expansion."

SIR SHANMUKHAM'S OPTIMISM

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, Dewan of Cochin, who returned after attending the session of the League of Nations, was entertained at a luncheon at the Madras Connemara Hotel on November 20. Speaking on the occasion, Sir Shanmukham hoped as an Indian that for the future of our country and for the speedy realisation of our goal, federal government would be established in the near future.

De Valera and his party thought that the treaty would not solve the problem



SIR R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTIAR

of Irish independence and yet by working the constitution he succeeded in achieving his ambition.

Why not we entertain the same hope and why should we take a gloomy view of things? Once we take hold of the machinery of the Central Government, we shall be in a position to shape the political destiny of India. De Valera's example emboldens us to capture the centre and the sooner the federal constitution is established, the better will it be for us.

VILLAGE OFFICERS REINSTATED

The Government of Bombay have passed orders reinstating 106 village officers who lost their appointments owing to participation in the non-co-operation movement and other political activities.

SIR SHAH SULAIMAN'S ADDRESS

In his Convocation Address at the Agra University on November 12, Sir Shah Sulaiman gave qualified support to the Wardha scheme of education. He said: "The new schools that re-established particularly in the rural areas should be of the vocational kind. As regards the urban areas, the earliest steps taken should be gradually to transform a number of the secondary schools into the polytechnic type of schools. But in higher education, the pure pursuit of knowledge should not be mixed up with the problem of food."

DR. SUBBAROYAN'S WARNING

Addressing a meeting of students at Tellichery, the Madras Minister for Education made an appeal to them not to take a vociferous part in political meetings. It is better for them, he said, to devote themselves to their College work and steer clear of all controversial politics. He emphasised that freedom does not mean licence, and that discipline and self-control should be strictly observed. He concluded that in the ideal of Truth and Non-violence preached by Gandhiji lies the key to the progress of our nation.

FREE MILK FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

A scheme for the free supply of milk to under-nourished children attending Municipal schools in the City has been approved by the Corporation of Bombay.

The scheme will cost in the first year Rs. 50,000. It provides for the free supply of milk in the first year to under-nourished children and new entrants in the primary classes only, and its gradual extension to all other classes within four years.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

The speech delivered by Mr. K. Natarajan at the Annamalai University Convocation on November 1 was unconventional and therefore interesting. The three major evils in India to-day, according to him, were: nationalism, provincialism, and communalism. The last, he thinks, is the least. Goodwill and mutual understanding between the communities can be brought about only by extending higher education among the members and not by mass contacts. He said:

English education in India has to its credit a long list of men of high character and great talents who have left their mark in every walk of life. More than that, it may be said with truth that all our movements of national progress—religious, social, political and economic—owe their origin and inspiration to the education imparted in our schools and colleges.

India is pulsating with new life, because of the emancipating effect of English education which has exerted a profound influence on various spheres of national life.

MR. S. C. BOSE'S ADVICE

Inaugurating the Oudh Students'



MR. S. C. BOSE

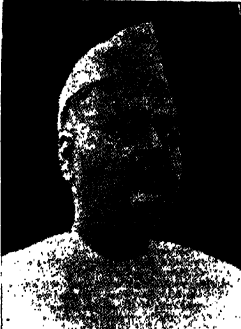
Conference at Lucknow on November 20, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose said:

We look up to you to build up a free and prosperous India on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity so that India may take its proud place in the comity of nations. . . .

We do not want a struggle for its own sake; we want freedom without a struggle if possible, and through a struggle if necessary. We have put our trust in God.

LAW SOCIETY AT LUCKNOW

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant inaugurating the Law Society at the University, pleaded for a new approach to the study of Law



GOVIND BALLABH PANT

and hoped that they would devote attention to the study of the laws of freedom, equality, and fraternity. Mr. Pant deplored the exorbitant fees demanded by the lawyers of the country. The students would do well, therefore, he said, to study other systems beyond the British system.

THE FEDERAL COURT

The first sitting of the Federal Court last month was certainly an event in legal history. The hearing of the case took over a week. As was only to be expected, there cropped up a question of precedence. The Advocate-General of Madras claimed that he came before his learned brother from Bengal and made that point a separate issue to be decided by the Court later on. The first case under the New Constitution Act turned on a fiscal rather than legal point, for finance to-day governs nearly everything. The C. P. Government decided to clap a duty on petrol sales and the point at issue was whether it was a genuine sales tax or an excise duty. There were appeals to the authority of the White Paper, the J. S. C. Report and Government of India Act itself.

THE U. P. LAWYERS' CONFERENCE

Presiding over the U. P. Lawyers' Conference at Allahabad on November 6, the Rt. Hon. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said:

It seems to me that no organisation of the Bar can be treated as complete unless apart from dealing with matters of professional misconduct, it is under a statutory obligation to provide for legal education and discharge that obligation and unless further it takes a day-to-day and living interest in enforcing rules of professional etiquette and morality and defending the legitimate interests of the profession. The time has come when the Government of India should appoint a strong and well-represented committee to go into the whole question of the organisation and constitution of the legal profession in India.

A resolution suggesting that legislation be introduced for the creation of an independent Indian Bar was unanimously passed by the Conference.

The Resolution ran as follows:—

This Conference is strongly of opinion that the time has come when proper legislation should be passed for creating an independent Indian Bar by providing for its constitution, making it responsible for legal education and the maintenance and enforcement of discipline among members of the profession and defining the relations of this body with the High Courts.

With a view to giving effect to this recommendation, the Conference is of opinion that the Government of India should appoint a strong and well-represented committee to be presided over by the Chief Justice of India if his services can be secured or by some other distinguished barrister or advocate or a Judge of the Federal Court or of a High Court in India and consisting of an adequate number of representatives of the Bar and some representatives of the Faculties of Law of the Universities and should introduce suitable legislation after taking into consideration the report of this Committee.

HABEAS CORPUS PETITION

The full bench of the Madras High Court passed orders on November 4, holding that Mr. Justice Panduranga Rao's order in the *habeas corpus* application filed by the arrested directors of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank Limited (now under liquidation) was passed without jurisdiction and therefore declared it to be null and void.

HISTORY OF INSURANCE

Rotarian Vice-President T. W. Brough of Calcutta gave a talk on "Life Insurance" at the Club at Calcutta last month. The growth of Life Insurance, the speaker said, had been one of the romances of modern civilisation. The first insurance policy, of which there was written record, was issued in 1658 on the life of William Gibbons, who was insured for the period of one year only; he died within the year and the amount was duly paid. At that time there were no mortality tables upon which so much reliance is placed to-day.

The total insurance in force in India at the end of 1936 was approximately Rs. 235 crores. Many people seemed to think that life insurance had reached the saturation point in India, but the speaker was of the opinion that while this might perhaps be partially true in America, Great Britain, and Australia, in India the surface of life insurance had barely been scratched. In India there was remarkable opportunity for the young men to adopt life insurance as a career, and in the speaker's opinion it was a profession of which one could be justly proud, provided one represented a company which had really been formed for public service. He felt that, next to religion and medicine, life insurance was, perhaps, the best profession from the ethical point of view.

Referring to the recent insurance legislation in India, the speaker said that it was a step in the right direction; unfortunately the provision included in the new law that a very large proportion of all life insurance assets must be invested in Government securities.

POLICYHOLDERS' CONFERENCE

The Andhradesa Insurance Policyholders' Conference met at Bezwada on November 7, under the presidentship of Mr. V. L. Sastri.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions suggesting methods for improving the position and increasing the benefits of the policyholders.



HON. MR. V. V. GIRI

who has planned a scheme for Unemployment Insurance in the Madras Presidency.

ORIENTAL'S NEW BUSINESS

Some idea of the magnitude of the business turned out by the Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company during the past year is revealed in the Directors' report presented to the Sixty-third Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders and Policyholders of the Company. The Report records that the business for the year of account amounted to 55,228 Policies assuring nearly Rs. 998 lakhs as compared with the new business of 56,298 Policies assuring over Rs. 1,026 lakhs for the previous year.

The ratio of expenses to premium income during the year of account is 22.9 per cent. as compared with the same rate in 1936.

FALL IN INDIAN COTTON TRADE

Uncontrolled production of cotton in India and the results of research into substitutes have combined with the heavy drop in price to make the outlook for the Indian cotton grower gloomier than ever according to commercial reports.

The world demand for Indian cotton is on the decline. It amounted to 212,042 tons during the first six months of the current financial year or 106,427 tons less than for the corresponding period last year. The heaviest decline recorded was in the case of Japan, where due to the Sino-Japanese hostilities imports of raw cotton fell by 80,905 tons to 97,405 during the first six months of the current financial year. A similar drop was noticeable in the takings by the United Kingdom by 5,182 to 36,678. It is stated with regard to China that no important bookings of foreign cotton seem likely for some time, because of the large carry-over of Chinese cotton and the restricted mill consumption.

Side by side with this decline in exports has been the progressive increase in imports of foreign cotton. The figures for the first six months of the last three years are: 27,549 tons in 1985-86; 55,045 tons in 1986-87; and 62,885 tons in 1987-88.

The increasing use of rayon in India for the manufacture of textile goods is also cited as another factor seriously affecting the Indian cotton grower.

Trade circles express anxiety not only on the intimate effect that the world cotton situation and the persistent search for and use of substitutes have on the Indian cultivator, but also on India's position in any trade negotiations in the future.

THE INCOME-TAX BILL

In the Central Assembly on November 22, the general debate on the Income-Tax Bill was notable for a racy speech by Sir H. P. Mody.



SIR H. P. MODY

He said income-tax payers could be divided into three categories: the dishonest, the not-quite-honest, and fools. Fools were those who declared their full income and paid up without a murmur. The Bill was calculated to sharpen the wits of the dishonest and worsen the lot of the honest. It was based on a reversal of the well-known principle of jurisprudence and assumed that it was better that a hundred innocent men should be condemned than that one guilty man should escape.

INDIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The India Chamber of Commerce of America is convinced that the revision of the trade convention of 1815 and the securing of reciprocal rights and privileges for American and Indian businessmen doing business in each other's country could be achieved if India officially approached the U. S. Government. The present Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, is a champion of reciprocal trade treaties.

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMY MUDALIAR

The appointment of Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar as the Principal of the Madras Medical College marks the beginning of a change which must be welcome to



DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI

every one. Hitherto it was an Indian Medical Service man and a European that was considered worthy of the office. When Mr. Mudaliar was appointed as acting Principal some months ago, says the *Leader*, "we entertained the fear that when a permanent incumbent was to be appointed, the authorities would look out for a European. But Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Premier, and Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, the Minister for Health, had apparently decided to change the practice and the present announcement is the result".

MALE NURSES

The Government of Madras have decided that a male nursing service should be trained and employed, so that in course of time male nurses may attend on all adult male patients and children admitted into hospitals.

The period of training of male nurse pupils shall be limited to three years as they need not undergo a midwifery course.

As far as possible, nurse pupils will be given instruction in the languages of the province and the Surgeon-General has been requested to take the necessary steps in this direction and to train some ward sisters in Tamil and Telugu for the purpose of giving instruction,

INVENTIONS FOR GOOD HEALTH

All the latest discoveries and inventions affecting the health of the human body were on display at the Twenty-eighth Medical Exhibition at Westminster which met last month.

Strangest of all is the contact lens which, it is expected, will completely take the place of the spectacles in the next few years. These lenses are fitted close to the eyes underneath the lids, and spectacle frames are thus done away with.

Other interesting exhibits include the much-discussed drug M. B. 698, for the treatment of pneumonia, an electric stethoscope and an apparatus for the painless stimulation of muscles and nerves.

WORLD SANITARY CONFERENCE

The International Sanitary Conference met at Paris on October 28. It was opened by Minister Demonezis at the Quai d'Orsay. One of its most important decisions relates to a request by the Egyptian Government of handing over by the International Quarantine Board to Egypt of health supervision over Suez Canal traffic which, in the words of a delegate to the Conference, is a filter for the West against diseases coming from the East.

CENTRAL BOARD OF PUBLIC HEALTH

In accordance with the decision to hold meetings of the Central Board of Public Health in rotation in the Provincial capitals instead of at the headquarters of the Government of India, the next meeting of the Board will be held in Madras on January 9 and 10, 1939. Sir Jagdish Prasad, Member for Education, Health and Lands, will preside, and Provincial Ministers in charge of Public Health will attend.

DR. RAJAN ON PUPILS' HEALTH

School education had materially contributed towards the deterioration of the pupils by allowing them to receive intellectual education in utter disregard of their physical condition, said Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister of Public Health, presiding over a meeting in connexion with Education Week in Madras on 1st November. He urged that physical efficiency should be made a condition for the promotion of pupils.

"THE INDIAN MONEY MARKET"

This book ("The Indian Money Market" by K. K. Sharma, with a Foreword by Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, Bangalore Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd.) aims at a description of the main constituents of the "Indian Money Market", their features and functions and their defects. The literature on the subject is not as adequate as its importance deserves, and Mr. Sharma's book will undoubtedly form a useful addition. The "Indian Money Market" is composed of constituents widely differing in their strength, resources and functions and there has been no proper co-ordination between their activities and functions. With the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India, one serious gap has been filled, but the vast indigenous banking system still remains outside the modern money market. The other defects in the "Indian Money Market", e.g., the absence of a bill market, the wide divergence between bank rates and rates for other kinds of money, and the general looseness of organisation still remain to be remedied. For a proper appreciation of these and other allied topics, the reader may well be directed to this useful and well-written book which gives all essential information in simple and clear language.

GOLD AS STANDARD OF VALUE

The Council of the International Chamber of Commerce met at Paris on October 22, and affirmed its confidence in the final establishment of gold as the international standard of value. It passed another resolution recognising the importance of the British-French-American monetary agreement and suggested that the Signatory Powers should study suitable measures to strengthen the present collaboration, more especially to determine the comparative value of the three principal currencies with a view to maintaining sound relations among them and ultimately re-establishing gold parities.

The Chamber rejected "the false view according to which cheap money obtained by artificial means is necessary to economic activity" and held that foreign exchange markets ought more than ever to be called upon to recognize the discipline imposed by firm or higher bank rates.

LABOUR IN RAILWAYS

The International Labour Office discussed the question of a transport conference for 1930. The meeting divided regarding the question whether its proceedings should be limited to railways or include all forms of transport. A number of delegates expressed the opinion that the railways formed a sufficiently large group to be dealt with at a separate conference.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (India) pointed out that, as a result of the Washington Conference, the hours in some classes of

**Mr. N. M. JOSHI**

railway workers in India had been fixed at 60. Under certain legislation the hours of motor drivers had been fixed at 54. He thought that, if the hours of the railwaymen were considered, there was some likelihood of the hours being reduced in India in view of the fact that road workers had a lower maximum.

ELECTRIC FANS IN THIRD CLASS

In the Mysore Railways an experiment was made last year by providing fans in III Class carriages to one of the coaches and ever since it has been running on the line. The Railway authorities have now decided to extend this facility to all carriages where there is provision for 16 seats, irrespective of the fact whether it was a women's compartment or not.

The necessary amount has already been sanctioned and the work will be commenced as and when the coaches are sent to the workshop. It is also learnt that the work will be started early.

INDIAN CARS

The scheme for the manufacture of automobiles in India, originally conceived by Sir M. Visveswarayya, is forging ahead.



SIR M. VISVESWARAYYA

Bombay has been chosen for the location of the factory to be erected. A leading foreign manufacturing firm will be asked to take up the responsibility for the design, construction and equipment of the factory. The factory will be erected and handed over in good working order in about two years' time. The maximum capacity of the plant will be 10,000 cars and 5,000 trucks every year. The scheme will be financed by a joint stock-company with an All-India organisation and a capital of Rs. 150 lakhs. The means to India's prosperity lie in industrialisation and great things may be expected from this move.

TEA WHILE DRIVING

An ingenious device for heating water in a motor car so that a pot of tea may be available while on the move has been found by Mr. H. S. Fortescue of Wembley, London. Mr. Fortescue is reported to have fitted an aluminium bottle in the bonnet of his car so that water in the bottle may be boiled by the heat of the exhaust.

INDIA'S MOTOR IMPORTS

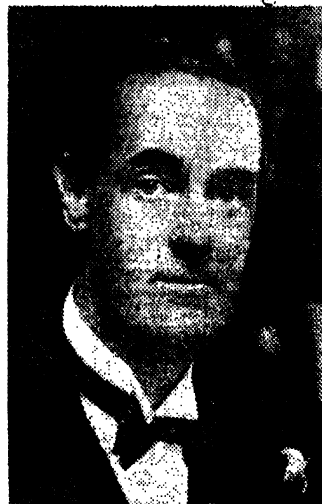
Imports of motor cars and motor lorries, buses and vans into British India numbered 721 and 625 valued at Rs. 18 lakhs and Rs. 9 lakhs in September 1938 as compared with 1,055 and 1,114 valued at Rs. 20 lakhs and Rs. 15 lakhs respectively in September 1937.

LORD NUFFIELD'S NEW PLANE

A new kind of aeroplane which is expected to beat all the speed records is now being built by Lord Nuffield, the motor magnate, in close secrecy in a London factory, says the *Sunday Express*. The present world's air-speed record is held by Italy at 440 m.p.h. But Lord Nuffield's plane is expected to attain a speed of 550 m.p.h. Many scientists claim that this is the maximum speed which any air plane can reach. Beyond this mark, near the speed of sound, they say, the air becomes solid to a moving object and would set up such bumps and buffettings that no plane could hold together. Only by finding a new aircraft principle will this speed be surpassed.

PLANES FOR VICEROY'S USE

Two Airspeed Envoys have been purchased by the Indian Government for the personal



H. E. THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW

use of the Viceroy, the Marquess of Linlithgow and for the official communication duties in India.

The Envoy is a monoplane fitted with two Armstrong Siddeley "Cheetah" engines with accommodation for eight passengers and a cruising speed of 170 miles per hour at ten thousand feet.

"C. R." ON LARGE SCALE INDUSTRIES

Laying the foundation-stone of the Electric Smelting Furnace attached to the Steel Rolling Mills at Negapatam on October 24, Sri C. Rajagopalachariar said:



SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

"Do not imagine that we are against industries as a whole. We are not enemies of big workshops. We do think very much of cottage industries. But we are quite alive to the future and importance of these large industries, which do not replace any cottage industries but which fill a gap not filled before by any cottage industry. And you can expect this Government, if it should continue for any length of time, to be a good supporter of industries of this kind".

TATA IRON AND STEEL WORKS

About 7,000 more employees of Messrs. Tata's Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur will in future be entitled to departmental production bonus. This, the *Associated Press* understands, was decided upon at a meeting held at Calcutta on November 5.

It is recalled that in the month of June last, a committee was appointed to consider the question of inclusion of certain departments in the departmental production bonus list and accordingly the Tata's submitted a scheme to the Committee. This scheme, it is understood, was discussed recently in the presence of the Congress President by Mr. Bari and Mr. A. R. Dalal, who represented the management. As a result of the agreement that was reached, about 7,000 more employees will henceforth receive the departmental bonus.

MR. ANDREWS ON RURAL REGENERATION

In the course of his Convocation address at the University of Mysore, Mr. C. F. Andrews drew attention to two very



MR. C. F. ANDREWS

disturbing evils. One was the manner in which the best intellectual life was being drained out of the villages into the towns. The second was that English had become nothing less than a craze and an obsession. Inferior imitation of the West had produced a slave mentality and there was a yawning gulf between the university and the villagers, and the rich and the poor.

Mr. Andrews made a plea for the use of the mother tongue and emphasized that English must no longer be employed as the medium of instruction. In order to bring the rich and the poor, and the educated classes and the village people into closer touch with one another, he outlined a scheme of university settlements

THE TUNGABHADRA CONFERENCE

The Conference of representatives of the Madras and Hyderabad Governments on the question of the equitable sharing of the waters of the Tungabhadra river met at Madras on November 7, and reached a settlement on the basis of which, it is understood, plans, estimates, designs and other details of the Tungabhadra project will be worked out.

LABOUR COURTS

The International Labour Office has published details regarding the practice in certain principal countries of the world in regard to the settlement of industrial disputes. In twenty-three countries there are special Labour Courts to deal with these questions. These countries proceed on the basis suggested by the *Spectator*, namely, that "strikes are at best a trial of strength and have no bearing on what should be the fundamental basis of industrial settlement, reason and justice". The Labour Courts possess a permanent judiciary composed generally of equal numbers of employers and employed with independent chairman. "The basis of the Court's finding," says the paper, "is existing rights derived from either statute law or some regulation or an individual or a collective agreement made between the parties. Actual litigation is preceded by a regularised conciliation procedure and it is only when this has failed that the judicial proceedings become necessary." As for resort to strikes as a method of settling industrial disputes, the paper adds that "the I. L. O. report makes the strike-method harder to justify than ever".

BOMBAY TRADE DISPUTES BILL

The Bombay Legislative Assembly passed on November 4 the third reading of the Bombay Trade Disputes Bill by 758 votes to 25. "It will be a charter for securing well-regulated economic progress for workers in the province," declared Mr. K. M. Munshi.

He added that it would give them sound and well organised unions, happy settlement of disputes and strikes well and deliberately planned which, when declared, would achieve their purpose without producing misery.

RULES RELATING TO EXPLOSIVES

It is learnt that the Labour Department of the Government of India is revising the rules relating to explosives. These rules were revised last in 1914, and since then a number of amendments and additions have been made to them. The Government of India Act, 1935, has vested the entire responsibility for these rules on the Central Government.

MAHATMA HANSRAJ

We deeply regret to record the death of Mahatma Hansraj at the age of 75 after an illness at Lahore on the 15th November.



LALA HANSRAJ

The Mahatma was a veteran Arya Samajist and educationist. He was connected with a number of educational institutions in the province and was well known for his philanthropy.

O. B. AND THE HARIJANS

"If we of the Depressed Classes have to wait till O. B. effects the conversion of the Sanatani heart we should wait till Doomsday. This charge against Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister, is made by Mr. M. C. Rajah, M.L.A., in the course of his correspondence with Mr. Gandhi.

Advising Mr. Rajah to trust Mr. Rajagopalachariar to do his best, Mr. Gandhi wrote: "Harijans have no better friend than him. Go to him, reason with him and, if you cannot persuade him, bear with him."

